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THE AKBARNĀMA

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

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THE AKBARNĀMA

OF

ABU-L-FAẒL

(A HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF AKBAR INCLUDING AN ACC
PREDECESSORS)

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

BY

H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (Retired), F.A.S.B.

VOLUME III

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FOREWORD

The completion of the final volume of the English translation of Akbarnāma by the late Henry Beveridge, I.C.S., has taken a long time. Mr. Beveridge completed the translation, and the last fascicle was issued in 1921. He also prepared the Index and passed pp. 1–32 of it for printing. Besides the Index, the Dedication, Introduction, Errata and Addenda to the volume and a Prefatory Note were completed before the death of the author in 1929. What was left to be accomplished was the correction, revision and printing of pp. 33–66 of the Index and other preliminary matters including the preparation of Lists of Contents, Abbreviations and additional Errata and Addenda to pp. 1–22 of the Index. Unfortunately this was not done due to a variety of causes, the most serious of which was a period of quiescence which occurred in the activities of the Society during this time. Thanks, however, to the initiative of Dr. Baini Prashad the incomplete portion of the work was taken up this year and the volume has now been completed. The work of Mr. D. K. Das, the press clerk, who laboured very hard to see it through the press, deserves special mention.

It is hoped that the reading public, while forgiving the delay of this publication, will appreciate the great erudition and care bestowed on it by Mr. Beveridge.

B. S. Guha,
Hon. General Secretary,
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

1, Park Street, Calcutta,
Septemder 4, 1939.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this book, being the third and concluding volume of my translation of the historical part of the *Akbarnāma*, to the memory of my father and mother and to my dear wife, Annette Susannah Beveridge.

H. BEVERIDGE.

PITFOLD,
SHOTTERMILL,
The 5th October, 1921.

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INTRODUCTION

I have at last finished the translation of the historical part of the *Akbarnāma*. It has occupied me, with occasional interruptions, for over twenty years, and I must confess that the work has not been always congenial. In fact, I must say that I began it with a feeling of aversion. I had the idea that Abu-l-Faẓl was a rhetorician and a shameless flatterer. And I admit that the feeling still remains. I must also say that his style, especially in the later volumes, is tortuous and obscure. Possibly, this is due to the loss, during the progress of the work, of Faiẓī, his elder brother, who was a poet and who revised part of the book, and who, presumably, improved Abu-l-Faẓl's style. Left to himself, he may have adopted a still more stilted and archaic style which, perhaps, he picked up from 'Abdullah Waṣṣāf and others, with the result that he became even more obscure than he was originally. But I must go on to say that his indomitable industry, and his accuracy wherever he was not, from prudential motives, suppressing the truth, have at length overcome me, and I leave him with greater feelings of respect than I began with. After all, when everything has been said that can be said against Abu-l-Faẓl, should we not be grateful to him for his book? If he had not given so many years of nights and days to his task, where would we have looked for a knowledge of many important facts of Indian history? And what a pity it is that Jehāngīr, Akbar's unworthy son, should have murdered the author, when he was approaching the end of his task and when there were not wanting signs that he was beginning to see that there were spots on his sun and that his idol had not worked out the beast!

I believe that I am indebted to my learned friend Dr. Hoernle, C.I.E., for having led me to undertake the translation of the *Akbarnāma*. He it was who, as Philological Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, set me on a task for which I, a poor *opsimath*, was very imperfectly fitted. I hope I have improved as

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I went on, but the want of early training in scholarship can never be made good.

Since I finished the translation, I have been engaged in making the Index. Not that I have any skill in such work, but I have thought that if I did not do it, no one else was likely to undertake it, and that my translation, to use the expression quoted by Mr. Norton, the Indian Barrister, might remain a costly tool without a handle. So, I have begun it and have nearly got to the end of the letter M which is by far the biggest letter in an index to a Muḥammadan work. I have also made a list of Errata and Addenda. I am sorry that they are so many and so important, but it is satisfactory that I have found them and acknowledged them. I do not think that it would repay any one to read through my translation of the *Akbarnāma*, and I very much doubt if any one will do so. I think the world is too busy for this. What I would recommend is that somebody should abridge the book. He, or she, might profitably omit the horoscopes and the biographies of Akbar's real or imaginary predecessors and ancestors before Bābur. He might also omit the strings of names, the discussion about comets and a digression, in the third volume, into Persian History. He might also curtail occasional verbiage. On the other hand, he might, I think, add "The Sayings of Akbar" in Colonel Jarrett's translation, with perhaps some additions and corrections, and Abu-l-Faẓl's account of his early struggles. He might also add, in the original Latin, Monserrate's description of Akbar's person, pp. 640-41 of his *Commentary*, A.S.B. edition. I am too old and feeble for such work and shall only say "*Exoriare aliquis nostris e vocibus auctor.*"

Abu-l-Faẓl is not a picturesque writer, nor are his reflections profound or affecting. Very seldom does he make an interesting remark. He has not the charm of Herodotus, nor the outspokenness and raciness of the crabbed, bigoted and sinful Badāūnī. He seldom tells a story without spoiling it. See, for instance, the account of Akbar's chivalrous rescue of the Jodhpūr Rajah's daughter from a compulsory Satī. We are not told her name,

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nor the length of Akbar's ride, nor any other of the little details which would have enhanced the interest of the narrative. Perhaps the best instance of his picturesqueness is the account of Rūpmatī's death, and his most sensible remark is that in the third volume where he says that the accounts of a battle are like the blind men's descriptions of an elephant.

On the other hand, Abu-l-Faẓl's love for sources—the *Quellen* of the Germans—is far in advance of his age. To him we owe not only the *Akbarnāma* but also the *Memoirs* of Gulbadn Begam, Jauhar the ewer-bearer, Baẓazat (Bāyazīd) Biyat and, perhaps, Niẓāmu-d-dīn's history. But I have treated of this matter in a paper published in the J.P.A.S.B., Vol. XIV, 1918, p. 469.

I should also like to say something about Abu-l-Faẓl's flattery of Akbar. It is gross, but it is not unnatural, and is in part the result of an honest hero-worship. We must remember the position of the two men. Akbar was emperor of India and a very remarkable man. He had raised Abu-l-Faẓl and his family from indigence and obscurity to affluence and power. It must also be borne in mind that Akbar was the elder of the two men. He was born in October, 1542, and Abu-l-Faẓl in January, 1550, so that there were seven years and more between them. Akbar therefore was in the position of an elder brother. This, when added to the attraction of Akbar's position as sovereign, was more than human nature could withstand. Even Badāūnī felt this I believe too that Abu-l-Faẓl really thought that the fact of Akbar's ignorance of reading and writing, when combined with his mental gifts, placed him in the category of inspired beings or super-men and placed him on a level with such prodigies as Buddha, Zoroaster and Muḥammad, if indeed he was not superior to them. That Abu-l-Faẓl really believed in Muḥammad's spiritual greatness, seems to be proved by his occasional involuntary ejaculations, and by the labour and cost which he bestowed on making copies of the Qorān and in publishing an elaborate commentary on it. It is also well-known that all orientals used to believe, and probably do so still, in mystics and fanatics. See also Akbar's own saying, Jarrett,

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III, 385: "The prophets were all illiterate. Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition." He did not, however, keep any of his three sons uneducated.

Abu-l-Faẓl's general accuracy has been vindicated against Elphinstone, who has made a charge against him which is based on Elphinstone's own imperfect knowledge of Persian. I refer to a note in the latter's *History of India*, p. 452 of the 4th edition, 1857, which I have quoted at p. 731 of my translation; Elphinstone says there that A. F., after giving a full description of the disaster in Afghānistān, concludes by stating the loss at (only) 500 men. Now the work in the original for "men" is *kas*, and this in Persian has two meanings. Firstly, it means ordinary persons or "no-account men." Secondly, it means persons of distinction, that is, personages, and the context shows that the word is used here by A. F. in the secondary sense. On this point see Vullers' Dict., II, 831, where *kas* is rendered by *vir dignus*, and Richardson, 1008a. And that the 500 of A. F. here means 500 notables or men of rank, is sufficiently evidenced, I think, by the fact that Ferishta and Badāūnī, while stating the loss at 8,000 and more, make no comment on A. F.'s 500 which would have been quite contrary to their statements if *kas* had been understood by them to mean the total loss. Blochmann, too, in p. 345 of his Āīn translation, has "500 *officers* fell." Here it may be remarked in passing that Blochmann has inadvertently said that the disaster took place in the Khyber. It should have been Kekur or Balandarī in the Yūsufzai country. A. F.'s character for accuracy is also supported by Monserrate's *Commentary* where he describes the campaign against Muḥammad Ḥakīm in Afghānistān. Indeed, the two accounts, A. F.'s in the *Akbarnāma* and Monserrate's in the *Commentary*, agree so well that one thinks they must have discussed the expedition together. Both of them were in it, but Monserrate's is fuller, and where he states something more than A. F. does, for example, where he describes the interview of Muḥammad Ḥakīm's sister with Akbar in Cabul, where she pleaded the cause of her brother, Monserrate's statement should be preferred.

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Lord Macaulay, in his *History of England*, remarks: "To speak the whole truth concerning William Penn, is a task which requires some courage, for he is rather a mythical than a historical character. Rival nations and hostile sects have agreed in canonising him." A similar remark might be made about Akbar, and my point is not affected by doubts as to whether Sir James Makintosh and Macaulay were right in identifying the go-between in the affair of the pardons with the apostle of Pennsylvania. They may have been wrong. This is a question I am not competent to decide, but on account of my love and admiration for Macaulay's writings, I may be allowed to say that I have never seen any proof that Penn the intriguer and Penn the Quaker were two different persons. All I think that Macaulay's detractors have shown is that there was another Penn who dabbled in the political intrigues of the day, and that so he may have been the guilty person in the affair of the pardons. But proof that he was so, seems to be wanting. I admit, however, that Macaulay's note is not as conclusive as, perhaps, it might have been.

To return to Akbar. He certainly has been over-praised. He had charming qualities and had a keen intellect, but he was by no means a saint or a philosopher. He had by no means worked out the beast, and he had the defects of his age and race, and of his own idiosyncrasy. If regarded as a Man, who makes his moral being his first care, he was inferior to the bigoted Aurungzeb. After all, he was a Tārtār, or at best had Cingiz Khān blood in his veins. He was both ruthless and self-indulgent. The man who could order[1] a lamp-lighter to be flung over the battlements for the crime of having fallen asleep in an imperial bed, and could condemn some twenty children to death or idiocy because, like Psammaticus of Egypt, he could learn in this way what was man's primæval language,[2] and who could subject an officer to the agony of being thrown under the feet of

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1 See Asad Beg's Waqaya in Elliot's Hist., VI, 164.

2 See Badāūnī's touching verse in Vol. II, 288 and in Lowe's translation, 296. Ādam says in "Paradise Lost," Book X: "How gladly would I lay me down as in my mother's lap!"

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an elephant even though the beast had been privately ordered not to kill him, was at heart a savage. This has been well put by my friend Vincent Smith in a note to p. 343 of his life of Akbar.

On another occasion, when he was on the banks of the Indus in 1581, he sent an officer to look for a ford. (Monserrate, p. 582). The man went up-stream for 25 miles, but could not find a ford and was told by the villagers that there was not any ford in that part of the country and so he returned. But as Akbar found that he had not gone as far as he had directed him to go, he ordered him to be taken to the place he (Akbar) had mentioned to him, tied upon an inflated ox-hide and flung into the river! When this order was given practically the whole army turned out to see what would happen. The unfortunate man was carried down the stream, lamenting and crying for pardon. When he was passing the imperial tent he was taken out by Akbar's orders but his property was confiscated and he himself was publicly sold as a slave. A friend bought him in for eighty pieces of gold, taken, apparently, from the royal treasury, and he was eventually pardoned!

Akbar's order to the officer was that he should inquire if the Indus could be forded anywhere on horse-back. After Prince Jelālu-d-dīn's exploit in Cingiz Khān's time it was perhaps impossible to say that the Indus could not be crossed by cavalry. But it would seem that for practical purposes the Indus is unfordable either above or below Attock unless one goes very far up-stream. Even when the Indus or the Cabul river is fordable, they are liable to sudden freshets as shown by a melancholy experience near Jelālābād during the Afghān war. Major Rennell says in his *Memoir* of 1792, p. 98: "The Indus is sometimes fordable above Attock, but we never hear of its being fordable below."

The *Akbarnāma* tells us that on another occasion Akbar, in anger at a poor man coming into his presence drunk, had him drenched with cold water with the result that he eventually died of shock.

The love of cruelty for its own sake was a characteristic of

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the age and race, and was shown in the chivalrous Bābur who had a man flayed alive and who had men killed by inches, and in the generally humane Humāyūn and in Akbar's son Jehāngīr who took pleasure in inventing new methods of killing people, such as causing them to be bitten by snakes and who inflicted the lingering death of impalement upon rebels, and added thereto the making his son witness the deaths of his followers. It is true that Akbar, after he became half a Hindu or half a Parsee, expressed horror at his son's cruelties, but it was Akbar who hanged the innocent Manṣūr Shīrāzī, and it was he who killed or connived at the killing of his old and once venerated teacher! There is ground for the current native view of Akbar that he was a man who could disembowel a pregnant woman in order to see what she carried in her bosom, even if it be not true that he actually did this.

I may add that if the tradition that Akbar buried the slave-girl Anārkalī (the pomegranate flower) alive for the crime of exchanging a glance with his son Selīm (afterwards Jehāngīr) be true, he committed an atrocity which excuses, if it does not justify, the son for making war upon him, and might even have excused an act of parricide.

The tomb and its touching inscription still exist, but the bigotry of a good but narrow-minded Bishop caused it to be removed from the mosque (now the English Church) into what the Imperial Gazetteer of India euphemistically calls "a repertory of Secretarial records," in plain language, a *daftarkhāna*, to lumber-room for waste paper! But perhaps Lord Curzon had the tomb removed to a more fitting place.

Akbar's Spiritual Experiences.

Like many Eastern potentates Akbar had a feeling of the paltriness of life, and an interest in religion. His father and grandfather had similar emotions, and these were also felt by his grandfather's great antagonist—Shaibānī Khān of Samarkand. Unfortunately, Akbar, though a man of genius and one eager in the quest of truth, was less educated than were his ancestors. He

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could not even read and write. He had been told, perhaps, that the apostle Muḥammad was an ignorant man and this may have encouraged him to neglect studies. There also seems to be no doubt that for an oriental he was of singularly slow development. As a boy, he seems to have passed most of his time in amusements such as pigeon-flying, and in good eating. This, apparently, is what Abu-l-Faẓl means when he so often says that Akbar remained long under the veil. When he grew up, his flatterers told him that his educational deficiencies were an advantage. But he came too late into the world to play the part of an ignorant and inspired prophet, even if he had not been born in too high a position of power and responsibility to be fitted for it. It is probable that if he had known to read and write he would have been saved from one of his worst blunders and crimes, that of his putting to death the innocent and able Persian Shāh Manṣūr. For then he would have been able to detect the forgeries which caused the condemnation. Such knowledge also might have saved him from his rash interference with chronology. It is creditable to Akbar that he endeavoured to give a good education to his sons.

Like most religious innovators, he began by being very orthodox. Having been brought up as a Muḥammadan he began by being pious and very observant of the rules of the Qorān. Religion was in the air when he came to the throne and he strove to imitate the ceremonial exercises of Sulaimān Kararānī the ruler of Bengal and the other Sulaimān who was ruler of Badakhshān. This feeling continued to influence Akbar for many years, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn, the excellent and orthodox historian, tells us in his account of the 24th and 25th years of the reign that Akbar at that time used to join in the public prayers five times a day. See p. 344 of Newal Keshore's lithographed edition of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. Akbar, indeed, continued his practices of outward devotion long after he had ceased to be a believer. See the accounts of his public devotion to an alleged Holy Stone, and his repeated visits to the Ajmere shrine. And Monserrate tells us that he had a private oratory carried about with him during his

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advance into Afghānistān, though it disappeared during his return journey. Probably this was used for quasi Christian practices such as an adoration of the Virgin Mary, and also for Parsee rites.

A Remarkable Incident in Akbar's Life.

In May 1578 and the 23rd year of the reign, 14 Ṣafr 986 A.H. he had a strange experience which is described in the third volume of the *Akbarnāma*, see my note p. 345, and also Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad's history and in Badāūnī. Akbar had arranged to hold a great circular hunting-drive which is called by a word which is half Arabic and half Persian (*Qamargāh*) *qamar* being Arabic for the moon, and *gāh*, which is Persian for place. Birds and beasts had been gathered together, for miles round near the river Jhelam in a place called Nandana in the Pind Dādan Khān *taḥsil* of the Jhelam district of the Punjab. Suddenly, a change came over Akbar and he ordered every bird and beast to be released and the hunting arrangements to be abandoned. It was not known what had caused this change, but it was supposed to be a case of *jazba* or spiritual attraction. It was supposed that he had had a vision, or that some hermit had visited him. Shortly afterwards his mother came from Fatḥpūr Sikrī to see him. Probably, she had been alarmed at the news about her son, as it had caused a good deal of public commotion. The result was that he gave up further progress into the Punjab and went back with his mother to Fatḥpūr Sikrī. The incident reminds one of the "Tolle lege tolle lege" as St. Augustine's confessions. Both took place in a forest, and both were cases of a sudden conversion, or of a conviction of sin. But the two were not of equal value. St. Augustine's resulted in purification and change of life. Akbar's was less lasting and less beneficial. It does not appear that he led a better life afterwards or that it had any other effect upon himself or the world than to increase his self-conceit and to lead him to the fantastic attempt to establish a new Religion, the Divine Faith, which died out after his death. He was about the same age as St. Augustine when the change came to them both. But Akbar was not a student and he was

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more tied and bound by the chain of his sins and his position than was Augustine. His life too was probably far more worn. He was thirty-four or so when the *jazba* occurred, and St. Augustine was two or three years younger when the change came to him.

It will be seen that the attractive incident took place before the arrival of the Jesuit Mission.

I fear that Akbar was too much tied and bound with the chain of his sins—the sin which doth so easily beset us—and also by his regard for his wives of whom he had more than 300, to accept Father Rudolf's exhortations. Indeed who but a young and impetuous fanatic like the Duke's son could expect him to do so. I doubt very much if Monserrate made similar demands on the emperor.

The Jesuit Mission to Akbar.

There was a great discovery in our knowledge of Akbar's character and of his campaign in Afghānistān when Canon Firminger found the original Latin edition of Father Monserrate's commentaries in the Library of the Calcutta Cathedral. How General Maclagon would have been delighted if he had met in with the volume! But it fell into good hands when Canon Firminger discovered it in 1906 and when Father Hosten, S.J., edited it in 1914. The history of the MS. is a curious one, but is not yet completely known. Father Anthony Monserrate, the author, was a Spaniard and was born in Catalonia in 1536. His father was personally acquainted with Ignatius Loyola, and Anthony became a member of the S.J. In 1574 he embarked for India. He and Father Rudolf were the two missionaries who were sent to Akbar at his request to instruct him on the Bible. They left Goa in November 1579, and arrived at the Court in Fatḥpūr Sikrī in February 1580 and had an audience early in March. Rudolf was an Italian and of noble descent, his father having been Duke of Atri in the Abruzzi and his paternal uncle Claude Aquaviva being General of the Jesuits. Rudolf was born in October 1550 so that he was 15 or 16 years younger than Monserrate. The two missionaries lived together for a good while but in February 1581 Monserrate accompanied Akbar in his

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expedition to the Punjab and Afghānistān. See Commentary p. 580. In November 1582 Akbar and Monserrate returned to Fatḥpūr Sikrī. Rudolf, who had joined Akbar at Lahore, also came back with him. In May 1583 Rudolf took leave of Akbar and went to Goa, and in July of that year he was killed by the villagers. May 1583 is given in Father Goldin's book (Chronology Table) as the date of Rudolf's return, but Father Hosten says (p. 521) that he left in February, and perhaps May is the date when Rudolf arrived at Goa. Monserrate had already left for Goa in the end of 1582 in order to go with Akbar's Moghul Ambassador to Portugal. But the embassy never got any further than Goa. Monserrate was at Goa when Rudolf was killed, but apparently was not present at the martyrdom. Eventually Monserrate was sent on a mission to Ethiopia, but was wrecked at Dofar in Arabia and was captured by the Turks there and taken to Eynam and afterwards to Sanan where he was imprisoned for over six years. He finished his Commentary there in January 1591. He was ransomed and returned to Goa in 1596. He was afterwards posted to Salsette and died there in 1600.

Monserrate's simple piety gave an explanation of the real cause of the failure of the mission. It failed, he says, because Akbar's invitation for the mission had not been divinely inspired (Comm. 638) for if this had been the case nothing could have stopped or prevented its success. *Nam si opus hoc a Deo fuisset, nullis incommodis, aut obstaculis, inpediri non potuisset. At vero, quia non erat a Deo, per seipsum,* etiam renitente Rege, *concidit et dissolutum est.*

No, dear Father Monserrat! Your mission, at least as far as you were concerned, was not a total failure. It gave rise to a valuable book. We should remember too the lines in the Epic of Hades, which John Bright admired and which tell how far high failure overleaps the bounds of low success. Nor was Rudolf's blood altogether wasted. Doubtless his teachings and his death had a good influence on Akbar and Muḥammadan Court.

Monserrate has a long and eloquent eulogium on Father Rudolf who, no doubt, was a noble-minded man, but wanting in

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gnosis. He might have done much good at Agra. He might have converted Akbar's three sons who were all favourably disposed towards him and were allowed by Akbar to attend his teaching. He was a quick man and speedily attained a good knowledge of Persian. But he weakened himself by his fastings and scourgings and did much less good to India and the world than Monserrate. The latter produced a book of priceless value, and stuck to his post. Nor was he responsible for the deaths of four Christians, and for the cruel reprisals perpetrated by the Portuguese civil authorities.

Monserrate worked at his book for eight years and finished it in 1591. He does not tell us much about himself, but there is something touching in his finding consolation for his years in prison from the fact that he had a priest as his companion to whom he could make a full confession (propter exomologesem). Poor man, shut up as he was, he could not have material for a long confession. That he was not all unhappy is shown by his saying of his imprisonment that his lines had fallen in pleasant places.

Selīm, afterwards Jehāngīr, accompanied his father, and so also did Murād, the second son, to whom Monserrate was tutor. Father Rudolf, the Duke's son, remained at Fatḥpūr. His uncle was Claude Acquaviva the General (Praepositus) of the Jesuits order. Rudolf went up-country afterwards to meet Akbar on his way back from Cabul, but fell ill at Sirhind. He afterwards joined Akbar at Lahore, and the two returned together to Agra or Fatḥpūr. He eventually left the Court and went back to Goa in 1583, where he arrived in May. Three months afterwards he was killed by the Hindu villagers of the Goa-Salsette, along with four other Christians at Cunculim. All five were beatified by the Pope as recently as 1893. Rudolf was more brilliant than Monserrate and distinguished himself by the rapidity with which he acquired the Persian language. He was perhaps more ascetic and saint-like than Monserrate, but I doubt if his canonisation was altogether justifiable. Apparently, he had no business to go destroying idols, which was what led to his death. For he was only

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a private individual and was not supported in his visit to Cunculim by the Portuguese civil authorities. This point was taken by the Devil's advocate at one of the investigations into his claims as a martyr, but probably it was feebly urged. He himself had a keen desire to become a martyr, and was distressed to find that there was little chance of thus acquiring such a crown as long as he was at Akbar's Court. He had the intolerance and impatience of his youth and upbringing. To me it seems that he committed a great mistake in leaving Fatḥpūr. It is true that there was no likelihood of his converting Akbar, and how could he expect Akbar to repudiate his more than 300 wives, and to confine himself to the aged lady whom he had married in his childhood. Akbar might have answered as Agrippa did to St. Paul: "With but little persuasion thou wouldest fain make me a Christian." But he might have exercised a great and beneficial influence over Akbar's wives and children. Akbar allowed the missionaries to talk freely to his children and even to proselytise them.

Monserrate was sent off to Ethiopia after the failure of the embassy to Europe. He was captured at Dhofar or Dofa (Ẓafr ?) in South Arabia in the end of 1588 or beginning of 1589. From there he was taken to Eynan (Ainad) and then to Sanan. Altogether he was 6½ years a prisoner in Arabia. His imprisonment does not seem to have been a hard one. He calls it an ergastution and I am not sure if this means that he had to work or that it was confinement only. He was released at last, perhaps in consequence of a ransom, and returned to Goa in the end of 1596. He died at Goa-Salsette in March 1600.

When Monserrate went off with Akbar, his companion and superior Father Rudolf remained alone at Fatḥpūr Sikrī. He was of high rank and of stainless character. But he was young and impetuous and wanting tact and commonsense.

Akbar liked him and regretted his death. But it seems evident that Akbar preferred the quieter Monserrate as a companion for he took him with him in his long march to Cabul instead of Rudolf. He, however, left Monserrate at Jalālābād out of consideration for his health.

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That Father Rudolf had a ready wit is shown by the dexterity with which he met the outcry of a Parsee at Surat. They were discussing religious topics and the Father, perhaps accidentally, opened a casquet (scriniolum) which contained some relics. They were the bones of St. Stephen, the Protomartyr and other saints. The Parsee was horrified, started back and said "These are the bones of dead men, I cannot wait here and I must rend the clothes I am wearing." Rudolf pacified him by saying: "We do not carry about with us dead men's bones. These are the bones of living men." And with that he closed the casquet. A similar remark was made not long ago, though from a different point of view, when there was a question about the proper site for a bridge over the Hooghly. The engineers found that the best site for one end of the bridge was one which was very near some saints' graves. The Muḥammadans objected to these being disturbed. An Englishman replied that the saints were dead and so would not be hurt by the removal of the bones. But the rejoinder was that saints were not dead though no longer on earth, but were still living.

The question arises, what should now be done with Monserrate's autograph Commentary? He wanted to send it to Rome to the general of the Jesuits. But, apparently no autograph or copy was ever sent there. Monserrate died in India in 1600, and his papers seem to have been dispersed. Perhaps, they fell into the hands of that eminent but misguided antiquary and scholar Colonel Wilford who, I believe, was a Hanoverian. It seems to me that the proper thing to do now would be to follow the example of the Archbishop of Canterbury and his gift to America of the Log of the Magbloner and to send the Calcutta Cathedral autograph to the Jesuit College in Rome, or to the Pope.

But I think that another attempt should be made to find another copy, and that before sending the autograph to Italy, it should be submitted to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and that they be requested to revise the edition published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Father Hosten did excellent work in editing the Commentary but it is difficult to edit properly from

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one copy. Experts too might be asked to examine the MS. and to furnish full notes. Several readings want revision.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
1.	Author's praise and prayer to God	1
2.	March of the sacred army of the Shāhinshāh from Aḥmadābād to the Port of Cambay, and his beholding the Sea ..	13
3.	Rapid march of H.M. the Shāhinshāh against Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., the battle and the defeat of the enemy ..	17
4.	H.M. forms the design of taking the Fort of Surat ..	24
5.	Battle of Khān A'azam M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and the Fūlādīāns, and their defeat ..	32
6.	The opening of the Fort of Surat by the key of the lofty genius of the Shāhinshāh	39
7.	Beginning of the 18th Divine year from the accession, viz., the year Shahriyūr of the second cycle	45
8.	Return of the Shāhinshāh's Cortège to Agra after the conquest of Gujarāt	48
9.	Arrival of H.M. at the Capital	55
10.	The expedition of the Shāhinshāh for the second time to Gujarāt, and his return with victory	59
11.	The arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Aḥmadābād, the uplifting of the banners of conquest, and the victory over Muḥammad Ḥusain M.	72
12.	Return of the World-conquering standards to the Capital ..	90
13.	Second expedition of H.M.'s army to Bengal and Bihār, and the punishment of the evil and seditious	96
14.	The sending of Prince Sulṭān Selīm to school	105
15.	H.M.'s visit to Ajmere	110
16.	Beginning of the 19th year from the accession, viz., the year Mihr of the second cycle	112
17.	Expedition of the Shāhinshāh by Water to the Eastern Provinces	122
18.	The arrival of the holy Cortège of the Shāhinshāh at environs of Patna, and his addressing himself to the taking of the city	135
19.	The capture of the fort of Patna, the flight of Dāūd, and H.M.'s flying march	140
20.	Departure of the Shāhinshāh's Cortège for the Capital, and arrival on the way of the news of the victory of Bengal ..	150
21.	The arrival of H.M. at the Capital (and building of a House of Worship)	157

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CHAPTER		PAGE
22.	Introduction of the law about branding, and the guiding of men to truth and fidelity	165
23.	Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān's wars in Bengal, the defeat of Dāūd, and other events	169
24.	Beginning of the 20th Divine year from the accession of the Shāhinshāh, to wit, the year Ābān of the second cycle ..	181
25.	Dāūd's coming to see Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, and the adorning of the feast of concord	183
26.	Affairs of the province of Bihār, increasing performances of Moẓaffar Khān, and his return to favour	187
27.	Visit to the Ḥijāz by some of the vieled ladies of the Caliphate	205
28.	M. Sulaimān's proceeding towards the Shāhinshāh's Court ..	211
29.	The entrusting of the Government of Bengal to Khān Jahān	226
30.	The Royal Cortège proceeds to Ajmere	232
31.	Beginning of the 21st Divine year from the holy accession of the Shāhinshāh, viz., the year Āẓar of the second cycle..	235
32.	The brightening of the lamp of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and the sinking of the Rānā into the darkness of flight ..	244
33.	Expedition of the Shāhinshāh to Bengal and his returning from the first stage	248
34.	Expedition to Ajmere, etc.	259
35.	Beginning of the 22nd Divine year, viz. the year Dai of the second cycle	283
	The appointment of Sa'īd Khān to be tutor to Sulṭān Daniel, and his thanksgiving	288
36.	The glorification of the battlefield by the swords of Wazīr K. and Rajah Todar Mal, and the defeat of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M.	292
37.	Another visit of Akbar to Ajmere	298
38.	The stirring up of strife by Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. for the second time, and his failure	301
39.	Concerning the education of H.M.'s auspicious sons ..	308
40.	Expedition of H.M. to the Punjāb, the appearance of the comet, etc.	310
41.	The defeat of Rajah Madhukar by the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh	324
42.	Beginning of the 23rd Divine year from the holy accession, viz., the year Bahman of the second cycle	337
43.	The enjoyment of H.M. in a Qamargha hunt, and his capture of the prey of his desires	345
44.	The rapid journey of H.M. to Ajmere, and his return to the Capital	361

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CHAPTER PAGE

45. The increased splendour of the 'Ibādat Khāna from the brilliance of the acuteness of H.M. the Shāhinshāh .. 364
46. Beginning of the 24th Divine year from the holy accession, to wit, the year Isfandārmaz of the second cycle .. 385
47. The acceptance by all the wise men of the age of the spiritual primacy (ijtihād) of the world's Lord 390
48. The honour done to Quṭbu-d-Dīn Khān by his being appointed to be Atālīq to Prince Sulṭān Selīm 401
49. Expedition of H.M. to Ajmere 402
50. Rebellion of the Bihār Officers, and the appointment of World-conquering armies to punish those ingrates 415
51. The wonderful good fortune of the Shāhinshāh at the time of the rebellion of the Bengal Officers, and their punishment 426
52. Beginning of the 25th year, to wit, the year Farwardīn of the third cycle 436
The appointment of Sharīf K. to be guardian of Prince Sulṭān Murād, etc. 458
53. The defeat of the rebels in the Eastern Provinces .. 467
54. M'aṣūm K. Kābūlī makes a night attack, and is defeated .. 472
55. The tearing of the veil of reverence by M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, and his soldier in dusthole of failure 483
56. Expedition to the Punjāb, and the failure and return of Ḥakīm M. to Kabul 492
57. Victory of the Imperial servants, and the vagabondage in the desert of failure of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī 496
58. The failure of Ḥakīm M. and his hasty return to Kabul .. 506
59. Beginning of the 26th Divine year from holy accession, to wit, the year Ardibihisht of the third cycle 510
60. Arrival of the army on the bank of the Indus 516
61. Expedition to Kabul 522
62. Rapid march of H.M. to Kabul 529
63. Victory of Prince Sulṭān Murād, and the disgraceful defeat of M. Ḥakīm 532
64. Forgiveness of the offences of M. Ḥakīm, and return of the army to India 541
65. Arrival of the Royal retinue at Fatḥpūr 548
66. Beginning of the 27th Divine year, to wit, the year Khurdād of the third cycle 556
67. Return of Gulbadan Begum and other chaste secluded ladies from the journey to the Ḥijāz 569

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CHAPTER		PAGE
68.	Victory of Sādiq K. and death of Khabiṭa	574
69.	Exaltation of M. Khān by being made the guardian to Prince Sulṭān Selīm	583
70.	Beginning of the 28th Divine year from the accession, to wit, the year Tīr of the third cycle	589
71.	The watering of the garden of dominion, and the uprearing of the palace of World-rule	598
72.	The sending of M. Khān to quell the disturbances in Gujarāt	607
73.	March of the Royal standards to Ilāhābād (Allahabad) ..	616
74.	Victory of Shāhbāz K. and the vagabondage of M'aṣūm K. Kābulī	619
75.	March of H.M. to Fatḥpūr the Capital	626
76.	Wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh and the defeat of Sulṭān Moẓaffar Gujarātī	631
77.	The disgrace of Sulṭān Moẓaffar a second time	638
78.	Beginning of the 29th Divine year, to wit, the year Amardād of the third cycle	644
79.	The arrival of Shāhrukh M. at the Court of the Shāhinshāh..	662
80.	Marriage of Prince Sulṭān Selīm	677
81.	The disgrace of Moẓaffar Gujarātī for the third time ..	679
82.	Beginning of the 30th year from the holy accession of Shāhinshāh, viz., the year Shahriyūr of the third cycle ..	685
83.	Expedition to the Punjāb	702
84.	The arrival at Courts of the sons of Ḥakīm M. and of the Kabul soldiers	712
85.	The appointment of an army for the conquest of Kashmīr..	715
86.	Beginning of the 31st Divine year from the accession, to wit, the year Mihr of the third cycle	738
87.	Return of H.M. towards Fatḥpūr	744
88.	The illumination of Lahore by the advent of the Shāhinshāh	748
89.	The sending of Qāsim K. to conquer Kashmīr	752
90.	Draft (sawād) of the Shāhinshāh's letter	754
91.	The conquest of the flourishing country of Kashmīr through the fortune of the Shāhinshāh	762
92.	The arrival, for the second time, of M. Sulaimān at the sublime Court	785
93.	Beginning of the 32nd year, to wit, the year Ābān of the third cycle	789
94.	The marriage of Prince Sulṭān Murād	791
95.	The despatch of an army under Maṭlab K., and the disgrace of the Jalāla Tārīkīs	794

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CHAPTER		PAGE
96.	Beginning of the 33rd year from the accession, to wit, the year Āẕar of the third cycle	806
97.	Beginning of the 34th year from the accession, to wit, the year Dai of the third cycle	816
98.	Expedition of Akbar to the delightful country of Kashmīr ..	817
99.	The arrival of the standards of fortune at the Capital of Kashmīr	827
100.	Return of H.M. the Shāhinshāh from Kashmīr the paradisaical	839
101.	Expedition to Afghanistan (Zābulistān)	855
102.	Return of the august standards of the Shāhinshāh from Kabul	861
103.	Beginning of the 35th year from the accession, to wit, the year Bahman of the third cycle	871
104.	Beginning of the 36th Divine year, to wit, the year Isfandārmaẕ of the third cycle	889
105.	Victory of the K. Ā'ẓim M. Koka and the disgrace of Moẕaffar Gujarātī	902
106.	Departure of Prince Sulṭān Murād to take charge of the province of Mālwa	911
107.	Beginning of the 37th Divine year from the holy accession, to wit, the year Farwardīn of the fourth cycle ..	927
108.	The victory of the Imperial servants, and the defeat of M. Jānī Beg by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh	929
109.	Conquest of Orissa by the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh..	933
110.	M. Jānī Beg makes peace and surrenders Sīwistān ..	938
111.	H.M. proceeds to Kashmīr	943
112.	The conquest of Jūnagarh and Somnāth, and the victory of the Imperial servants over the country of Soreth.. ..	948
113.	The cessation of the disturbance in Kashmīr, and the bringing the head of Yādgār Kul to Court	950
114.	Return of the World-illuminating standards to India ..	959
115.	Capture of Sulṭān Moẕaffar Gujarātī and the end of his life ..	962
116.	Return of the august standards to Lahore the Capital ..	966
117.	Beginning of the 38th Divine year from the holy accession, to wit, the year Ardibihisht of the fourth cycle ..	971
118.	Arrival of Rustum M. at Court	992
119.	Beginning of the 39th year, viz., the year Khurdād of the fourth cycle	998
120.	Letter of H.M. the Shāhinshāh to Persia, account of the Ottoman Dynasty	1008

Digitization by Arya Samaj Charitable Foundation, Chennai

CHAPTER.		PAGE
121.	Beginning of the 40th year, to wit, the year Tīr of the fourth cycle	1023
122.	Arrival of the victorious troops at Qandahar, and the tranquillisation of that country	1026
123.	Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. glorifies his forehead by prostrating himself at the holy threshhold	1030
124.	Rajah 'Alī K., the ruler of Khāndesh, joins the victorious troops	1042
125.	The arrival of the victorious soldiers in the Deccan, and the seige of the fort of Aḥmadnagar	1045
126.	Beginning of the 41st Divine year from the holy accession, to wit, the year Amardād of the fourth cycle	1049
127.	Increase of the Shāhinshāh's dominion	1050
128.	Letter of the Shāhinshāh to 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg the King of Tūrān	1053
129.	Ṣādiq K. is victorious with the help of the Shāhinshāh's fortune	1065
130.	Victory of the Imperialists and defeat of the Deccanīs ..	1070
131.	Beginning of the 42nd year from the accession, to wit, the year Shahrīyūr of the fourth cycle	1074
132.	Third expedition of M.H. to Kashmīr	1077
133.	Return of the august standards to India and the arrival at Lahore	1095
134.	Beginning of the 43rd year from the accession, to wit, the year Mihr of the fourth cycle	1102
135.	Expedition for the taking of Aḥmadnagar	1114
136.	Agra, the Capital, receives glory by the coming of the Shāhinshāh	1119
137.	Beginning of the 44th Divine year from the accession, viz., the year Ābān of the fourth cycle	1121
138.	Death of Sulṭān Murād	1125
139.	The arrangement of the army of the Deccan by means of the wonders of daily-increasing fortune	1128
140.	The sending of Prince Sulṭān Daniel to govern the Deccan ..	1132
141.	Uprearing of the august standards in the direction of Mālwa ..	1140
142.	Expedition of H.M. for the taking of Āsīr	1146
143.	Beginning of 45th year from the accession, to wit, the year Āẕar of the fourth cycle	1148
144.	The capture of the fort of Aḥmadnagar through the fortune of the Shāhinshah	1157

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CHAPTER PAGE

145. The capture of Mālīgarh by the might of daily-increasing fortune 1163
146. The capture of Āsīr by the help of fortune 1168
147. Beginning of the 46th year from the accession, to wit, the year Dai of the fourth cycle 1177
148. The return of H.M. to Agra the Capital 1183
149. The arrival of H.M. at Agra 1192
150. Beginning of the 47th year from the accession, to wit, the year Bahman of the fourth cycle 1206
151. Beginning of the 48th year from the holy accession, to wit, the year Isfandārmaẕ of the fourth cycle 1228
152. Beginning of the 49th year from the accession, to wit, the year Farwardīn of the fifth cycle 1238
153. Departure of the return of fortune for Allahabad, and the turning back at the first stage 1242
154. The death of Miriam-Makānī, etc. 1245
155. Beginning of the 50th Divine year from the accession, to wit, the year Ardībihisht of the fifth cycle 1252
156. Death of Prince Daniel 1254
157. Events of the death of Akbar the Great 1258

Errata and addenda to Volume III of the Akbarnāma 1263

Prefatory note to the Index to Volume III of the Akbarnāma .. 1275

Index .. .. (1)

Errata and addenda to pages 1 to 22 of Index to Volume III of the Akbarnāma .. .. (67)

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.: Akbar.
A. F.: Abu-l-Faẓl.
A.H.: Hijra.
A.N.: Akbarnāma.
A.S.B.: Asiatic Society of Bengal.
B.: Badāūnī (historian).
Bib. Ind.: A.S.B. ed. Akbarnāma, printed at Calcutta.
B.: Beg, Begam, Bengal and Blochmann.
b. brother.
d. daughter and district.
f. father.
s. son.
B.M.: British Museum.
H.M.: His Majesty.
I.G.: Imperial Gazetteer of India.
D.A.: Darbār Akbarī (a book).
I.O.: India Office.
J.: Jahāngīr and Jarrett.
K.: Khān.
l. line.
M.: Mīrzā.
M. K.: Mīrzā Koka ('Azīz K.) and Mīrzā Khān, i.e. Khān Khānān M. 'Abdurraḥīm.
M.U.: Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā.
Muḥ.: Muḥammad.
n. note.
P.: Page, Persian and Prince.
P.T.: Persian Text.
prov. province.
R.: Raja.
S.: Shaikh and Saiyid.
T.A.: Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī.
t. town.

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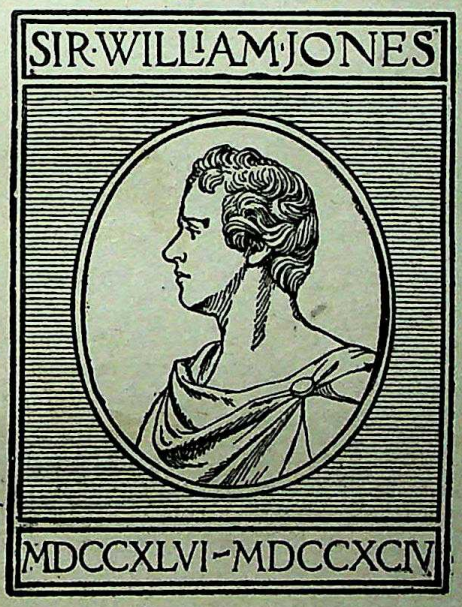

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CHAPTER I.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Verse.

I refresh my words with the name of God
For his name guides to Reality.
For to this end gave He us tongues
Speech [1] cannot rival Praise in weight
What weight can God-knowing Reason assign to it?
In the desert which casts down the litter
Men cannot tread with speech's foot
The orator whose fame resounds to the sky
Utters in this plain the cry of lamentation.

Alas, Alas! What strength has an accidental atom tossed about in the desert of bewilderment and thirst to attempt the comprehension of the stablished Sun? What force has it to rise from the hollow of Error to the height of Recognition? How can it reckon potsherds of its fancies and the frayed tinsel of its knowledge among the rareties of the storehouse of truths and the excellencies of substantive treasuries?

Verse.

The Divine mysteries are not comprehended by us
Nor is the ocean contained in the cowry! [2]
Neither sage nor simpleton can grasp them
The chamaeleon [3] is blinded, even as the bat.

But simple-minded terrestrials convert into materials for Divine praise, whatever perfections they find in the record of their own

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[1] This and the following line are obscure, and the Lucknow editor's note does not remove the difficulty. In his edition the lines are reversed, and so are they in the variant.

[2] *Goshmāhī*, lit., "fish's ear."

[3] The chamaeleon is fabled to have powerful sight and to be ever gazing upon the sun. Hence the Persian name of *āftāb-parast*, "sun-worshipper."

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conduct, or gather from the volume [1] of enlightenment, and although the incomparable Personality be excluded from their ken they regard those things as the Divine Attributes. Inasmuch as the unequalled Creator chants His own praise with the glorious voice
2 of His marvels and recites the tale of His panegyric with creation's tongue, even if I admitted that there could come to any one the heaven-measuring power of eulogising God, still such an one would stay his hand when so great a blaze of the sun of truth was presented to his eye and ear, and would not turn to his own skill nor lift the head of understanding from the abyss of ecstacy. And let praise for ever and ever be given to the divinely chosen ones, who are the gardeners of the aromatic herbs of morals, and the unveilers of spiritual and physical mysteries, for that they have in this glorious audience hall consigned the books of their own knowledge to the waters [2] of silence, and have trodden the line of ignorance, folded up the pages of their eloquence and opened a tongueless [3] tongue. Therefore it is far better that this wanderer in bewilderment's desert should address himself to the recording the events of a rule which is conjoined with eternity and should by one [4] great performance in some degree set in order two arduous tasks!

Quartain.

Glory to God the Incomparable, the Formless
That He hath made such a mirror of His beauty as the Shāh.
His glorious substance is beyond thought's ken
And his letter is beyond Reason's line,—Glory to Him!

His (Akbar's) keen eye is the astrolabe [5] of the substantive sun—his truth-discerning heart is the celestial observatory of Attributes—he is of noble lineage, of joyous countenance—of right disposition—

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[1] Either the book of nature, or religious writings. Possibly the Koran is meant. A.F.'s meaning seems to be that though God cannot be known, yet mortals take whatever is excellent in themselves, or others, and regard it as Divine Attributes.

[2] Papers used to be destroyed by throwing them into water.

[3] Meaning that they have practised "expressive silence."

[4] He means that by recording Akbar's actions he also performs his duty of worshipping God. See his preface.

[5] God is the substantive or personal sun, and Akbar the astrolabe which reads the sun.

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of open brow—of well-proportioned frame—of magnanimous nature—of lofty genius—of pure purpose—of enduring faith—of perfect wisdom—begirt with varied talents—of wide capacity—of high honour—of splendid courage—of right judgment—of choice counsel—of generosity unfeigned—of boundless forgiveness, abundant in graciousness—at peace with all-compendium of dominion—of plenteous sincerity—multiple of single-minded warriors—abounding in wealth—accumulator[1] of the world's rareties—of pure heart—unspotted by the world—leader of the spiritual realm—of enduring alertness! How has he been gathered together into one place? Or how doth a single body upbear him on the shoulders of genius?

Verse.

Sphere of wisdom and vision, Akbar Shāh the Only One
Whose brow has opened on the earth like the dawn
A king whose eyes have been lessoned by the heart
A king who has been taught by Wisdom in person.

Glory be to God the Creator, who hath made the adorner of the kingly throne a witness of His lovely and awful attributes, and hath made the standard-bearer of God's shadow an ensample of His glorious praises.

Verse.

An Alexander-minded Elias[2] the producer of the fountain
Determiner of the Pole-star, expounder of the Almagest
The substance of kingship and saintship is in him
The magazine of divine mysteries is in him
From his great power, he is the head of princes
From his wondrous wisdom, he is the famed of epochs
While night and day endure, may his night be day 3
May his kingdom's jewel illumine the night.

If (even) by rising and falling (*i.e.*, stumbling) I cannot attain to the court of his praise (because) auspicious speech has not been granted to me, nor the glory of wisdom vouchsafed, and if I address

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[1] Probably this refers to Akbar's having gathered round him all the great wits of the age.

[2] Elias found the fountain of life which Alexander failed to find.

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myself to the beginning of that task with a short-fingered hand and a broken pen, I shall be involved in a typhoon of shame, and shall find no path [1] to the shore of the ocean! How shall I describe in mortal speech his noble qualities and glorious gifts which are known to those who preside over the heavens? Who shall dare to advance beyond the limit of his capacity? 'Tis true enlightenment to turn away my heart from this and to address myself to my noble task with the help of the arm of Faith. I must accept the secret message and withhold my soul from the suggestions of the devilish carnal spirit (*deo-nafs*), [2] and by legitimate necromancy make my inner and outer man dazzling to the eyes of the profound and critical. I must fulfil in some measure the various obligations of expressing thanks and carry on the task of adorning dominion. I must suspend in the antechamber of my being the charm for awakening the sleepers and the talisman for insensing the infatuated.

Verse.

I wrote in this book the thought
That a memorial of me might remain in the world
Perhaps on beholding this garden
Friends may utter a benediction on me
By virtue of imploring the genius of the ancients,
May my [3] heart and speech accord.

When favour was shown to me the empty-headed one, and the door of design was opened for me, a ray was cast upon my clear heart to the effect that a separate volume should be indited for every thirty years of the transactions of the earth's lord, so that the heavy burden of expectancy should be lightened somewhat for the students of the age, and that mortals might be cheered by learning something of the wondrous fortune of the world-ruler. And also that there

[1] از من تا خاشاک دریا ره نمی ماند *lit.* from me to the rubbish (or flotsam) of ocean no road remains. The passage has puzzled the copyists, for there are different readings. One MS. Add. 26, 27 reads *Az mauj ba*, from the wave, instead of *az mantā*, and the Lucknow ed. has این خاشاک.

[2] Possibly the *deo-nafs* means the inclination to sloth and to abandon the task. The language of this preface is throughout very forced and obscure.

[3] Or perhaps, "May my mind and words be like theirs."

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might be for all—both those near and those afar off—a general distribution of the Divine abundance. With this view, the series of endless epochs was begun at the commencement of the existence of the Lord of the saints. With this heavenly note the drums of joy beat high.

Quatrain.

I hope that this record may become valuable
That it may be impressed on the world and be a thing of joy.
From the blessing of the wise king's approbation.
It receives both its name and its fame.

Though this is the middle of the seventeenth Divine year from the accession of the Prince of rulers, yet a message of eternal dominion brought the mandate that the second cycle should be dated with reference to the time of the brightening of the face of the "Beloved of Creation" (*shāhid-i-āfrīnish*).

Verse.[1]

Let the second cycle begin from the Birth
May it be glorious, O God, by conquests
May the foot of his dominion be stable, and his fortune firm
May he be an eternal king in a fading world
A happy morn has dawned for the Age 4
May this orient light fill the western sky
The throne of his fortune's power long endures
Whom celestial auxiliaries have chosen.

One [2] of the occurrences of this time was that Sulaimān Kararānī

[1] The first lines are quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe 363, as the beginning of an ode by Faiẓī in celebration of the completion of the thirtieth year. Faizī wrote *Khilāfat* (Caliphate), and A.F. has changed this into *vilādat* (birth). Though the literal rendering is "from the birth' what is meant is "with reference to the birth" *viz.*, the first 30 years of Akbar's life which ended in the middle of the 17th year of his reign.

[2] The text gives no date, but at least three MSS. in the I.O. *viz.*, Nos. 235, 236 and 257 of Ethé's catalogue have عزة ابان, "the beginning of Ābān," before the word Sulaimān, and one B.M. MS. Add. 26, 207 has the same. The words must also have occurred in the MS. used by Chalmers. I have no doubt that the words are authentic, and they are important as fixing the date of Sulaimān's death for which B.

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who exhaled the breath of power in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar departed this life. Ascetic sages, and politicians who had regard to the repose of mortals, which is bound up with one rule, one ruler, one guide, one aim and one thought, recognised in the emergence of this event an instance of the helps of fortune, whilst those who were void of understanding and who made the agitation of the black-fated Afghans in the eastern provinces an argument in support of their own views, and opposed the expedition to Gujrat, were by this event cast into the pit of failure. Another faction whose narrow intellects could not comprehend the idea of marching to Gujrat and of overcoming it, and which indulged in foolish prattle, made the event a pretext for prating and urged the propriety of marching to the eastern provinces. As the God-worshipping Khedive reflected that the oppressed ones of Gujrat should be brought into the cradle of grace he did not give ear to these futilities and said with his holy lips that it was good that the news of Sulaimān's death had come during the march to Gujrat, for had it come while he was in the capital, assuredly he would, out of deference to the opinions of most of his officers, have addressed himself in the first place to an expedition to the eastern provinces. What necessity was there now for the Shahinshāh's personal visit to these countries after Sulaimān's death? Now the conquest of that country would be accomplished by the skill and courage of the officers. Accordingly an order was sent to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān that he should conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa in concurrence with the other officers.

One of the occurrences was the wounding of the Khān[1] Kalān. The account of this is as follows:—The Khān Kalān and other great officers—who had been made a vanguard—reached the town of Bhādrajan[2] which is near Sirohī, and were halting there. Rai

only gives the year, see 427n. Properly, Sulaimān's death should come into the second volume, for it occurred on 1 Ābān and Akbar's birthday was on 8 id, and accordingly some copies have put this paragraph before the Khātima or conclusion. But perhaps A.F. went by the date when the news reached Akbar, 1 Abān 980 is 11 October 1572.

[1] Mir Muḥammad the elder brother of Shamsu-d-dīn Atka. B. 322 and the M'āaṣir III. 211.

[2] J. II. 276 where it appears as belonging to Jodhpūr. Gladwin has Bhadrajoon and Tiefenthaler I. 308 Tahaur ahoun. It is not mentioned in the I. G. or the Rajputana Gazetteer. It is marked in the Atlas vol. of I. G. Plate 34, and lies between Jodhpūr and Sirohī.

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Mān Singh Deohra, the chief of Sirohi, took to feline tricks and sent some Rājputs as envoys, and professed obedience. When they had paid their respects to the Khān Kalān, he, at the time of dismissal, called up each one of them, and, in accordance with the Indian custom, was giving *pān* to each and bidding them adieu. One of these daring and furious men struck a blow with his dagger between the Khān Kalān's collar-bone so that the point came out below the shoulder-blade to the extent of three finger-breadths. Bahādur K. Turbatī, one of his servants ran and felled the Rajput to the ground. Ṣādiq Khān and Muḥammad Qulī Khān acted with promptitude and killed him. Others were stretched upon the ground as being involved in his wickedness. When the truth of the affair was 5 brought to the hearing of H.M. he, in contradiction to the foolish fancies of men of small capacity, prosecuted more earnestly the conquest of Gujrat. He arrived on the day of Tīr, the 13 Abān Divine month (about 20 October 1572,) at the place where the officers had been previously, and who now came in to welcome him. When he perceived that there was such rebellion on the part of the men of Sirohī he issued an order that the victorious troops should march to Sirohī and should demolish the rebels thereof. He also decided to go there himself. On the day of Sarosh, the 17 Abān Divine month he encamped in the territory of Sirohī. The presumptuous ones of that country took refuge in the mountain-defiles. In accordance with the custom which prevails among turbulent Rajputs of a number surrounding their master's palace, and of some of them establishing themselves in an idol-temple, a large body of men collected in a temple[1] of Mahādeo which was one *kos* distant from Sirohī. The world's lord restrained the alert heroes from making war on this canaille and sent off swordsmen and archers on foot to account for these doomed ones. Among the servants of the threshold of fortune, Dost Muḥammad, the son of Tātār Khān missed his way and drank the sherbet of death.

One of the occurrences was that Yār 'Alī Beg Turkamān came with a number of Persians on behalf of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudā-

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[1] Probably this is the temple of Sarneswar, (Saraṇeswar) about two miles from Sirohī, and on the way to Erinpura, described in the Rajputana Gazetteer III. 125.

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banda, the eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was governor of Khurāsān for his father, with the rareties of Persia as an emissary.[1] He was received with princely favours.

At this stage (Sirohī) an order was issued to Rai Rai Singh and a number of servants to abide in the territories of Jodhpur and Sirohī and to exercise supervision therein, so that if the disaffected should on hearing of the advance of the royal army wish to come out of Gujrat and cause disturbance in the imperial territories, they might be prevented. When the Shāhinshāh's mind was at ease about the affairs of that country he marched onwards. From the borders of Pattan he sent forward Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn [2] with rescripts to 'Itimād Khan, who had repeatedly sent petitions and had expressed desires for the arrival of the exalted court, and gave him salutary advices to guide him in the paths of auspiciousness. When H.M. had halted in the vicinity of the town of Dīha,[3] the intelligencers reported to him that when Sher Khān, who had possession of Ahmadābad, had heard of the royal advance he had fled to the territory of Surat [4] and Jūnagarh, and had sent his sons Muḥammad Khān and Badar to
6 Pattan to convey his family and goods to places of safety. They had now done so and were proceeding to rejoin their father. Also that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., who had come to help 'Itimād Khān, had gone back to his own estate and that 'Itimād Khān intended to wait upon H.M. H.M. sent Rajah [5] Mān Singh and a body of troops to seize Sher Khān's sons, but they fled to the defiles. The troops, however, came up with their baggage and were victorious. On the day of Ashtād 26 Ābān Divine month, corresponding to Saturday 1 Rajab (7 November) 1572, H.M. encamped in the pleasant city of Pattan which was formerly known as Nahrwāla. The inhabitants, both high and low, showed reliance on the justice and kindness of the Shāhinshāh and tendered their homage. H.M. directed his

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[1] Ṭahmāsp was then living and Khudābanda was only governor of Khurāsan. Cf. Elliot V. 342 where the statement that Ṭahmāsp had also sent the ambassador is a mistranslation.

[2] Son of Mīr Qāsim, Blochmann 406.

[3] So in text, but doubtless Dīsa in Gujrat.

[4] The variant Sorath is probably right.

[5] He was only Kuar till Rajah Bhagwān's death, and is generally called so by A.F.

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attention to Mīrzā Khān and questioned him about the martyrdom of Bairām Khān (his father). In his graciousness he said that he would make over Pattan to him, and that as at present he had not the means [1] of looking after it, Saiyid Aḥmad Khān would be appointed to take care of it. From this place he deputed Ḥakim 'Ain-al-mulk to bring to court 'Itimād Khān and Mīr Abū Turāb. Mīrzā Muqīm, who was related to M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain, was one of the first to take the path of auspiciousness and to come and kiss the threshold. Here, too, the good services of Moẓaffar Khān were called to mind, and as his merits were found to outweigh his defects, an order was issued rescinding his departure for the Ḥijāz, and bringing him to Court. On 3 Āẕar Divine month or 7 Rajab (13 November 1572), H.M. marched towards Ahmadābād.

When he reached Jutāna [2] it appeared that Moẓaffar Gujrātī, who was the document of sovereignty for the Gujrātīs, had separated from Sher Khan Faulādī and was wandering about in a distracted state in the neighbourhood. Mīr Khān Yesāwal and Farīd Qarāwal were sent, and after them were despatched Abū-l-qāsim Namakīn [3] and Karm 'Alī to investigate and to bring that confused wanderer to court. When Mīr Khān had gone some way, Moẓaffar's umbrella and canopy fell into his hands. He was then joined by Mīr Abū-l-qāsim and Karm 'Alī who had followed him. They went on and at last Mīr Khān seized Moẓaffar, who was hiding in a corn-field, and brought him before H.M. He had compassion on him and made him over to Karm 'Alī. On the night of the same day Mīr Saiyid Ḥāmid Bukhāri and Ulugh Beg Ḥabshī arrived with their troops and did homage, and were encompassed with royal favours. No long time had elapsed after that when Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn and Ḥakīm Ainu-l-mulk brought to Court Mīr Abū Turāb, who was the chief 7
counsellor of Gujrat, and reported that 'Itimād Khān was coming to offer his submission. Before Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn arrived, he had sent Mīr Abū Turāb, Wajīh-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān to court in order that they might procure him fresh confidence and then return.

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[1] On account of his youth. His father's body was apparently still there then. It was removed to Mashhad in 985 (1577). According to the Maaṣir I. 381, it was first taken to Delhi.

[2] So in text, but should be apparently Chotana, Blochmann 518.

[3] Blochmann 470.

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When Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn met in with the envoys, he comforted them and went on to 'Itimād Khān. Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk came and turned back Abū Turāb and carried him to Aḥmadābād. After much discussion all the Gujrat officers and grandees of that country set their hearts to loyalty and glorified the faces of the coins and the tops of the pulpits with the name of H.M. the Shāhinshāh and proceeded to court. 'Itīmād Khān dismissed the ambassadors along with Mir Abū Turāb from the town of Karī.[1] When this news was brought to the royal hearing, Khwāja Jahān, Khān 'Ālam and Ṣādīq Khān were deputed to welcome them and they conducted them with honour. Next day, when the royal standards had advanced from Jūtāna, 'Itimād Khān and a large body of persons drew near. Khwāja Jahān, Mīr Abū Turāb and a number of others were ordered to hasten forward and to exalt him by bringing him to do homage. H.M. mounted in his glory on an elephant, the envoys brought forward 'Itimād Khān and he was made illustrious by performing the prostration. After that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, Malik Mashriq,[2] Jujhār Khān Ḥabshī, Wajīha-al-mulk and Mujāhid Khān came and kissed the carpet, and each was received with favour proportionate to his position. 'Itimād Khān and some of the nobles of Gujrat were ordered to mount (on elephants ?) and to come nearer. H.M. conversed with them the whole way and encouraged them and halted at the town of Kari. Saif-al-mulk and some others were in Maḥmūdābād. Ṣādiq Khān and other servants were sent to give these loiterers the bliss of doing homage. At this station, as a matter of prudence and caution—which are adjuncts of administration—the Gujrat officers were summoned and told that H.M. would entrust the country to 'Itimād K. and would leave him all the officers he wished for. It was proper that each of them should give security so that there might be no failure of vigilance and forethought, and that the conditions of honourable conduct (*futuwat*)[3] might be ful-

[1] Kadī, in Baroda.

[2] The text has Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, the son of Mashriqī, or the Mashriqī, but it appears from the T.A. and the Iqbālnāma that Malik Maskriq or Malik Ashraq is the name and that he is another person than Ikhtiyār-al-mulk. Malik Sharq or Ashraq is mentioned in Chapter III as acting as guide to Akbar. He was afterwards made collector of Thānesar and is mentioned by Badayūnī, p. 223.

[3] *Futuwat* generally means liberality. Perhaps the meaning is that if

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filled. Mīr Abū Turāb engaged to be security for 'Itimād K., and the latter became surety for all the others except the Abyssinians. H.M. ordered that the Abyssinians should be included among the royal slaves on the same terms as they had been slaves of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. In observance [1] of certain matters, which were necessary for the guarding of sovereignty, they were made over to the great officers. Next day the standards of fortune halted at the village of Sāntaj.[2]

One of the warning occurrences was that a crew of libertines and **8** vagabonds of that country—where there are thousands of such—raised a shout to the effect that a sublime order had been given that the people of the army of fortune should plunder the Gujrātī's camp. They began to do so and a great commotion resulted. When this came to the Khedive's hearing, he summoned the great officers and ordered them to inflict punishment on the plunderers, and to put to death those who were found in the possession of plunder. He himself held a public court and had fierce elephants present. The rioters were brought before H.M. and were trampled under the feet of elephants. The goods were returned to the owners, and in a short time the disturbance was quieted, and there was a sound of peace and security. By the glory of this justice the newly acquired territory became a seat of tranquillity. On the day of Ābān 10 Āẕar Divine month or 14 Rajab (November 20, 1572) the standards were set up in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād, and merely by the glance of the Shāhinshāh a work which a crowd of men would have regarded as difficult was accomplished with ease. A multitude of men, high and low, submitted and were made happy. Everyone according to his means returned thanks[3] for the deliverance from

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the Gujrat officers gave security, Akbar would be able to deal liberally with them.

[1] This passage is explained by the T.A. Elliot V. 343, where it is mentioned that Akbar's officers were suspicious of the Abyssinians and reported to this effect to Akbar who ordered the headmen (*sirdārān*) should be made over to trustworthy servants of the Court.

[2] There is the variant Sāhaj. I have not found the place. According to the Mirāt Aḥmadī the riots mentioned in the following paragraph occurred at Ḥājīpūr.

[3] *Shukrāna.* Apparently this refers to the amount of *peshkash* or presents tendered by each.

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the calamities of the age, and was honoured by the sublime glance. Aḥmadābād which is the metropolis and has 380[1] pūrahs (quarters) *i.e.*, wards, each of which is like a city, became a scene of heavenly excellences from the glory of the advent of the Shāhinshāh. H.M. several times entered this city. The wishes of many generations of mortals were fulfilled; the oppressed obtained favour, and the oppressors sank into the abyss of destruction. The talented came out of the secret chamber of capability into the conspicuousness of action. On this day[2] of joy the festival of weighing the Shāhīnshāh was held and there was rejoicing upon rejoicing. The solicitous obtained their wishes, and the prayers of the suppliants were heard. At this time, while the camp was at Aḥmadābād, the envoys of Amīn[3] Khān Ghorī arrived with suitable presents and had the bliss of performing homage. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. sent a hypocritical petition and presents, but as he was not sincere, he did not find acceptance.

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[1] In the Aīn. and in T.A. the number is given as 360. See J. II. 240.

[2] The particular day is not specified. If, as usual, the day chosen was Akbar's birthday, it should have been 5 Rajab, but this occurred before he arrived at Ahmedābād.

[3] He was ruler of Jūnagarh, etc. A.F.'s account of the two expeditions to Gujrat should be compared with the accounts in the T.A., both in the part which gives the history of Akbar, and in the part which gives the history of the kings of Gujrat. Niẓam-ud-dīn had served in Gujrat and his descriptions are often fuller and more correct than A.F.'s. See especially Elliot V. 360-70. It was 'Itimād Khān's intrigues which led Akbar to interfere in the affairs of Gujrat. 'Itimād first produced Moẓaffar or Nathū and swore on the Koran that he was Sulṭan Maḥmud's son, and then when Moẓaffar left him for the Afghans (Sher Khān Fulādi and others), 'Itimād turned round and wrote that Moẓaffar was not the king's son.

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CHAPTER II.

March of the Sacred Army of the Shāhinshah from Aḥmādabād to the Port of Cambay, and his beholding the Sea.

When the delightful country of Gujrat had become the abode of peace and tranquillity by the advent of the Shāhinshāh, he made over the government of Aḥmadābād and this side of the river Mahindri (*i.e.*, the Mahī) to the Khān A'aẓam M. 'Azīz Koka. The other side, 9
viz., Baroda, Cāmpānīr, Surat, and the districts which had been usurped by the Mīrzās were entrusted to the Gujrat officers who had bound on the straps of fealty and had been included among the imperial servants. 'Itimād Khān Gujrati was placed at the head of them, and these officers, new and old, engaged to administer the territories, and to extirpate the Mīrzās. Thereafter H.M. determined that after he had visited the sea, he would return to the capital (*i.e.*, Aḥmadābād). Accordingly on the day of Asman 27 Āẕar Divine month or Monday 2 Shābān, 2 December 1572, he marched to the port of Cambay which is thirty *kos* from Aḥmadābād. The Gujrat officers took leave for some days in order to make their arrrangements and stayed in the city. He left Ḥakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk, who had relationships with them, in order that he might civilise these savages of the desert.

On the march he heard that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk had in his wickedness absconded, and that 'Itimād Khān and the other Gujrat officers were on the point of falling into evil ways. Accordingly Shahbāz Khān received orders to go there quickly and come with those traitors and prevent them from turning into the desert of error.

On 1 [1] Dai Divine month H.M. encamped at the port of Cambay so that pleasant spot became the meeting-place of the spiritual and material oceans. The merchants of Rūm,[2] Syria, Persia and Turan regarded the advent of the Shāhinshāh as a great boon and paid their respects. H.M. embarked on a ship with a select party, and

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[1] T.A. Friday, 6 Shabān (12 December 1572).

[2] The Iqbālnāma has Farang (Europe) instead of Syria.

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made an excursion on the sea. The hearts of the sincere received a fresh instruction. On the day of Shahrīyūr 4 Dai, Divine month, Shāhbāz Khān brought 'Itimād Khān and some other of the Gujrātī officers to Court. As these wicked and deceitful men had broken their engagements of loyalty, H.M. again turned his attention to the affairs of the country and made over each one of them to a faithful servant. The short account of those evil-conditioned men is that timidity, deceit, and falsehood have been mixed up with a little honesty, simplicity and humility (*farotanī*, perhaps meanness) and made into a paste (*m'ajūn*) to which the name of Gujrāti has been given. Among these 'Itimād Khān was the leading specimen. When the reverberation of the fortune of the sublime army rose high in Gujrat, the officers thereof lost hold of the thread of counsel. At last they contrived a scheme and did homage, but all their thought was by this deception to keep up the old state of things. As H.M. is an ocean of benevolence he winked at their inner wickedness and encompassed them with favours. Although farsighted counsellors who had to some extent understood the dispositions of those evil-minded ones, and had by hints and also by clear language suggested their arrest, their proposals were not accepted. On the contrary the position of those men (the Gujrātīs) was made yet confidential. At the time when H.M. went off to witness the spectacle of the ocean, it was evident from their taking leave and remaining behind that this wicked crew had evil designs. What campaign had they made that it was imperative that they should at this time take leave? But the world's lord, from his reverence and gracious-
10 ness, took the view that they were honest, and when those wretches saw the glorious justice and the daily increasing fortune of the king, they perceived that now that so wide as a territory had been made brilliant by his equity, it was impossible for them to remain in it according to the old, old way, and that it would be better for them to retire and raise the head of turbulence. On the night[1] of the second day after H.M.'s departure, Ikhtiyār-al-mulk took the oppor-

[1] The T.A. Elliott V. 243 says Akbar left Aḥmadābād on Monday, 2 Sh'abān (8 December 1572), and that Ikhtiyār-al-mulk fled towards Aḥmadnagar and Īdar on the 4th id. This Aḥmadnagar was in Gujrat some 20 miles from Īdar. See Mirat Aḥmadī.

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tunity to desert, and 'Itimād Khān and all those who were in league with him were on the point of going off when Abū Turāb and Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk arrived. The conspirators sought to ruin them by tricks and pretences and sought to detain them and to use up the time by discussions and stratagems. It nearly came to their being imprisoned and carried off and to their being put to death and to the evil schemes being carried out. Just then Shāhbāz Khān arrived, and their evil intentions did not become acts. Shāhbaz Khān considered with himself that if he hastened to arrest Ikhtiyār-al-mulk, this crew would escape. Without raising the veil from over the acts of those disloyal ones, he went off to the threshold of fortune. As H.M. the Shāhinshāh is a touchstone for all classes, the false coin of these men was soon revealed, and they met with their punishment. The right-thinking and magnanimity of the world's lord were revealed to mankind and the links of sway maintained. The good fortune of the farsighted was conspicuous and also there was a demonstration to the general public of the conduct of the faction. The good name of the Shāhinshāh was written on the pages of the hearts of high and low. If H.M., in accordance with his own secret perception or with the requests of the clear-sighted ones of the court had before this put those evil-doers into confinement, how would the real state of the case have been made manifest to the general public, with whom—the blind and superficial—rulers have principally to do?

When the Shāhinshāh's mind was free from the affairs of these wicked and two-faced men, he addressed himself to the extirpation of the seditious Mīrzās. For from the time when that crew had, after failing in Malwa, come to this country, Baroda had come into the hands of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., Surat into those of Muḥammad 11
Ḥusain M. and Cāmpānīr into the hands of Shāh M. H.M. made over the charge of the port of Cambay to Ḥasan Khān Khāzāncī and on the day of Amardād 7 Dai Divine month, proceeded towards Baroda. From near Baroda he sent Shahbāz Khān, Qāsim Khān, Bāz Bahādur Khān and a body of active men towards Cāmpānīr in order to free that fort from the rebels. Khān Aāẓam M. Koka was sent off to the government of Ahmadābād. He instilled into the mind of that auspicious one many principles of government such as the love of justice, continual watchfulness, the having regard to the

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ranks of mankind, the preservation of their honour, the observing of peace with all, etc., and bade him confirm him (Akbar) in his good opinion of himself. He (Akbar) also appointed as his assistants Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Khān, Dastam Khān, M'aṣūm Khān, Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and a large number of loyal heroes, and he encompassed them with favours above their positions. His purpose in sending them was that they might inflict suitable punishment on the Mīrzās if they should try to raise a disturbance there. On the day of Āzar the 9th of the said month (Dai) he reached Baroda. Next day he learnt that the ill-fated Mirzas had strengthened the fort of Surat and had collected near Cāmpānīr. The Khān 'Aālm, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥram, Rājah Bhagwant Dās, Mān Singh, and Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Iṣfahānī [1] and another body of troops were deputed to give those infatuated ones a lesson. It was past midnight when an intelligencer brought news that when the news of the advance of the Shāhinshāh's army reached Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. in the fort of Broach, he put to death Rustum [2] Khān Rūmī who had resolved on becoming loyal and wished to do homage. Though he could not maintain himself in that fort against the world-conquering standards, yet the wine of presumption in his brain was making him pass by at a distance of eight kos from the camp of fortune, in order that he might cause a disturbance in the country. As many of the loyal servants had already
12 been sent against those vagabonds, the world-lord—who in his excess of courage always wished to wield his sword in the battlefield,—was pleased, and determined that he would personally make a rapid expedition and chastise those evildoers.

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[1] The variant is Āṣofkhānī is preferable.

[2] This is the Rustum Khān who had so long defended Broach. It appears from this account that it was not altogether in breach of a compact that Ibrāhīm put him to death.

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CHAPTER III.

Rapid march of H.M. the Shāhinshāh against Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., the battle and the defeat of the enemy.

As H.M. knew that the chastisement of the presumptuous and rebellious was at the head of the deeds of sovereignty, he sent off Shahbāz Khān Mīr Bakhshī quickly in order that he might turn back the officers who had previously hurried off to put down the Mīrzās, and cause them to join the imperial force. He left Mīr Muḥammad the Khān Kalān, Khwāja Jahān, Shujā'at Khān and Ṣādiq Khān in the camp and in charge of the princes (Akbar's children), and put his foot in the stirrup of victory. He took with him Khwāja 'Abdullah, Jalāl Khān Qūrcī, Raisāl Darbārī, Āṣaf Khān, Jaimal,[1] Bahādur Khān Qūrdār, Maqbul Khān, Aqā[2] Sarkh Badakhshī, Mathurā Dās, and Adam Tājband. Dilāwarkhān[3] was ordered to remain on the edge of the camp and to see that no one else should follow them. H.M. did not judge it proper that more than two[4] or three servants (*mardum*) of his companions should go with them lest Ibrāhīm Ḥusain should decamp on account of the crowd of victorious warriors. Though those loyalists who had the privilege of speech implored and lamented, it was of no avail. He said that such was his reliance on God's help that he needed not a large force to quell those wretched insurgents. But out of farsightedness—which is the foundation of conquest and world-rule—he ordered that the army[5] which had gone in advance should be united with his band.

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[1] The Iqbālnāma has Wazīr Jamīl, and this is probably right. He is the man who afterwards turned traitor in Bengal.

[2] There is the variant Wāfa, and the Iqbālnāma has Wafa Cela and Sarkh.

[3] The Iqbālnāma has *dilāwarān*. Brave men were ordered.

[4] The text has *dū kas* "two persons," but as I.O. M.S. 236 and B.M. Or. 26, 207 have *du sih kas* "two or three persons," I have adopted that reading. I.O. MS. 235 has *du sih hazār kas*, "two or three thousand persons."

[5] *Lashkar-i-pesh*. This must the army which had previously marched against the Mīrzās, and which the Bakhshī Shahbāz K. had now been sent to recall. It is mentioned again a little lower down.

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On the same night that the news of the rebels had been brought, he mounted his swift steed when about two hours of night remained and went off at a gallop. Malik Ashrāq[1] Gujrātī was added as a guide, as he was acquainted with the country. On that swift journey the guides went wrong owing to a design of Providence. At last the path was found by the illumination of the sun of fortune and they went on still more rapidly.

One of the mysterious indications, which caused joy to H.M.'s comrades, was that when it became morning, and the world-lighting splendour of the great luminary took possession of the world, a deer
13 appeared. It passed into the mind of the Shāhinshāh that if he caught this deer it would be a sign of victory. So a *cīta* was slipped, and immediately the deer was captured. When this became known to H.M.'s followers their hearts were strengthened a thousandfold and they addressed themselves to the march. No trace of the enemy could be seen. It appeared as if they had heard of the victorious, royal army, and had increased their pace. Delay was also caused by the cavalcade's missing its way. When two hours of day remained, they fell in with a *brahman* and inquired from him about the enemy. He said they had crossed the Bikānīr[2] river and encamped in large force at Sarnāl, and that the distance was about four *kos*. H.M. took counsel with his followers. Jalāl Khān said, "Our troops have not come up yet, and the enemy is in force. When we are so few in number it is not advisable to engage in daylight with so many. The proper thing is to halt a while and make a night-attack." The mine of truth and courage did not approve of a night-attack, which is a form of deception and fraud, and in order to encourage his comrades, said, "Courage is a helper, and many cowards become brave men out of shame. It is far better not to be

[1] Ashraf in text, but Ashraq is the correct reading.

[2] So in text, but there is evidently an error. Elliot VI. 37 has Sakānīr, and Bird's Gujrat 310 has "the ford of Bīākāpūr." Evidently the river is the Mahindrī or Mahī, and perhaps the place is Wancaneer (Wankānīr) marked as on the Mahī, between Aḥmadabad and Baroda, in the map to Bayley's Gujrat. The Bombay Gazetteer VII. 539 mentions the town of Vāsopura as a place where the Mahī is fordable. The original of the Mīrāt Ahmadī has "the river Mahindrī at the ford of Bīkānīr." Bom. lith. 120.

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put off the work of the day till the night, and to fight with the smartness and alacrity that we are marching with." He uttered words of encouragement and said, "Friends, be stout-hearted, and let each one of us overthrow a foe." Khwāja 'Abdullah said "Your Majesty will remember that you have often said that 'A good elephant is one who is not satisfied with overthrowing one opponent but addresses himself to the casting down and trampling upon many.'" H.M. commended this speech, and resolved, heaven helping, to fight by day,[1] and pushed on faster than ever. At last the town of Sarnāl,[2] which was on the top of a hill, appeared in sight. After H.M. had proceeded a little way further, he drew up his men on the banks of the Mahindrī, and ordered them to put on their cuirasses. At this time, when this Tiger of God was preparing for combat—and not more than forty men had arrived, news came of the approach of his other troops. He was angry at their delay, and said to his companions, "We'll not suffer them to share in the fight with us." But when it was explained that the cause of their delay was that they had hurried off in an opposite direction and also that Shahbāz Khān, who had been sent to call them, had been long in coming up with them, his wrath was appeased, and he permitted some of them to present **14** themselves. The Khān 'Aālm, Ṣaiyid Muḥammad Khān Bārhā Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Kuar Mān Singh Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, Bhūpat, Salīm Khān Kākar, Bhoj, Hajī Yūsuf Khān and many others of the officers and cavaliers bent forward the head of shame and joined the royal cavalcade. So the number of the troop became about two hundred. At the time of crossing the river Mān Singh petitioned to be placed in the van. H.M. said, "What force have we that we should make a division. To-day we are all one and have set our hearts upon the fight." He begged, saying, "It is the privilege of devotion to go a few steps in front and to show life-sacrifice." The just prince granted his desire and allowed him and some experienced warriors to go in front. He himself, proceed-

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[1] Akbar's meaning was that it was advantageous to fight in daylight as then men were ashamed to run away.

[2] Sarnāl seems to mean "Head of the river," and A.F. plays on this, saying it was head of the hill. It is not marked on the maps and seems to have disappeared. It is entered in the Ain as in Sarkar Aḥmadabad. Persian text, p. 494.

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ing on *pari passu* with the Divine assistance, put his bay horse into the deep river. By the good fortune and miracle of his personality the river became fordable, and all the loyal servants crossed in safety. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had a little while before halted in the town of Sarnāl. When he saw the dust of the victorious army and the horsemen crossing the river he recognised the Divine glory (*far Īzdī*) and said to his companions, "Evidently the king is here from their crossing so splendidly." From illfatedness and shortness of vision he immediately prepared for battle and came out of the town and took post on rising ground. When Ḥ.M. had crossed the river the bank was found to be very rugged.[1] The devoted heroes abandoned prudence and pressed forward. Parties of them came into the broken ground, and sought for a means of success. The lord of the earth and a few of his immediate followers came to the gate of Sarnāl which faced the river, and then some of the wretches tried to oppose him. Maqbul Khān, a Qalmāq slave, and some brave men rushed forward and levelled them with the dust. When they got into the town they found the streets full of baggage, and it appeared that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had gone out with the rest of the rebels by another road and was prepared for battle. The world's lord and a party of kindred spirits got out, with great difficulty, from the narrow and encumbered streets, and he addressed himself to encouraging his followers. Bābā Khān Qaqshāl and his bowmen were driven off by the enemy. The other heroes stood firm. Many of the practised warriors, who had got separated in the ravines, came in from every side and attacked the foe. One of them, Bhūpat[2] the brother of Bhagwant Dās, became confronted with a number of the enemy, and bravely yielded up his life.

15 *Verse.*

In every corner there was a hot engagement,
There was a dealing with an ill-fated set,
As the troops were few but fortune was friendly
They were better than numbers and difficulties

[1] The Mirāt Aḥmadī says the broken ground is called *Kotar* by the people of Gujrat. Bombay lith. 121.

[2] Badāūni calls him Bhunpat, and says he was Bhagwān's son! The Iqbālnāma calls him the brother's son of Bhagwān.

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For in war the result is from the stars
Not from wealth and a large army.

As the ground was rough and there were thorn bushes[1] two horsemen could not advance abreast. The tiger of the forest of courage displayed the power of God and slowly advanced by the narrow ways. Rajah Bhagwant Dās was close beside him, and when on every side there was hard fighting three daring men rushed from out the ranks of the opponents against the lion-hearted sovereign. One of them made at Rajah Bhagwant Dās and aimed his javelin at him, but the Rajah stood firm in his stirrups and attacked him with his spear. The javelin did not hit its mark, and the Rajah so smote that wretch with his spear that he was overthrown. Just then the other two attacked H. M. The thorn bushes were an obstacle, and the Khān 'Aālm, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and some others who were near at hand, were so unfortunate as not to be able to assist. That tiger-slayer and world-champion, when he saw that those two evildoers were coming near him, urged on his horse and jumped over the thorns and in front of them. The glory of the Divine radiance affrighted them and they fled. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. was vanquished by the fortune of the King.

Verse.

Dost thou not know that when he engaged in combat
Fortune uttered the cry of "Beware"!
What brave man will seek a contest with him?
What courage will he have to look on his brow?
He so fights that heroes, high or low,
Fall down as if drunk with wine.
At each onset he strides thirty paces,
At each wound an elephant falls down.
The soldiers fly in crowds on crowds:
They give themselves to the river and the rock.

All at once they fled in confusion, and the warriors pursued them and killed many. By the blessing of the Shahinshāh's personality such a great victory was obtained by a few.

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[1] Zaqqūm, either euphorbia antiquorum, or a cactus.

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Verse.

No one has seen such fighting in the world
Nor has heard of such from the skilled in history.

The account of this great masterpiece is beyond the mould of
16 language, and so instructive an event has seldom been met with among the feats of the ancients, to wit, that such a great King, at whose beck are a thousand armies, should, in his high courage and greatness of soul, not delay, but with a few of his own followers should make so long a march against so many brave troops, and should, by the Divine help, uprear the standards of victory and drive such haughty ones before him! Assuredly human power cannot account for such deeds, nor comprehend them. Clearly it is the special Divine favour to which they should be ascribed!

His world-conquering mind desired that the pursuit should not be given up till Ibrāhīm Husain should be seized, but as the cup of his life was not yet full the darkness of night threw a veil over him. Of necessity the farsighted Shāhinshāh returned and encamped in the town of Sarnāl.[1] He returned thanks to God and proceeded to reward his followers. He sent the bulletin of victory, which was full of the wonders of the Divine aid, to the camp by Surkh Badakhshī. Next morning he proceeded towards the camp, and on 12 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to the night of Wednesday the 18th Shāban (24 December 1572), he returned to the camp. The gates of rejoicing and thanksgiving were opened anew.

One of the occurrences of this time was that Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Ṣādiq Khān and some of the chosen heroes were appointed to go to the neighbourhood of the fort of Surat so as to allow none of the besieged to escape. When the news of the royal army reached the besieged in the fort, Gulrukh Begam the daughter of M. Kāmrān, and wife of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., took with her her son Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. and some of her trusty adherents and went off to the Deccan. Though the officers hastened after her they did not

[1] A.F.'s account of the battle of Sarnāl is translated in Elliot' History of India, VI, 37. There is also in vol. V, 344, a translation of Niẓāmu-d-dīn's account of the battle.

[2] The wording of the B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 differs considerably from the text, and represents a different recension. It states, as also does Niẓāmu-d-din, that Shah Qulī

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succeed,[2] and that wise woman manfully[1] got away from them.

Another occurrence was the chastisement[2] of Shahbāz Khān Bakhshī Begī, and the warning given thereby to all the pillars of the state. The cause of this direction was that Maḥmūd the son of Iskandar Afghan had been made over to his care, and that he managed to escape from his guards and go off to the Deccan. H.M. severely censured him. In fact it was kindness in the guise of wrath, so that the servants of the threshold of the Caliphate might not show slackness in the affairs of sovereignty—which in truth is a form of Divine worship—and should not lose hold of vigilance and wariness.

Maḥram pursued Gulrukh for fifty *kos*, and that though he did not catch her, he got hold of some of her belongings. The same MS. gives at the beginning of the chapter a long account of the fortress of Surat and of its construction by Khwājah Ṣafar (Khudāwand Khān, or Rūmī Khān). It seems that *chaukandi* was a defensive work, and apparently a tower, and that the Portuguese objected to it because it was in imitation of their own buildings.

[1] Cf. "stirring up her womanish thoughts with a manly stomach." II Maccabees. C. VII, 21.

[2] According to the account in B.M. Add. 27, 247, Shahbāz Khān was bastinadoed, but so that no visible marks were made. It would seem as if this account were the one originally written by A.F., and that a vestige of it remains in the expression kindness, or pleasantry (*laṭfī*) in the guise of anger. The pleasantry was in the beatings not being severe.

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CHAPTER IV.

H.M. FORMS THE DESIGN OF TAKING THE FORT OF SURAT.

When it was ascertained that the rebels were making the fort of Surat—which is in Gujrat on the bank of the Taptī and near the
17 ocean—their place of refuge, and were labouring to strengthen it, and had made it over to Hamzabān, who formerly had been among the *qūrcīs*[1] (body-guards) of the Shāhinshāh, but whom an evil fate had now included among the mutineers, H.M. turned his attention to the taking of the fort. Rajah Todar Mal, who was distinguished for foresight and mental activity, was directed to go and examine the methods of ingress and egress of the fort, and to submit a report as to how it could best be taken. He reported[2] that the capture of the fort could be very easily effected. But it was decided that the untying of this knot should be done by H.M. in person. It was from looking to the majestic fortune of the Shāhinshāh that the Raja represented this difficult task as an easy one. If he had had regard to ordinary considerations he never would have ventured on such a bold statement. But at a time when so extensive a country had come into possession, and the sovereign had come a long way from his capital, and had for some months been behind the shields

[1] Badāūynī speaks of him as having belonged to Humāyūn's body-guard.

[2] B.M. Add. 27, 247 says that Todar Mal returned within a week and reported. There is some confusion in the text, and it seems that there is another recension which is represented by Add. 27, 247. What happened apparently was that Todar Mal reported that the fort was an insignificant affair and that there was no need for Akbar's going in person to take it. Abul Faẓl's comment on this is that this was not the real state of the case—the taking of the fort was a difficult task—but that Todar Mal considered that it was not right that Akbar should go there in person when he had been so long away from his capital, and there were so many more important matters calling for his attention. So Todar Mal relied on the good fortune of Akbar's arms and represented the task as easier than it was. Akbar assented to Todar Mal's reasoning about his being required elsewhere, etc., but still judged it proper to go in person to Surat.

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of the army, and when the seditious were everywhere lifting up their heads, both those of Gujrat and those of the eastern provinces, how could it be right so great a lord should personally undertake the reduction of a fort? The ruler of the world perceived in his farsightedness that although the circumstances were of this nature, yet if the disposal of the affair were left to the officers there might be delay in accomplishing it, and that if he did not give his personal attention to the matter, the root of those evildoers, which was supplying them with the means of strife, would remain fixed in the soil of sedition as before. Accordingly he determined that he would personally undertake the task and make easy what was difficult. An order was issued that Shāham Khān Jalāīr should proceed with a number of loyal heroes towards the fort of Cāmpānīr, and that Qāsim Khān Mīr Baḥr, who was there, should come to head-quarters, as he was H.M.'s best pupil in the matter of making *sābāṭs* and driving mines. An order was also sent to the Khān A'aẕam, informing him that H.M. was about, with God's help, to accomplish this work, and that he, as the arm of dominion, should see, in concert with the other officers who had been left to assist him, that if the turbulent Mīrzās should invade the country they should be suitably punished. As caution was the foundation of administration, Sher Beg Tavācī had been sent to Mālwa to direct Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān and the Mālwa officers, who had been ordered to Gujrat, to proceed thither as quickly as possible so 18
that, if necessity should arise, the whole body of officers should be at his (Khān A'aẕam's) disposal, and clear the country of rebellious rubbish.

When the Shāhinshāh's mind was at rest about the affairs of Aḥmadābād he marched on the day of Bahrām 20 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 25 Shābān (31 December 1572), from Baroda towards Surat. He moved on, stage by stage, hunting and administering justice as he went, and at last reached the neighbourhood of the fort on the day of Ardībihisht 3 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 7 Ramẕān (11 January 1573). Balls from cannon and culverins came several times into the holy quarters, but by the Divine protection they did no harm. As the station was very near to the fort, H.M. at the request of his officers moved to a place near the Gopī

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Tank.[1] That, too, was near the fort, but it was screened by forest, and uneven ground. Here, too, cannon balls reached the bounds of the quarters, but the Divine protection did its work. H.M. invested the fort with his victorious troops, and assigned each side of it to experienced loyalists. The besieged in their evil-fatedness and blackened hearts turned away from the sun of fortune, and in reliance on the strength of the place, the abundance of provisions, the number of cannon, etc., and the recalcitrancy of the Mīrzās, fell into the abyss of insouciance. Some of them continually sallied forth and made attacks on the batteries. The lives-devoting heroes exerted themselves in chastising these wretches. One of the occurrences was that on a day when there was a rain of balls and bullets from above, and an attack from below by some rebels on the miners in the batteries, Saif K. had fought and distinguished himself. As he was coming back he was struck by a bullet. Though he was confined to his bed for a month, he eventually recovered. Some one said to him: "H.M. is not pleased with you, and why do men like you take the lead for he says[2] to many who have not attained to your rank, "Why do you knowingly and intentionally throw yourselves into such dangerous positions?" That loyal warrior replied: "At the battle of Sarnāl I missed my road and could not be present at that manhood-testing place. From the disgrace of that day my life is a burden to me and I wish to make it lighter."

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[1] The text merely has *kūlābī*, a tank, but a note to the text says that many MSS. have Kolī talāo, and this occurs also in MSS. Add. 26, 207 and 27, 247. But the true reading is Kopī, *i.e.*, Gopī talāo, and this is found in several MSS. Gopī was a Hindu and the founder of Surat about the end of the 15th century. He wished to call the city Suraj or Suryapūr, but the Muḥammadan king of Gujrat preferred to give it a name which was also that of the chapters of the Koran, and called it Surat. Gopī made a tank and lined it with stone, intending it to be the chief ornament of the city. The site of the tank is still known and is still called Gopī talāo, but it is now only a hollow and is used as a garden. See Bombay Gazetteer II. 70 and notes. See also "The Parsees at the Court of Akbar" by Jivanji Jamshedji, Bom. 1903, Du Perron's notes, p. 186. Gopīpurā is in the suburbs of Surat and near Salābatpura and Rustampurā.

[2] The use of the word *mīfarmāīnd* seems to show that the remark quoted is by Akbar. I conjecture that for bisyārī we should read *ba bisyārī*.

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One of the occurrences of the siege was the obtaining possession of some elephants and baggage of the Mīrzās. The brief 19
account of this is that those blind and inauspicious men had made over some of their elephants and other property to Rānā Rām Deo, a landholder of that part of the country. When the sublime camp halted there the camp-followers went out on a plundering expedition, and those elephants, etc., came into their hands. They regarded this as a good omen and brought them to H.M. who rewarded them by princely gifts.

One of the occurrences of this time was the deputation of some of the officers to the capital. The brief account of this is that Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh M. were near Pattan and were waiting in ambush there for an opportunity to cause a commotion. Ibrāhīm Husain M., who had come away with disgrace from the battle-field of Sarnāl, joined those two rebels at Īdar. It is the nature of the dominion which is conjoined with eternity that dumbfounded enemies show an activity in upraising the standards of its victory which surpasses that of the loyal, and exert themselves for their own loss. Instances of this occur in this book of fortune. The new instance was this, that a discussion arose among the brothers about Ibrāhīm's defeat at Sarnāl. From criticism they came to violent language, and from that to a quarrel. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., who was skilful as a swordsman and distinguished for his want of sense, was displeased with his brothers and separated from them, and foolishly resolved to make an attack on the capital. His haughty brothers, from their evil destiny, were glād of the departure of such a brother and did not try to appease him. When this news came to the ears of H.M., he appointed S. Maḥmūd K. Bīrha, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Rajah Bhagwant Dās to the capital, so that they should follow Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. An order was also issued to Shāham Khān that he should retire from the siege of Cāmpānīr and hasten to Kālpī which was in his jāīgīr, as the general report was that the turbulent man (Ibrāhīm) had rushed off there. When the great officers reached the capital the commotion of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had already subsided and the eastern Afghans had raised up their heads. Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān was asking for help. Rajah Bihārī Mal, who had charge of the administration of the capital, sent the army off to the eastern provinces. It had reached Etawah

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when Lūdī left Dāūd, and a stone of dispersion fell among that crew. Consequently it hastened back to the capital.

When the narrative has come so far it is necessary for the historian to give a brief account of the eastern provinces. The concise statement of this long story is that when Sulaimān Kararānī, who
20 had been one of Selīm Khān's officers, became possessed of Orissa Bihār and Bengal, he as being a hypocrite, did not openly cast aside the thread of obedience. He always sent petitions and presents and so kept himself known at court. On account of this adroitness the veil of his hypocrisy was not rent away. Whoever does not bind himself to the saddlestraps of such a lord of fortune (as Akbar) will some time have the dust of ruin cast upon his head and on the heads of those connected with him. Especially shall anyone who enters into opposition to his lord soon receive his retribution, and leave no trace of his dominion. The case of Sulaimān is a fresh instance of this truth. When he died the Afghans raised up Bāyazīd his eldest son in his stead. His elevation helped his folly, and he in conjunction with the vagabonds of that country, had the khuṭba read in his own name. In his presumption he abandoned the dissimulation by which his father had tamed the haughty and rebellious and proceeded to oppress and vex them. He made a practice of overthrowing his father's counsellers. Hansū, the son of his cousin 'Imād, who was his son-in-law and was on friendly terms with him, became annoyed at his bad behaviour, and being stirred up to ambition by instigators of strife he had Bāyazīd put to death. Thus did this wretch disregard so many ties and commit such an act and thereby produce a result which the imperial servants could not have accomplished by a thousand endeavours. Lūdī, who was the rational spirit of the country, in concert with other officers raised up Sulaimān's younger son Dāūd, and arrested Hānsū and put him to death. Gūjar Kararānī, who was the sword of the country, set up in Bihār the son of Bāyazīd, and Lūdī set out for Bihār from Bengal with a large force. From Mun'īm Khān the Khān-Khanān's want of attention, and the tricks of Lūdī, Gūjar made out his expedition.

The brief[1] account of this is that when the death of Sulaimān became known, Mun'im Khān proceeded from Cunār towards Bihār.

[1] This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.

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At the same time Sikandar Uzbeg died, which was good for himself and for others. The Khān-Khānān sent Tengrī Qulī, Farrakh Irghlīq and Payanda Muḥammad Sagkash and others against Ḥājīpūr, and Ṭalibī, Mīrzā 'Alī and Nadīm Beg and others against Patna. Gūjar was not able to withstand them, so he sent presents and professed concord, and promised that he would enter the royal service, and would co-operate in the conquest of Bengal. My request is, he said, that I may this day be enrolled among the servants 21
of the Shāhinshāh, and that Gorakhpūr may be given to me for my family and dependents, and that the province of Bihār be given in fief to the King's officers, or that you leave Sarkār Ḥājīpūr and Bihār to me for this year that I may account for their produce to the State. Next year I can have my fief in Bengal." Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān accepted his request, and was about to give him Gorakhpūr. Meanwhile Lūdī who was the manager[1] of these towns and the crafty one of the province, got information of the affair, and in conjunction with Hāshim Khān, who was always of two colours, spoilt the arrangement. When Gūjar became hopeless of Mun'im Khān he of necessity arranged with Lūdī. Mun'im Khān retired after receiving suitable presents from Lūdī.

At this time news came that Yūsuf Muḥammad had taken Gorakhpūr and was prepared for strife. The account of this event is that Mun'im Khān had taken Yūsuf Muḥammad the son of Sulaimān Uzbeg with him to court and had represented his disloyalty. H. M. the Shāhinshāh ordered him to be[2] imprisoned in order that he might be watched and reformed. When the royal standards had moved to Gujrat the wretch escaped from his prison in the capital, and joining with some other vagabonds he took Gorakhpūr from Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash's people. When the Khān-Khānān heard of this he sent off Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Payanda Muḥammad Sag-kash, and Tengrī Qulī to quell this insurrection. He also set out in person from the town of Maḥmūdābād along with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl and other officers. On the way, Majnūn Khān and the other Qāqshāls got suspicious and

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[1] *Dimna.* A.F. apparently puns on the word, for *Dimna* though it means a steward or manager, is chiefly known as the name of one of the crafty jackals in the Anwār Suhailī.

[2] This part is translated in Elliot VI. 39.

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separated themselves from Mun'im Khān's army. The cause of this was that idle talkers and liars had spread a report that Bābā Khān Jabbārī, Mīrzā Muḥammad, Shāh Muḥammad and the other Qāqshāls who were in attendance on H.M. the Shāhinshāh in the Gujrat campaign had killed Shahbāz Khān and had joined with the Mīrzās, and that H.M. had issued orders for Majnūn Khān's arrest. The Khān-Khānān sent Mīr Farīdūn, Muḥammad Khān Uzbeg and Abū S'aīd to soothe Majnūn Khān and to bring him back. But though the envoys tried to contradict the rumours, they did not succeed. Meanwhile letters came from Bābā and Jabbārī full of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness and of their own good service Majnūn Khān was ashamed of his behaviour and proceeded to join the Khān-Khānān's camp. The Khān-Khānān had taken Gorakhpūr and had returned when Majnūn Khān arrived. Various courtesies passed between them. Meanwhile the day of Dāūd's destruction approached, and in his presumption he went towards Jaunpur. He sent on in advance
22 of himself Lūdī with the best troops and the choice elephants. Lūdī came with a large force and took Zamāniya. Muḥammad Qāsīm Muhrdār surrendered it on terms. The Khān-Khānān sent *sazāwals* and collected the officers. He also sent ahead Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Majnūn Khān, Qiyā Khān, Rajah Gajpatī and a large body of troops. He himself marched slowly forward. At that time he took an omen from the Divan of the Mystic Tongue (Ḥāfiẓ) and this distich was found.

Verse.[1]

O King of the beautiful, be just to the pain of my loneliness
Without thee, my heart is dying, 'tis time you return.

The Khān-Khānān quoted this ode in his petition and sent it to the court. He prayed for assistance from the holy mind of the Shāhinshāh, and went on to extinguish the flames of rebellion. Lūdī's presumption was increased by the capture of Zamāniya and he sent Yūsuf Muḥammad, who had fled from Gorakhpūr and joined the Afghans, across the Ganges with 5 or 6,000 men. M. Ḥasan Khān, Rajah Gajpatī, Naẓr Bahādur and Ṭālibī, Tengrī Qulī and others of the servants of Mun'im Khān relied on the Shāhinshāh's fortune and waged war discreetly. The rebels were

[1] See Rosenzweig-Schwannau's Ḥāfiẓ III. 12, also Elliot IV. 510.

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defeated, and a number were slain, and many drowned. After this victory Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and other officers joined the imperial forces, and an army was drawn up in Ghāzīpūr. The Khān-Khānān, too, joined them with a suitable body of troops. Lūdī built a fort between the Sīāh Āb and the Ganges and took post with a large army. Every day there were single combats between the brave men on both sides. Though the generals waged war manfully yet the enemy was superior in men, elephants and guns. As the imperial standards were engaged in the siege of Surat, Mun'im Khān proposed a peace. Lūdī in his haughtiness did not agree. The generals were in a strange position. To fight was not advisable, and it was difficult to retreat. Suddenly the good news of the Shāhinshāh's success arrived, and Lūdī eagerly made peace and retreated.

The account of this instructive occurrence is that when Dāūd went from Bengal to Monghyr, he put to death Yūsuf, the son of Tāj and his own cousin, from apprehension that Lūdī would set him up. Though this idea was really caused by the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, yet apparently it was the result of remarks by envious people. As Lūdī was an old servant of Tāj, and his daughter was betrothed to that son (Yūsuf), Dāūd believed whatever the evil-thoughted said about Lūdī. When the news came to Lūdī he left Dāūd, and with great urgency made an arrangement with Mun'im Khān, and sent suitable presents to court. When Dāūd heard that Lūdī had turned gainst him and was coming, he retreated in great confusion and fortified Garhī. He also distributed his father's treasures among the soldiers. Jalāl Khān Sadhaurī, and Kālā Pahār, who was called Rājū, left Lūdī, and a discussion broke out among his followers. Lūdī, who was marching against Dāūd, was obliged to retreat and take refuge in Rhotās, and ask assistance from Mun'im Khān. He plainly wrote that he had become a servant of the Court and that he wished to see him speedily, and hoped that by his help he would be exalted by kissing the threshold. Mun'im Khān sent assistance to him and waited for the arrival of the royal standards. Whither have my words gone, and how far have they carried me for the sake of enlivening my discourse ?

One of the occurrences during the siege of Surat was the defeat of Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and other rebels.

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CHAPTER V.

Battle of Khān A'aẓam M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and the Fūlādīāns, and their defeat.

The sage and acute-minded man knows that whenever the lord of the earth forms a right design, and engages in the tranquillising of mankind, the servants of the threshold of fortune become loyal under his auspicious guidance, and with one heart and endeavour recognise the work of their king, their teacher and benefactor, as the Divine command, and devote themselves to his service. The world's work is adorned and glorious actions are revealed. At once does the sovereign of the world become successful, spiritually and materially, and the loyal pass by their own loss and gain, and recognise the service of the sultanate to be the highest form of Divine worship. Thus they perform services such as seldom appeared in the times of former rulers. This tale of a great victory is an instance of this. The brief account of this Divine aid is that when Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. was driven out of Gujrat by the Shāhinshāh's fortune and went off towards the capital, Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and Shāh M. and the Fūlādīans, who were in the hills in a disorganised state, made a compact and came down upon the city of Pattan. Saiyid Aḥmad Khān exerted himself to defend the fort. When the news of the gathering of the rebels reached Khān A'aẓim, he assembled his forces, and by a happy coincidence Sher Beg Tawācī, who had been sent to fetch the Malwa officers, added to them Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, Shah Budāgh
24 Khān, Muṭṭalib Khān and the other fief-holders of Malwa. The Khān A'aẓim also sent persons and recalled Shaikh Muḥammad Bukhārī who was in Dūlqa, and who was preparing, under royal orders, to go to Surat.

When the officers were assembled, the Khān A'aẓim proceeded to arrange his forces in a proper manner. He himself took charge of the centre. Shāh Budagh Khān, M'uīnu-d-dīn Āḥmad Khān Farankhūdī and his son Ma'ṣūm Khān, and Muṭṭalib Khān and a large number were stationed there. Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān, Mīr

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Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Injū [1] held the right wing, and his (whose ?) men were on the flank of the right wing. Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, Muḥammad Murād Khān, Shāh Muḥammad Khān and Ḥājī Khān Afghān, the son of Khwaṣ Khān, adorned the left wing. Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn, Moẓaffar Moghal and Payīnda Arlāt were on the flank of the left wing. Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī and Mihr 'Alī Silduz were in the van. Bāz Bahādur and a number of others formed the *altimash*. After arranging his forces the Khān A'aẓim proceeded towards Nahrwāla which is best known as Pattan. On the day of Gosh, 14 Bahman, Divine month, corresponding to Friday, 18 Ramaẓān, 22 January 1573, the army reached the neighbourhood of Pattan. The enemy abandoned the siege and faced the victorious army. Sher Khān Fūlādī and Junaid Kararānī commanded the centre. Muḥammad Ḥusain M., Shāh M. and 'Aāqil Ḥusain M. commanded the right wing. Muḥammad Khān the eldest son of Sher Khān and Sādāt Khān held the left wing. Bidar Khān the younger son of Sher Khān Fūlādī commanded the van. The rebels did not intend that the fighting should begin that day, as the son of Jujhār Khān and other seditious ones had not yet joined them. Sher Khān Fūlādī, by a feline stratagem, sent men to Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī and proposed a reconciliation. Many of the leading men of the army who sought for safety did not consider properly and were disposed to peace. Shah Budagh Khān whispered to the Khān A'aẓim, "Beware, and do not agree to peace: the object of this crooked-minded crew is to put off the time." The Khān A'aẓim replied, "My opinion is the same as yours. As the minds of the officers were inclined for peace, and they did not understand the matter, and Sher Khān's agents used deceitful language, the Khān A'aẓim said, "If you are really for peace retire from the place where you are and encamp until we come to you, for it is not seemly 25
for us to retreat." As the words of this crew were deceitful and had no sincerity about them, they did not agree to this proposition. The imperial officers proceeded to the battle-field. And as it was generally stated that the Mīrzās would take the victorious army in the rear,

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[1] Ānjū in text. He is the author of the "Farhang Jahāngīr." See Rieu Pers. Cat. II. 496. He is mentioned very favourably in Sir Thomas Roe's Journal: see Foster, Hakluyt Society, 238.

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Mīrzā Muqīm, Carkis Khān and a number of brave men were stationed on the rear of the centre.

When the two armies approached one another the left wing of the enemy attacked the imperial right wing, and drove off most of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān's men. The Khān kept his ground manfully with a few of his followers. He smote [1] with his sword between the two tusks of one of the enemy's elephants and so excited admiration. The vanguard of the ill-fated rebels attacked the imperial vanguard. Naurang [2] Khān's elephant, which was *mast*, attacked a horseman of his own army and crushed him. Just then the brave men of the enemy's vanguard drove off the imperial vanguard. The *altimash* (reserve), too, could not stand and showed cowardice. In their flight some ran to the right and some to the left. The Afghans followed them up. About 500 horses came in front of the Khān A'āẓim and were soon dispersed. The other body, which had driven off the vanguard and the *altimash*, came upon the left wing of the imperial army. Most of the latter lost courage, and Murād [3] Khān made himself a spectacle by withdrawing himself. Shāh Muḥammad Khān was wounded and carried off by his servants to Aḥmadābād. Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī [4] with a few of his relatives, such as the son of Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn, Saiyid J'afar the brother of Shaikh Farīd and others, displayed courage and offered up their lives. The rebels thought that they had gained the victory and turned to plunder. The Mīrzās came in person against Mīr Fākhru-d-dīn Khān and his people. The Mīr made some resistance, but could not maintain a firm footing. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān remained with a few men and showed a firm front against the enemy. When the rebels had driven off Quṭbu-d-dīn's troops and had come to the baggage and were occupied in plundering, Quṭbu-d-dīn came upon them from behind and attacked them. By the Divine help a thorough victory succeeded to a complete defeat. The Khān A'āẓim and the heroes of the imperial centre drove off the black-thoughted Afghans and turned against the enemy's centre which was advancing against

[1] It is not quite clear if it was Quṭbu-d-dīn himself who struck the blow.

[2] Quṭbu-d-dīn's son.

[3] Blochmann 373.

[4] Blochmann 396. The notice of Muḥammad Bukhārī here gives a good account of the battle. See also Badāūnī, Lowe 153-54.

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Quṭbu-d-dīn. As most of the enemy's men had hastened off to plunder, they lost heart on seeing this force, and solely by the Divine favour did so glorious a victory show itself. The Khān 26
A'aẓim stood with his men on the top of the ridge and rejoiced in the shouts of victory. At this time the Mīrzās appeared. They had, after severe fighting, driven off the flank of the left wing and had pursued it for two *kos*. This was a great boon. If they had gone against the centre affairs would have been critical. When they had gone far, and their men had dispersed to plunder, they heard of the defeat of Shēr Khān and returned to the battle-field. In fact, if they had followed up those whom they had driven off to Aḥmadābād, they would have been successful. But from their evil fate they proceeded towards the ground of the battle. The Khān A'āẓim was drawn up in battle-array with many faithful heroes when the army of the Mīrzās approached, and Shāh Budāgh K. said, "Now is the time to attack." K. A'aẓim was about to do so, when Yār M. seized his rein, saying, "Many officers are standing still. How can you attack?" When the Mīrzās came nearer they saw the real greatness of the imperial army, which was adorned by a spiritual force, and did not think it fit to engage, and as their evil fate was written on their foreheads they turned their rein and took to flight. By the Divine favour a difficult task became easy. If the heroes had pursued them, hardly any of them would have escaped. Apparently those who made a practice of caution did not think it proper to put the matter to the test, or else they listened to the opportunists and the evil-intentioned. In fine, most of the officers in seeing this mysterious favour bound fresh threads of devotion round their necks and increased in single-mindedness.

One of[1] the wonderful things which happened on that fortunate day was that a *mast* elephant belonging to the enemy's army, whose driver had been pinned by an arrow and killed, went about of its own accord, and approached wherever it heard the sound of the drums

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1 Add. 27, 247 tells this story in different language and gives the name of the elephant (Barbīr). It says that it was after the victory and when the drums of joy were beating that the elephant appeared, that the horsemen tried in vain to catch it, and that it was only by stopping the beating of the drums that it was caught.

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and there scattered the troops. The drums of joy, which were sounding in every corps, stopped for a while, and the elephant's turbulence ceased. He was caught by Shāh Budāgh Khān's men, and formed part of the *peshkash* (present to Akbar).

When the ill-fated crew was defeated, Shēr Khān Fūlādī hastened off to Jūnagarh, and the Mīrzās went to the Deccan. The Khān A'aẓim and the officers pursued them. When the good news of the Divine favour reached H. M's ears he offered thanks to God, and then issued orders that the Khān A'āẓim should send Quṭbu-ddīn Khān, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Murād Khān, Mihr 'Alī Sildūz and a
27 body of troops in pursuit of the rebels, and that he should himself come and do homage. The Khān A'aẓim had come to the district of Sarnāl in company with Dastam Khān, Naurang Khān, Maṭṭalib Khān and M'aṣūm Khān when Raẓavī[1] Khān brought the *firmān*. The Khan A'āzim received it with respect and kissed the threshold on the day of Daibamihr 15 Isfandārmaẕ Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 20 Shawwāl, 23 February 1573, and was graciously received.

One[2] of the things which happened during the siege of Surat was the arrival of Moẕaffar Khān. It has been already mentioned the Shāhinshāh's kindness had forgiven his incompatibilities and had sent for him. When he reached Aḥmadābād, the Khān A'aẓim had gone to put down the Mīrzās. Although it had been intimated to him (by the Khān A'aẓim) that it was proper that he should co-operate in this task, he did not do so, and threw away such an opportunity of service. He continued his journey and came to Baroda when the royal *firmān* reached him. The purport of it was that he should turn back from whatever place he had reached, and hasten to the Khān A'aẓim's assistance. He was obliged to turn back. When he came to Aḥmadābād it appeared that the imperial servants had been victorious, and that the Khān A'aẓim was proceeding to court in accordance with the sacred orders. Thereupon Moẕaffar Khān proceeded rapidly to court, and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*

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[1] Blochmann 438.

[2] This paragraph differs somewhat in Add. 27, 247. It says nothing about Moẕaffar's recalcitrancy in not joining the Khān A'aẓam. It says he returned to Aḥmadābād on 1 Shawwāl and arrived in Sūrat two days before the K.A.

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before the arrival of the Khān A'aẓim. He was received with princely favours.

One of the occurrences of the siege was that a large number of Christians came from the port of Goa and its neighbourhood to the foot of the sublime throne, and were rewarded by the bliss of an interview (*mulāzamat*). Apparently they had come at the request of the besieged in order that the latter might make the fort over to them, and so convey themselves to the shore of safety. But when that crew saw the majesty of the imperial power, and had become cognisant of the largeness of the army, and of the extent of the siege-train, they represented themselves as ambassadors and performed the *kornish*. They produced many of the rarities of their country, and the appreciative Khedive received each one of them with special favour and made inquiries about the wonders of Portugal and the manners and customs of Europe. It seemed as if he did this from a desire of knowledge, for his sacred heart is a depôt of spiritual and physical sciences. But his boding soul wished that these inquiries might be the means of civilising (*istīnās*, i.e. familiarity or sociability) this savage race.[1]

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[1] Add. 27, 247, pp. 242*b* and 243*a*, describes this interesting incident differently. It gives the speech made by the pretended ambassadors and ends by saying that Akbar treated them graciously as long as they remained in attendance. In Bird's Gujrat, p. 320, it is stated that the besieged had invited the Portuguese and offered to give them the fort. See also Mirāt Aḥmadī Bom. lith., p. 124, where the Portuguese intrigue is described. My friend Mr. Whiteway has referred me to Diego da Couto's account of this period in his 9th Decade, Chap. XIII., p. 63 *et seq.*, Lisbon 1786. Couto's chronology is confused, and he does not say distinctly where the ambassadors were received. I am of opinion, however, that the embassy described by him, and which was under the charge of Antonio Cabral, and that mentioned by A.F., refer to one and the same occurrence. The difficulty in reconciling the statements is due in part, I think, to A.F.'s conciseness, for at times he errs by defect quite as much as by redundancy. Just as he says that the Turkish guns were brought to Surat by Sulaimān, while what he must mean is that Sulaimān brought them to Diu, and that Ṣafar Āghā afterwards had them conveyed to Surat, so does he speak of a great number of Christians coming to Surat, while probably what occurred was that the Portuguese Viceroy and his fleet came to Daman in order to see what could be made out of the troubles in Gujrat. As in former days they came to

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Footnote 1.—(Continued).

Diu to help Bahādur and ended by getting possession of the fort, so this time the Viceroy may have hoped to make a similar stroke by coming to Surat to help the Mīrzās and then getting possession of the fort. So he came to Daman with his fleet, presumably after an invitation from the Mīrzās, and then when he found that Akbar was too strong, he changed his plan and sent an embassy to Surat to Akbar. It is quite possible, too, as Couto states, that Akbar had already sent an embassy to the Viceroy. Akbar had his harem with him, and several of his ladies wished to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, and for that purpose it was necessary to conciliate the Portuguese. Perhaps the "mother" of Akbar referred to by Couto was his step-mother Ḥājī Begam who appears to have gone on pilgrimage at this time, but it may have been Miriam Makānī, Akbar's own mother. Gulbadan Begam, too, may have been one of the proposed party, for we know that she had for a long time wished to go on pilgrimage though she was unable to do so till two or three years later. Couto gives a translation of Akbar's *firmān* dated 18 March 1573. This is ten days after Akbar had left Surat. Possibly it was granted at Broach where Akbar halted on his way from Surat to Aḥmadabad. Couto also describes Akbar as being visited by the Portuguese merchants at Cambay and as assuming the Portuguese dress there, and as allowing the Portuguese to kiss his hand. He says Akbar had to leave Gujrat on account of the Lukios who were as troublesome to him in the north as the Afghans in the east. I conjecture that by the Lukios the Bilūcīs are meant, though Akbar's real trouble then in the north was from Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. According to A.F. it was the Bilūcīs who eventually rid Akbar of his enemy, though Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī represent the assailants of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain as Jhils. Couto's narrative has also been used by Danvers in his Portuguese in India, II. 4. Possibly his Lukios are the Langahs, an Afghan tribe who at one time held Multan; or they may be the inhabitants of the Lakhi forest.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE OPENING[1] OF THE FORT OF SURAT BY THE KEY OF THE LOFTY GENIUS OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH. 28

Why should I mention the awakened of heart and the profound and the far-sighted? The superficial and the practical clearly perceive that those connected with this eternal fortune make, merely from such a connexion, conquests which do not even occur as possible to the solvers of difficulties. Especially they do this when to such connection there is added the auspiciousness of devotion; and most of all if they be of that fortunate band which has been exalted by the degrees[2] of loyalty toward the Khedive of horizons, how successful are they in their glorious enterprises! Consequently every task which this one who has been magnified by God (Akbar) does personally, comes forth gloriously and without the veil of delay. The few days which wear the appearance of retardation seem to be the result of the Divine wisdom which requires them in order that the inscriptions of the degrees of devotion of the loyal, and the grades of each one's service may be recorded on the portico of visibility, that the jewels of ability may be polished, and the world's lord's method of educating men may be revealed to the world, and that the gold encrusted copper may be placed in the dissolving crucible and the coin of the realm be purified, and that the testing may be carried out to the uttermost.

In fine, through the Divine favour the taking of this strong fortress, which the sagacious would not have imagined possible even after years of siege, was accomplished by the supervision of the Shāhinshāh in the period of one month and seventeen days. The pioneers made from a long distance trenches and so brought themselves to the walls and began to break them down, and the alert

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[1] A. F. puns on the word *fatḥ* which means both conquering and opening. The word for key is *miftāḥ* which is a derivative from *fatḥ*.

[2] The reference is to the four degrees of loyalty to be exhibited by Akbar's servants. See B. V. n. 1 and 177.

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servants raised mounds (*tilhā*) around it, and from them showered bullets on the garrison, and the bombardiers also performed marvels. When the presumptuous garrison perceived the true state of the case, and awoke from their slumbrousness, they opened the door of entreaty and supplication. Hamzabān sent his father-in-law Mullā Niẓāmu-d-dīn Lārī to the sublime court, and he, having been introduced by those who had the right of audience, represented in skilful language the dismay of the garrison. That adroit and eloquent man represented to the lord, who is the friend of the wretched and the succourer of the miserable, the lamentations and prayers of that crew. The heart of the Khedive of horizons inclined towards him, and the boundless ocean of his benevolence was put in motion. Though the supplications were the result of necessity, and though the grandees who had the right of speech spoke against the exhibition of clemency, they were not listened to. On the contrary their urgency for punishment increased the graciousness of that world-giver. He soothed each one of his intimates by special addresses. Those who were heavenly in character he rejoiced by Divine utterances, and those who were earthly he brought into repose by worldly arguments (*maqālāt kaunī*). In accordance with his (Niẓāmu-d-dīn's) petition he sent Qāsim 'Ali Khān and Khwāja Dost Kilān,
29 (Daulat)[1] who were associates both in the battle and in the banquet, to reassure Hamzabān and the rest of the garrison and to bring them to the place of prostration. On the day of *Rashn* 18 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 23 Shawwāl (26 February 1573), the stiff-necked ones of the fort did homage with a thousand supplications. The Shāhinshāh's graciousness received into the reservoir of his protection the lives, the property and the honour of all the shame-faced evil-doers. But they cut[2] the tongue of Hamzabān, as it was always uttering futilities. Some others, whom prudence required should be kept for some days under restraint, were put into confinement. Next day H.M. surveyed the fort, and ordered that some large mortars (*deg*, but perhaps only cannon) which were called Sulaimānī, should be conveyed to the

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[1] The variant Daulat is supported by MSS. 27, 247 and 26, 207, and by Badāūnī.

[2] *zabān barīdand.* A. F. puns on the name Hamzabān "of like tongue."

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capital.[1] It appeared that they had belonged to Sulṭān Sulaiman, the ruler of Turkey (Rūm). He had intended to take possession of the European ports on the borders of Hindustan, and had sent great mortars along with a numerous army. But as the governors of Gujrat did not assist properly, the troops were distressed for provisions and had to return. Nor were they able to take with them those large guns.[2]

One of the things which happened, after the conquest of Surat, was the coming to Court of Baharjī,[3] the ruler of Baglāna, who was an influential landholder in that part of the country. He brought with him to Court Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain M. with a chain round his neck. The just Creator hath glorified this adorner of the Sultanate from the beginning of his power so that the seekers after bliss may rise to high degrees of felicity by recognising and obeying him, and that the auspicious and loyal may increase their devotion. One of the great favours which has been bestowed on this Khedive of God-knowers is that whoever withdraws himself from obedience to him either becomes a vagabond in the desert of destruction, and is brought to be in need of the threshold which is high as heaven. Or else he descends into the whirlpool of evils and is conveyed by his own bad deeds into the Presence. A fresh proof of this was afforded by this Khwāja's son. The brief account of this is that from the time when this weak-headed

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[1] Bird 322 says they were not removed to the capital.

[2] The expedition here referred to took place in 1538. The Sultan of Turkey mentioned by A.F. is Sulaimān the Great, the son of Selīm. He sent his army and fleet after the death of Bahādur Shāh under the command of a Greek called Sulaimān Pasha. He reached Diu on 4 September 1538 and besieged it, but the Portuguese made a brave defence and Sulaimān abandoned the siege in 6 November. See Whiteway's "Rise of the Portuguese Power in India," pp. 256 and 265. Sulaimān had landed some heavy artillery for Ṣafar Agha (Rūmī Khān, also Khudāwand Khān) to put in position. Afterwards Ṣafar Agha brought these guns to Surat. Add. 27, 247 has a different wording (p. 243*b* and 244*a*) and says that some of the guns are now in Jūnagarh. It says that the Turkish expedition was unsuccessful because the rulersof Gujrat regarded the Turks as more formidable than the Faringhīs and so sided with the latter, and did not supply the Turkish fleet with provisions.

[3] Baharjīo in some MSS and in Badāyūnī.

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and infatuated one did not understand the teaching of the Shāhinshāh and adopted evil thoughts of being supreme, and trod the path of faithlessness, he became a vagabond and wandered from door to door of every one, high or low, and gave his honour to the dust of disgrace. Why shall I say this? He revealed his own baseness. Firstly, he gave to the Fūlādīs Jalaur which had been recently taken (by him) by the backing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and joined himself to these wretches. He spent some time in Pattan, and from there repaired to Cingīz Khān, and when the cup of the latter's life was spilled, he joined the Mīrzās. When the
30 ruler of Khāndesh came with designs against Gujrat, and failed and retraced his steps with loss, Sharafu-d-dīn joined him. Then he came back in wretchedness and associated himself with Muḥammad Ḥusain M. When the world-conquering standards came to conquer Gujrat, and a stone of dissension fell among the rebels of that country, this Khwājazāda should have come to worship at Court and made amendment for his crimes, but as he was radically bad he hasted away to the Deccan. He had to pass through the territories of the aforesaid zamindar, and he, either from a desire of being loyal, or for his own advantage, imprisoned the Mīrzā, and plundered all his goods. He also endeavoured to arrest Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M.'s wife and children when they passed through the country, but did not succeed, though the two-years old daughter of Ibrāhīm M. fell into his hands. When H.M. heard of this he sent Mīr Khān Yesāwal to bring the landholder and his prisoners to Court. And as it appeared that the ruler of Khāndesh had sent his brother Raja 'Ali Khān to Court, and that he had reached the territory of Nadarbār, but was now being detained by the petty notions usual with landholders, an order was given to Mīr Khān to bring him also. After that H.M. sent Jotik[1] Rai, Jai Tawācī-bāshī and Balbadhar[2] brahman that they might extricate the landholder aforesaid from the thorn-brake of delay, and that he might invigorate his brain by gathering the flowers of the garden of service. These envoys obeyed the order and brought him and his prisoners to Court. The innocent daughter[3] was taken under the shadow of H.M's protection and

[1] The Court astrologer. Blochmann, 404 n.

[2] Blochmann, 501.

[3] This was Nūru-nisā who after-

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made over to the guardians of the harem. The Khwājazāda was frightened by means of an elephant which was not a manslayer, and as the sovereign was just and from extreme graciousness did not kill criminals, he was put in prison. For, keen inspection and profound consideration are requisite before destroying what has been founded by God (*i.e.* life).

Let it not be concealed that Baglāna[1] is a country one hundred *kos* long and thirty *kos* broad. It has 2,000 horse and 16,000 infantry. Its revenue is 6½ kror of dāms. Whoever is the ruler, is called Baharjī. There are two forts—Sālhīr and Mūlhīr on the summits of hills. It has also two large cities—Antāpūr and Cintāpūr. It lies between Gujrat and the Deccan; and it submits to whichever of the two is the stronger. At this time, when Gujrat came into the possession of the imperial servants, the ruler, being awed by the majesty and might of the Shāhinshāh, did good service and brightened his countenance by performing the prostration.

One of the occurrences was that an injury happened to H. M.'s 31
hand; but it was cured. The brief account of this instructive catastrophe is that the sitter on the throne of the Caliphate is always shrouding himself under a special screen, while the stewards of fate are ever removing this screen and displaying the spiritual and physical glories of him who has been magnified by God. One night there was a select drinking-party. Discourse fell upon the bravery of the heroes of Hindustan, and it was stated that they paid no regard to their lives. For instance, some Rajputs would hold a double-headed spear, and two men, who were equally-matched,[2] would run from opposite sides against the points, so the latter would transfix them and come out at their backs. That Divine wrestler of the world, for the sake of screening his glory, or for testing men, or from

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wards married Jahāngīr. Blochmann, 464 and 477 note 2. In Price's Jahāngīr 21, she is called Shāei Begam. Perhaps she is the Nūr Seraī Maḥal who died in the 15th year of Jahāngīr's reign. Tūzuk 323.

[1] Jarrett, II. 251. The number of horse is there stated to be 3,000. See account of Baglāna, called there Baglan, in Bomb. Gazetteer, XVI, 399 *et seq.* It is a northern subdivision of Nāsik. See also extract from Bādshahnāma, Elliot VII, 65, and Bird's Gujrat 122 and n. The revenue of Baglāna as stated by A.F. would come to about Rs. 1,62,500.

[2] *Hamsir*, perhaps rivals.

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the melancholy[1] engendered by his being in the outer world, fastened the hilt of his special sword to a wall, and placing the point near his sacred breast declared that if Rajputs were wont to sell their valour in their[2] way, he would rush against this sword. Awe fell upon those who were standing at the feast, and none had the power to utter a word, nor even to offer any opposition. Just then Mān Singh ran with the foot of fidelity and gave such a blow with his hand that the sword fell down and made a cut between H.M.'s thumb and his index-finger. Those present removed the sword and H.M. angrily flung Mān Singh on the ground and squeezed him. Saiyid Moẓaffar[3] foolishly tried to free him from the grasp of that tiger of God and by twisting his wounded finger released Mān Singh. This increased the wound, but by the Divine protection it soon healed.

When H.M.'s mind was at rest about the affairs of that country, he committed the charge of that lofty fortress (Surat) to Qulīj[4] Khān and gave him weighty counsels. On the day of Mār Isfand 29 Isfandārmaẕ, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3 Ẕi-l-q'aada, 8 March 1573, he proceeded to Aḥmadābād, and at this time too Rajah 'Ali Khān was honoured by kissing the threshold.[5]

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[1] Cf. text p. 89 near top. A. F. means apparently that outward existence or social life was distasteful to Akbar. I do not think that A. F. means that Akbar was intoxicated; *nishāh-i-ẓāhīr* is used by A. F. to mean appearances, *e.g.*, text III. 43, 9 lines from the foot, where the phrase is put into Akbar's mouth. *Nisha* also means intoxication. Du Jarric describes Akbar as being melancholy by nature.

[2] The Iqbālnāma represents Akbar as saying that the two Rajputs who killed themselves in this way were rivals and at feud with one another. He had no rival and no feud with any one (*ham-sir u hamkhashm na dārīm*) and so he would pit himself against the sword. So also Mirāt Aḥmadī, Bom. lith. 125.

[3] The Mirāt Aḥmadī says he was the brother of Saiyid 'Abdullah K. (B. 465). Probably he is the Saiyid Moẓaffar mentioned in Akbar's letter to the priests of Goa.

[4] Blochmann 34 n. 2. Badāūni says the fort was put in charge of Qulīj's son.

[5] As before noted, Add. 27, 247 differs considerably from the other MSS. It speaks of the Faringhī ambassadors asking to be allowed to inspect the fort of Surat after its capture, and at p. 244*b* it tells a story about Akbar when in a state of intoxication attacking Shahbāz Khān

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CHAPTER VII.

Beginning of the 18th Divine year from the Accession, *viz.*, the year Shahriyūr of the second cycle.

During this auspicious time the shining standards of the Sultan of spring (the sun) polished the mirror of dispositions; the gardens were adorned by the silks of the rose and the satins of the jasmine. The north winds and the zephyrs swept away the weeds and rubbish of autumn from the rose-garden of the world, and the temperate breezes, equable as the justice of the Shahinshāh, produced wondrous 32
effects, and mortals blossomed into new and glorious actions.

Verse.[1]

The parterre from its lightness sought to fly
The jasmine from its delicacy sought to melt
The wind wrote with the hand of hope
The story of the rose on the page of the willow
The jasmine and rose formed a caravan
The turtle and nightingale joined in cadence
Whiles Spring came to salute the parterre
Whiles the rose tore her breast in adoration (?)
The recorders of the garden assembled,
The nightingale decreed the death of the crow.

After the lapse of eight minutes and seven seconds of the night of Wednesday the 6th Zī-ul-q'aada 980 of the lunar year (12 March

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with a dagger because he would not perform in a singing-party.

The T. A. says that Akbar reached Aḥmadābād on the last day of Zi-al-q'aada, 3 April 1573.

[1] These lines are a cento from Niẓāmī's *Makhzanu asrār*. The first two lines occur in Bland's ed., p. 23, line 609; the next four are at p. 32, line 598, etc. But Bland has *qiṣṣa dil* instead of *gul*. The next two are at line 595, and the next two are at line 599, but Bland has *az dar-i-gul* instead of *bar-i-gul*, and *sip-ās* instead of *satāish*. The two last lines are at p. 33, line 621. The 'recorders of the garden' are the birds. Apparently the nightingale decreed the death of the crow, or the raven, on account of its croaking.

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1573) the great light which illuminates the world shed his rays on the mansion of Aries, and the elemental world received the glory of the spiritual kingdom. One of the great acts of the justice of the Shāhinshāh, which was revealed in the beginning of this year was the infliction of capital punishment on Jujhār Khān, the Abyssinian, who was one of the great officers of Gujrat, and was distinguished for his influence. When the borders of Broach were brightened by the standards of fortune, the mother of Cingiz Khān demanded justice at the sublime Court, alleging that the greedy (*zurmast*) Abyssinian had come under the guise of friendship and killed her son. Though the report was widely spread, and many in the camp asserted it, and it has already[1] been mentioned, yet as many incorrect and seemingly true stories are current, there was need for caution and consideration. So an order was issued that wise and impartial men should inquire fully into the case, and should report the result of their examination of witnesses, etc. They investigated and found that the charge was true, and an order was issued that the destroyer of God's handiwork should undergo capital punishment. So he was thrown under the feet of an elephant in the presence of high and low. The old and deserted woman never imagined that so powerful a man would be punished for misdeeds, and was astonished on beholding such justice. She returned thanks to the Khedive of God-knowers, and the general public received enlightenment from this just sentence. The black-minded and presumptuous sunk their heads in the collar of obscurity.

33 When the sacred cortège neared Aḥmadābād, the inhabitants went forth to meet and welcome H.M. On the day of Dīn 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 29 Ẕī-l-q'aada, H.M. encamped in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadābād. In ten days the affairs of the country were arranged. He made over the charge of the province to the Khān A'aẓam. Sarkār Pattan was bestowed on the Khān Kilān. Dhūlqa and Dandoqah were given to Saiyid Ḥāmid[2] Bokhārī, and similarly other estates were given to others.

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[1] There is no direct mention of Cingiz' assassination in the previous pages of the Akbarnāma. There is only an allusion to his death in the account of Sharfu-d-dīn, p. 29, two lines from foot. There is an account of Cingīz Khān's assassination in the T. A. near the end of the chapter on the kings of Gujrat.

[2] Blochmann, 397.

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Though the Khān Kilān and Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥammad Khān were the uncles of the Khān A'aẓam and were old, yet the far-sightedness of the Shāhinshāh put them in a subordinate position, for in the code of just sovereignty weight is given to wisdom and not to years, and reliance is placed upon abundance of loyalty, and not upon age. Far-sightedness is the pillar, not bodily bulk. Intellect is the substantive thing, not the largeness of the visible body. The foundation of appointments is talents and virtues, and the qualities of ancestors are not regarded.

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CHAPTER VIII.

RETURN OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S CORTÈGE TO AGRA AFTER THE CONQUEST OF GUJRAT.

When the Shāhinshāh's sublime genius had done with the conquest of this extensive country, and had punished the haughty and presumptuous, and had rewarded the loyal, and had arranged for the administration of the country he, after celebrating the festival of the Īd,[1] proceeded on the day of Ardibihist 3 Ardibihisht, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 10 Ẕī ul-ḥajj, 13 April 1573, by way of Pattan and Jālaur towards the capital. When the standards of fortune reached Sidhpūr[2] he renewed his instructions to the Khān A'aẓam. Especially did he exhort him to be active-minded and of wide capacity, and to overlook men's errors, and to accept the excuses of the faulty, and to proceed with great consideration in the disposal of disputes, and to treat impartially friends and foes. On the same day he graciously received and treated with favours the officers who had fiefs in that part of the country, and then allowed them to depart. Rajah 'Ali Khān too was received with princely favours and then returned to Khāndesh. Moẓaffar Khān received the government of the province of Mālwa and was sent there. Mān Singh
34 Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Murād Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān, Saiyid 'Abdullah, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl,[3] Bahādur Khān, Lashkar Khān, Jalāl Khān, Bhoj[4] and a number of others were ordered to hasten to Dūngarpūr, by way of Īdar, and from there to come on to the capital. The Rānā and other zamindars[5] of the neighbourhood were

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[1] The 'Id-uz-zaha which occurs on 10 Ẕī-ul-ḥajj.

[2] The I. A. has Haibatpūr and says Akbar arrived there on 18 Ẕi-l-hajj. The Khān A'aẓam left Akbar here. Sidhpūr, however, seems right. It is in Baroda. *See Bomb. Gazetteer, VII.*, 616. It is 64 miles north of Aḥmadābād.

[3] Blochmann 502, 532.

[4] Blochmann 458.

[5] The reference is to the Rānā of Udaipūr. The result of Mān Singh's deputation is given later on. The zamindar of 'Idar was Narain Dās Rathor.

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to be treated with princely favours and to be brought to do homage, and the disobedient were to be punished.

When the world-conquering armies had been deputed, the Shāhinshāh proceeded stage by stage. On the day that he reached Sirohī, Mādhū[1] Singh and a number of men were sent to fetch that nursling of fortune's garden, Shahzāda Sulṭān Daniel, who had been conveyed from Ajmīr to Amber, in order that he might be brought back to Ajmīr, and might come under the shadow of the Presence. In order to do honour to Rajah Bhagwān Dās, his auspicious sister,[2] who held high rank in the imperial harem, was sent off in order that she might be present at the mourning for Bhūpat, who had fallen in the battle of Sarnāl.

When H.M. reached Sirohī, a letter came from the Punjab officers announcing that Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had gone there with evil intentions, and that he had been properly punished and made a prisoner, and that mankind had thus been rescued from the flames of his sedition. The short account of this Providential help is as follows: Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M., who had rebelled against the spiritual and material lord, had been defeated and become a vagabond and had joined his brothers in Īdar. The Shāhinshāh's fortune had produced dissension among them, as has already been related, and he had gone off to the metropolitan province, taking with him his younger brother Maś'aūd M. He had come by Jālaur and Jodhpūr to Nāgor. Farrukh Khān, the son of the Khān Kilān, had been appointed to the command there, and he undertook the defence of the town. The Mīrzā proceeded to invest it, and matters were almost past remedy when Rai Raisingh, Mīrak Kolābī, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, and a number of others whom H.M. had left in Jodhpūr when he went to conquer Gujrat, as well as Rai Rām, the son of Māldeo, who held Sūjat as his fief, and Naqib Khān, Mīr[3] Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, and a number of men who had bound on the dress of service and were on their way to Gujrat, joined together and marched in pursuit of the Mīrzā. When 35
they came near, he withdrew from the siege and went on faster. On the day of Sarosh 17 Dai, Divine month, corresponding to Monday, 3

[1] Son of Rajah Bhagwān Dās.

[2] This was Akbar's wife and the mother of Jahāngīr.

[3] The text has *walad*, son of, but this is a mistake. Mīr Ghiāṣū-d-dīn was another name of Naqīb K., and he was the son of 'Abdul Laṭīf.

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Ramẓān, 7th January, 1573, the loyalists arrived at Nāgor, and Farrukh Khān joined them. The officers were doubtful about pursuing the Mīrza, but at length, on the urgency of Rai Rai Singh, they became all of one accord and set off next day in pursuit. At the end of the day, near a village called Kahntonī,[1] and which is a dependancy of Nāgor, they came up with Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. As it was night they were obliged to draw up their forces and halt. Rai Rai Singh held the centre with his followers. Rai Rām held the right wing, and Mirak Khān Kolābī, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, Farrukh Khān, Naqīb Khān, I'tibār Khān, 'Alī Cūlāq, Muḥammad Ḥusain Jālabān, and Mīr Quṭbu-d-dīn held the left wing. It happened that the tanks in that neighbourhood were in the possession of the enemy. When a watch of the night had passed the men grew thirsty, and a party of the Moghuls rescued one of the tanks. The Mīrzā divided his force into three bands, and made an attack upon the imperialists. They began by engaging the advance-guard of Rai Rām, and they had gained an advantage when Rai Rām came in person and drove them off. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. detached a body of his own men and sent them against the Moghul officers. Gallant men advanced from the latter force and engaged in battle. The Mīrzā became aware of the defeat of his own men, attacked in person, and Mīrak Khān Kolābī distinguished himself. But the force was nearly wavering when Rai Rai Singh came to its assistance. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. could not withstand this onset and turned and fled. Most of the imperialists escaped injury, but Naqīb Khān was wounded by an arrow. He however recovered. The victorious officers had regard to its being night and did not quit the field. That night a great misfortune befel the Mīrzā. His horse fell from the stroke of an arrow and he had to run some way on foot. Then one of his servants came up, and he got upon his horse, and fled with a few men. If the officers had exerted themselves next day, he would have fallen into their hands. But they were satisfied with their victory and all went off to their fiefs. The wretch went on towards Delhi. Raja Bihārī Mal, who was in the capital, sent Khangār[2] and a body of troops to Delhi, and all the

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[1] Also called Kahtolī and Katholī.

[2] Blochmann, 419, mentions a Khangār who was zamīndār of Great Kachh, but the Khangār here meant was the nephew of Rajah Bhagwān. See *Elliot* V. 364.

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jāgirdārs who were not in this force assembled at Delhi. The inauspicious one (Ibrāhīm) hastened off to Sambal [1] when he heard of 36
the arrival of those troops, and there made some preparations. Ḥusain Khān,[2] who was in Patialī,[3] got together some jāgirdārs and others. Just then the news came of the taking of Surat and of the march of H.M. the Shāhinshāh's army. Ibrāhīm was obliged to go to the Panjab. The Khān Jahān and the other Panjab officials were engaged in taking Nagarkot, and Ibrāhīm thought he would find the place empty and be successful, or else turn to Gujrat by way of Sind. For these reasons he went off from Sambal to the Panjab. Wherever he went he did not fail to exercise oppression and misconduct.

Ḥusain Qulī Khān in accordance with the sacred orders sent a letter of advice to the men who were in the fort of Nagarkot, but they did not hearken to his counsels. The officers marched and besieged the place. When Rajah Jai Cand was going to court he, out of forethought, committed his son Badī Cand, who was of tender age, to the charge of Rajah Gobind Jesawāl.[4] Meanwhile the Rajah (Jai Cand) returned to the fort and proceeded to defend it. The work of the siege was nearly ended when the news came of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M.'s attack on the Panjab. When the loyal officers heard of this they held a consultation. Muḥibb 'Ali Khān, M. Yūsuf Khān, Kharram Khān, Fattū and a number of others were of opinion that this affair should be settled by a peace, and that they should hasten from this hill-country to the centre of the province, and take precautionary measures before the rebel should arrive. The Khān Jahān and another party took a narrower [5] view of the situation. As they had worked hard, and the fort had been nearly reduced to extremities, they were not willing to make peace. The officers said, "The measure

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1 His former fief.

2 This is Husain K. Tukriyah. The account of the siege of Nagarkot is more fully given by Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badāūnī. See *Elliot* V. 356 and Badāūni.

3 In the Etah district.

4 This must be the same man who is called Gōpī Cand a little lower down.

5 The text has *naẓrrā farākhtar sākhta*, "taking a wider view," but the I.O. MSS. and the sense of the passage show that a negative has been omitted and that the reading should be *nasakhta*. Because the Khān Jāhān had worked hard, he could not take a wide view, and perceive that the all-important thing was to anticipate Ibrāhīm.

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of the gain or loss from the taking or not taking the fort is a known quantity, but the disturbance caused by this sedition-monger is a very weighty matter." The Khān Jahān said, "I will make peace on this condition, that a proceeding be drawn up, descriptive of the character of the consultation, and that each person put his seal to it, so that if this withdrawal does not please H.M. the officers[1] will escape responsibility." The officers delivered a writing and knocked at the door of peace. The Rajah regarded this as a great deliverance and was pleased. The peace was founded on four conditions: 1st.—The Rajah should send his daughter to the sacred harem. 2nd.—He should pay a suitable tribute. 3rd.—He should send with the officers
37 responsible persons from among his sons and other relatives, so that if the king did not approve of the peace, those men should remain until the delivery of the fort. 4th.—As this province had been given to Rajah Bīrbar as his fief a large sum of money should be assured to him. The Rajah agreed to all four conditions. The Khān Jahān added a fifth condition, *viz.*, that Rajah Gōpī Cand should come and pay his respects, and he said that in order to satisfy the Rajah, some of M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers would come into the fort until the Rajah returned. Or else M. Yūsuf Khān and Kharram Khān would come and stay in the fort. At last he sent M. Yūsuf Khān's brothers and the Rajah took them with him and came into the camp. He paid his respects to the Khān Jahān and took leave. The victorious army addressed itself to putting down the Mīrzā. No long time had elapsed when the Rajah returned and from spirit of loyalty said, "At this time when you are going against the foe, why should I go back to my house?" So with great joy he joined the army of fortune.

The Mīrzā had come plundering to the borders of Dipālpūr; when he heard the news of the approach of the loyal officers he became astonished and downcast. He abandoned the thought of Lahore and went to Multan. The officers left their baggage and the impedimenta of the camp and went on unencumbered to uproot the rebel. When they came near the town of Talamba,[2] which belongs to the

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[1] By "officers" is here meant, apparently, the Khān Jahān himself or the officers who sided with him. Perhaps the meaning is "each will bear his own share of the blame."

[2] It is Palta in text. Add. 26, 207 has Talamba.

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province of Multan, it transpired that the Mīrzā had come there on the previous day and was staying there. The officers set themselves to draw up their forces. Ḥusain Qulī Khān, Ism'aīl Qulī Khān and a number of brave men held the centre. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and M. Yūsuf Khān were on the right wing. Khurram Khān, Dost Khān Sahārī and Shāh Ghāzī Khān Tabrīzī were on the left wing. J'afar Khān, Fattū and other brave men formed the vanguard. They marched in this order. On that day Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. had gone off with a few men to hunt. When Mas'aūd Ḥusain M. heard of the approach of the imperial army, he prepared for battle, and sent a man to summon the Mīrzā. The latter hastened back with the foot of ruin, and after having made some arrangement of his troops advanced to the conflict. He engaged the right wing of the imperialists, and also with the vanguard somewhat. By the heavenly favour there blew a breeze of victory. Ḥusain Khān, who had hastened after the Mīrzā from Sambal, behaved valiantly in this battle. Mas'aūd Ḥusain M. was captured, and many of the vanquished rebels were slain. The officers returned thanks for this great boon and wrote to S'aīd Khān, the governor of Multan, that they had happily accomplished what lay upon them, and that they were now going to their fiefs; that the abandoned wretch had come to the province with a 38
few men, and that it would be a fitting service to seize him so that his commotion might be altogether quelled.

Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. went off rapidly and in a miserable plight. When he came to the district of Multan the Bilūcīs headed him and stopped his progress. He wished to come off by fighting. Some who were with him were killed. He himself was wounded and took refuge in the house of a Bilūcī.[1] When S'aīd Khān heard of this, he set out to search for him, and he found him in the place that he had crept into, and seized him. He reported the circumstances to the court. When his letter was communicated by the courtiers to H.M., he returned thanks to God, first for the repose granted to his subjects, and secondly for the seizure of this injurer of the State, and an order was given that he should be brought to court. But he who had been

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[1] Badāūnī describes the Mīrzā as changing his dress, and assuming the character of a calendar. He took refuge in the house of a dervish, who betrayed him to S'aīd Khān. Ibrāhīm's wound was in the throat.

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caught by his own devices was already dead, either of his severe wound, or from fear of the Shāhinshāh's majesty, or from excessive shame. Or perhaps the stewards of fate knew the extent of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness, and that if he came to court, the sovereign might pardon him, and on this account dissolved the bond between his perverse spirit and his vile body. On the day of Bahman 2 Khirdād, Divine month, corresponding to 11 Muḥarram 981 (13 May 1573), H.M. arrived at Ajmīr, and that seeker after the Divine favour visited the holy shrine and distributed various favours to the officials and visitors of that city. The special courtiers brought the prince Sulṭan Daniel there, and after one week H.M. proceeded towards the capital.

When the standards of fortune reached Sāngānīr [1] the Shāhinshāh decided that he and a few should make a rapid march to the capital, and that the camp should proceed slowly stage by stage. In the space of one day and two nights he completed that long journey and arrived at the town of Bacūna,[2] which is eight *kos* from Fatḥpūr. Jotik Rai [3] represented that after three days there would be an auspicious time for reaching the capital. So the Shāhinshāh remained in that town for three days. Shaikh Selim [4] and all the great and honourable men came to welcome him.

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[1] In Jaipur.

[2] Or Bajūna, but I have not identified the place.

[3] The astrologer.

[4] The Fatḥpūr Sīkrī saint after whom Jahāngīr was named.

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CHAPTER IX.

Arrival of H.M. at the Capital.

The achievements and success of the great ones of the realm and **39** religion and of the spiritual and material rulers are bound up with a right intention and a proper behaviour, the chief point of which is the seeking after the well-pleasing of God. The differences in the grades of mankind are connected with these two great characteristics. Whoever possesses these two qualities in a higher degree, becomes more and more prosperous, and his sacred personality becomes a source of great deeds. God be praised! Those two great qualities, which are the stock of realm and religion, exist in the sacred elements of the Shāhinshāh in a quantity and quality which exceed imagination, and which few of the great men of old times have attained to. Why then speak of leaders of the present time? Hence it is that he is perpetually successful in a special manner. His success in realm and religion makes him submissive to the incomparable Deity and gracious the humble. Just as his fortune increases, so his graciousness becomes greater. At this glorious time when such a vast country had been conquered in a short time, he with a thousand supplications to God arrived at Fatḥpūr the capital on the day of Dībādīn 23 Khirdād, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 2 Ṣafar (3 June 1573). All the grades of mankind were exalted by doing homage, and their eyes and hearts were gratified by beholding him. Shaikh Mubārak the honoured father of this distracted one of the society of being (A. F.), who spent his days in retirement and devotion, and had a wonderful association with the lord of the world, and who, though in appearance he was little acquainted with H.M., yet always kept his heart full of light by his loyalty to that unique one of the age, and held high rank with him for purity and devotion, came to welcome him and to offer his congratulations. He represented that though the general public were presenting their felicitations to the lord of the world, yet what was now being shed upon his faithful heart from the unseen world was as follows: "Let that lord[1] of the universe of blessing

[1] *Khudāwand-i-ʿalm-mubārakbādī.* I believe that this expression means

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announce to the loyal and sincere that God, the Bestower of the World, hath on account of the abundance of our[1] right thoughts and right actions bestowed upon us[2] such a great boon and sublime blessing (*viz.*, the holy personality of H.M.), in order that by his wide capacity and good administration of the outer world he may become the Primate (*Peshwā*) of the spiritual kingdom, and it is for this purpose that such glorious victories have been unveiled." The great appreciator was much pleased by this wondrous congratulation, and dismissed that holy eremite with reverence. He often called the weighty announcement to mind and referred to it with his holy lips.

40 Also during this happy time the great officers came to court from the provinces, and attained their desires. Among them was Ḥusain Qulī Khān, the governor of Lahore, who came with many officers of that province to do homage. He brought Mas'aūd Ḥusain M. and all the prisoners, who had fallen into his hands in the battle, wrapped up in cowhides[2] from which the horns had not been removed; and thereby excited great joy at court. The merciful Khedive pardoned their wickedness and immediately ordered that they should be set free from such a dress. For correction and from kindness he ordered that each of them should be made over to some place so that the real character of each might be ascertained.[3]

A. F.'s father Mubārak. Mubārakbādī is a sort of pun on his name. The message to him from the spiritual world was that he should announce to the faithful that Akbar had been so exalted by external victories in order that he might become their spiritual king also.

[1] The word *mā* is omitted by B.M. add. 27, 247 and 26, 207. I.O. MS. 236 has *bamā* "to us," which is probably right. Evidently this announcement of Mubārak's was a prelude to the famous decree, given in B. 186, which he drew up, whereby Akbar was declared to be higher than a *Mujtahid* and to have the power of deciding religious questions. It will be remembered that when Mubārak drew up this document in 987, *i.e.*, six years after this announcement, he added the statement, B. 187, that he had for several years been looking forward to such a consummation.

[2] Perhaps the hides were those of the 200 cows whom Niẓāmu-d-dīn mentions as having been slaughtered at a temple outside Nagarkot.

[3] The account in the T. A. of these events is fuller than that in the Akbarnāma. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says that Mas'aūd's eyes had been sewn up, but that Akbar caused these to be opened. He also released many of the prisoners, and made over others to jailors.

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Also at this time Kūār Mān Singh and other officers came by way of Idar and were exalted by doing homage. The short account of this victorious army is that when it came to the borders of Dūngarpūr, the zamindar thereof behaved presumptuously and prepared for war. The brave troops punished that seditious one and killed a great number, and plundered his country. Darveshak, one of the officers of the victorious army, was killed. From there the army went, in accordance with the orders of the King who protects the obedient and punishes the criminal, to Udaipūr which is the native country of the Rānā. The Rānā came out to welcome them, and received him with respect and put on the royal khil'at. He brought Mān Singh to his house as his guest, but owing to his evil nature he proceeded to make excuses [1] (about going to court), alleging that "his well-wishers would not suffer him to go." He made promises about going to the sublime court, but raised objections, and gave Mān Singh leave to depart, while he himself stayed and procrastinated. Also at this time Ḥusain Qulī Khān was exalted by the title of Khān Jahān. Each of the officers who had done good service was rewarded with glorious favours. The throne-occupier sate on the *masnad* of appreciation and distributed rewards. He adorned the Sultanate with justice, and made justice glorious by grace and gifts. He adorned the heavens by praise, the earth by civilization, the age by tranquillity, the palace by decoration, and man by exaltation, and exerted himself to elevate every one in his degree. He shed light by suitable regulations, and joined spiritual to material sway!

One of the dominion-increasing events of this time was that the Shāhinshāh addressed himself to the conquest of Bihar and Bengal, because the peasantry were suffering from the dominion of the evil Afghans. The Khān 'Aālm, Ashraf Khān, M'uīnu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Mīrzā 'Alī, and a number of other officers were sent off to the eastern provinces. An order was issued to Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān to the effect that "when the sublime standards

[1] See *Elliot* VI. 42. He seems to have read *ghadr*, treachery, but the MSS. have *'uzr*, and this seems correct. Mān Singh had been told to bring the Rānā to court, but the latter was shy of coming there, and put off the visit. Erskine in his translation B.M. Add. 26, 621 read the word as *'uzr*, and so did the author of the Iqbālnāma.

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were engaged in purifying and sanctifying the country of Gujarat, the faithful servant (Mun'im) had recognised the circumstances of
41 the time, and chosen the path of discretion and delay. Now when by our dominion and fortune our throne has been made illustrious by our justice, it is right that on receiving this missive you proceed to conquer that country and to chasten the erring and seditious." Though the loyal officers who held fiefs in those parts were, by the favour of God, sufficient, yet as the more they were, the easier the task would be, many others were appointed, and from excellent foresight Rajah Todar Mal was sent to Mun'im Khān in order that he might impress upon him many of the rules of conquest which had been imparted to him (by Akbar). He was also to inquire into the capabilities and harmony of the officers and to report thereon to H.M. For if they had the energy for world-conquest, there was hope that the country would soon come into the possession of the imperial servants. Otherwise it would be necessary for H.M. to proceed there in person. The Rajah went there quickly and returned and reported that there was abundance of troops and that the officers were of one accord, and had sincere intentions and lofty aspirations. Accordingly the mind of H.M. was set at rest.

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CHAPTER X.

THE EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH FOR THE SECOND TIME TO GUJARAT, AND HIS RETURN WITH VICTORY.

Though in the eyes of the superficial many things are the cause of joy to the envious and those of narrow capacity, yet in fact, they are the beginnings of increased dominion and the vanguard of brilliant fortune. They are at once the key of hope and peace, and the bolt upon sedition, and both the material of increased loyalty, and the leaven of destruction for the hypocritical. Of this nature was the commotion which now arose in Gujarat, to quell which the world's Khedive went there in person. The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when H.M. the Shāhinshāh dismissed the Khān A'aẓam M. Koka and went on to the capital, the latter, as he knew that Ikhtīyār-il-mulk had raised the head of sedition in Īdar in conjunction with Rai Narain, the zamindar thereof, and that the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī had joined him, in order not to delay the affairs of the State, went off straight to that province without going to Aḥmadābād. Mīrzā Muqīm,[1] who had a fief there, left it on account of the predominance of those evil conspirators, and joined himself to him.

The Khān A'aẓam was in the act of extirpating that crew when 42
the dust of Muḥammad Husain[2] M.'s strife rose up again. The brief account of this is that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. heard in the territory of Daulatābād in the Deccan of H.M.'s proceeding to the capital, and came to Surat and stirred up commotion. Qulīj Khān shut himself up and attended to the defence of the fort. The Mīrzā left that place and came to Broach which he took owing to the unfaithfulness of Quṭbu-d-dīn's servants. From there he went to Cambay and also got possession of that place without a battle owing to the carelessness of Ḥasan[3] Khān (Khazāncī) who came away to Aḥmadabad. The Khān

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1 Perhaps the Muqīm Naqshbandī of Blochmann 433.

2 Blochmann 463.

3 Niẓāmu-d-dīn has Ḥasan Khān Kurkarāq and says he was the *shiqdār*. Elliot V. 360 has Karkarāh by

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A'aẕam sent Saiyid Ḥāmīd, Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Shaikh Muḥammad of Monghyr and a number of others to assist Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān. Just then Ikhtiyār-al-mulk and the body of men who were in the defiles of the hill-country acquired strength[1] and came forward. The Khān A'aẕam took protection in a strong place and stayed there. The rebels could not venture to attack him. They considered, "How long will he stay there? What advantage will he reap from it? Our course is to attack Aḥmadabad. If the Khān A'aẕam come out of that stronghold we shall fight him and perhaps we shall succeed. If he does not come out we shall get possession of Aḥmadabad." With this evil intention they marched out. At the end of the day the Khān A'aẕam, when he heard of the march of the enemy, proceeded rapidly towards Aḥmadabad. As the day was near its close the enemy could not oppose him, and Khān A'aẕam without halting during the night entered the city at dawn. On the same night Muḥammad Ḥusain M. passed close by after his defeat at Cambay and some baggage was captured by him. As he was in a miserable plight, he passed along at a distance from the Khān A'aẕam's army, and joined Ikhtiyār-al-mulk and the sons of Sher Khān Fūlādī. The account of this mysterious boon is that Quṭbu-d-din Khān, Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhāri, Naurang Khān and a number of the servants of the Khān A'aẕam came to Cambay. That wretch, though he had few men, exceeded his powers of resistance, but was utterly defeated. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn displayed great bravery and offered up his life. The officers regarded his defeat as a great boon and did not address themselves to pursuing him. If they had exerted themselves a little, the scoundrel would have been caught.

In fine, when he had joined that inauspicious crew, he was very earnest that they should hasten to Aḥmadabad. The Gujratīs made long speeches and debated the matter for three days. This was owing to the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and the Khān A'aẕam employed this respite in strengthening the ways of ingress and egress.

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mistake for Karkarāq. The word is Turkish and means wardrobe or keeper of wardrobe. See B. 87 n, 2 and 616. *Kurk* means fur, and the word is properly *Kurkīarāq*.

[1] I adopt the reading of Add. 26, 207 which has *bālish yāfta*. The text has *istamālat yāfta* and there is the variant *mālish yāfta*.

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The Cambay officers also arrived, and after some more days those ill-fated and presumptuous men arrived in the neighbourhood of Aḥmadabad. Though the army was such that if they had given battle, the imperial servants would have been victorious, yet as the Khān A'aẓam had not confidence in his own men or in those of Quṭbu-d-dīn 43
Khān, he did not engage. At the time of bidding him adieu the far-sighted Khedive had advised him that if by heaven's decree the seditious should gather together, and there should be a hot disturbance, he should be very cautious about giving battle. He observed this fortune-increasing advice. One day Fāẓil Khān (son of the Khān Kilān) came out near the Khānpūr gate, and sought for a combatant, when a body of the enemy fell upon him, and as soon as they attacked his men, they fled, and Fāẓil Khān was severely wounded. When he came inside of the city he expired. Sulṭan Khwāja[1] got separated from his horse and fell into the ditch. They fastened a basket and pulled him by a rope. But as by heaven's arrangement they were all agreed that they could not with their troops give battle, the Khān A'aẓam sent a report to the Sublime Threshold along with Sulṭan Khwāja, in which he described the state of affairs and asked for assistance, moral and physical, from the Shāhinshāh. When the Khwāja arrived at court and the facts of the rising of the dust of commotion were shown to H.M., inasmuch as that mine of manliness and ocean of kindness was exceedingly fond of M. Koka, his world-conquering genius determined that he would make an expedition in person and go post towards that country. As from shortness of time there was not an opportunity for the men's making arrangements for this great enterprise, he opened the door of the treasury and poured abundant money into the laps of his servants in presents and in assistance. And the sacred harem was set off along with many of the faithful officers, such as Shujā'at Khān, Raja Bhagwant Dās, Saiyid Maḥmūd Bārha, and Rai Rām Singh. He also exclaimed with his holy tongue, "Though in observance of appearances I am arranging for the despatch of men, yet it has flashed on my interior that no one will arrive before me." The Khān-jahān and S'aīd Khān and many of the Panjab officers were dismissed in order that they might arrange for the defence of that province. But he took from among them as his own

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1 Blochmann 423. He was son of Khwāja Khāwand Dost.

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companions M. Yūsuf[1] Khān and Makhṣūṣ[2] Khān, and an order was issued that Moẓaffar Khān should take the Malwa officers, and proceed rapidly to Gujrat, and that Kuar Mānsingh should collect the fief-holders of Kachhīwārah, and hasten to come (to Akbar). Rajah Bihārī Mal, Rajah Todar Mal, Shaikh Ibrāhīm, Ḥakīm-al-mulk, Shaikh Aḥmad and many of the loyal were left in charge of the princes and of the capital.

44 When his holy mind was at rest about the arrangements, he on the day of Ābān 10 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 24 Rabi'-al-ākhīr, 23 August 1573, mounted on a swift and softly-going she-camel.[3]

Verse.

"A camel[4] swifter than an arrow"

and taking the reins of victory in his hand, and with the help of the strong cable of reliance upon God, proceeded on the long journey to Gujrat. The loyal officers, and his special intimates accompanied him—some on swift she-camels, and some on fiery-hoofed horses. When a watch of the night had passed, he for the relief of the loyal halted in the town of Toda.[5] In the morning he again started under the guidance of an auspicious star, and early in the morning of Monday reached the stage of Hans Maḥal, and there halted for a while. From there he hastened on still faster, and after a watch of the night had passed he reached M'uizzābād.[6] On that day many of the followers had not the strength of body to keep up with him. He also felt some heaviness in his limbs, but in spite of that, after midnight he got upon a chariot and proceeded on rapidly.

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[1] Blochmann 346.

[2] Blochmann 388.

[3] *Jamāza.* According to A. F. Akbar's name for a female camel, but the word is Arabic. See Blochmann 143.

[4] *Kamāngardanī* a camel, but literally a bow-necked one. The hemistich puns on the double meaning.

[5] Toda Bhīm, 70 m. W. by S. Agra (Elliot V. 362n.) and consequently under 50 from Fatḥpūr Sikrī. It is in Jaipūr. It was Badayūni's birth-place. See J. II. 181 and 183.

[6] Marked Mozabad in map to Bayley's Gujrat, 30 m. S-W. Jaipūr (Elliot). Niẓāmu-d-dīn calls the place Mozābād, or Morābād.

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Verse.

The chariot goes swift as a cloud,
Like as Patience departs from lovers,
From the rapid going outside and inside
The echo reaches the southern [1] sky (?)

An order was given that if from being overpowered by sleep he should order them to drive slowly they were to regard such an order as unheard and go on as fast as before. The servants obeyed this order and drove on. At last at breakfast time on Tuesday they reached the bounteous spot of Ajmīr.[2] H.M. visited the glorious shrine and paid reverence to his God. He sought aid from the holy spirit of the Khwāja and distributed gifts to the attendants on the shrine. Thereafter he alighted at the palace which he had erected in that city and took repose there. At the close of that day he mounted on horseback [3] and went on rapidly, and on the morning of Wednesday he was joined [4] in the district of Mirtha [5] by Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥram, Saiyid Maḥmud Khān Bārha, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, who belonged to the advance-army but had halted. He halted for a while and then moved on. A watch of the day had passed when the town of Jītāran was illuminated by the Shāhinshāh's advent, and a watch of the day remained when he again went on. At the end of the day his joyous spirit was inclined to hunt. Just then a black buck showed itself, and H.M. said, "If a swift *cīta* catch this deer it will be 45

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1 *Burang-i-gardūn.* Burang means the part of the sky where the S. polestar is visible. But perhaps صدا here means rust, or darkness, and the meaning is that the colour of the sky was changed, or that the wheels were covered with dust. *Rang* has also the meaning of a bell, and the phrase may mean the bell, *i.e.*, the vault of the sky.

2 Ajmir is 228 miles west of Agra or about 200 from Fatḥpūr whence Akbar started. The T.A. says he left at breakfast time.

3 Elliot makes Niẓāmu-d-dīn say that the night of Akbar's departure from Ajmir was bright moonlight, but this could not be the case near the end of the lunar month, and what Niẓāmu-d-dīn says is that Akbar travelled all night, *like the moon, qamrwār.*

4 The meaning is that he joined them there. The advance-army was still in front, but these men had halted. *See Elliot* V. 36.

5 Merta of I. G., in Jodhpūr.

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a sign that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. will come into our hands." With this idea he loosed the *cīta*, and the deer was caught, and the prey of joy came into the net. At midnight Sojat (in Jodhpūr) was reached, and he rested till the dawn of Thursday. When it became light he got upon the saddle, and at the time of mounting it was told him that the holy harem and the advance-army were in the town of Pālī (Jodhpūr). He ordered that his attendants should pursue their journey while he with a few of his special intimates proceeded to Pālī. When he had gone a little way he learned that the report was false. He turned back from there and resumed his proper course. At the end of the day when the attendants had halted in the vicinity of the town of Bhagwānpūr, and were much distressed at being excluded from service and the delay in the arrival of the loyal standards, the Khedive of the world appeared and shed his light upon them. They were all cheered and there were general rejoicings. H.M. wished to go on to Gujrat by way of Sirohī, as that was somewhat the shorter route, but his well-wishers begged that he would go by Jālaur. Their motive was that there were many evil characters on the former and that H.M. had few men with him. Perhaps their commotion might hinder his advance. H.M. did not accept this advice, as his foot was firmly fixed in reliance upon God, and his heart linked to secret favours. The scout Shugūna was ordered to conduct the cortège by the route of Sirohī. The well-meaning ones when they saw that the following of their suggestion was hopeless, intrigued with Shugūna and arranged that he should give out the road as leading to Sirohī, but should really go to Jālaur. With this intent they set out in the beginning of the night. The guide made a mistake and they came into a forest full of mud. The loyalists were somewhat distressed and many of the retinue got separated. Apparently this was a punishment for their opposition. At the end of the night they came to a village, and learnt that it was one of the dependencies of Jālaur, and that they were on their way to Jālaur. H.M. grew angry and halted there for a time. In the morning of Friday he pushed on. A tiger appeared on the left hand, and Saif Khān Koka and Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān prepared to hunt it. H.M. said, "Friends, swear by the dust of the holy feet that you will not go after this, seeing that we have another object in view. It is no gain to our work that we should knowingly and intentionally undertake

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such an affair as this. Perchance some injury might ensue. More- 46
over the experienced men of India have settled that it is a good omen if a tiger or such-like appear on the left, and they do not kill it." By these kind words he restrained those tiger-hearts from tiger-hunting and went on. When they had gone on a little way, they learned that the army of fortune which had been previously despatched had gone by this road. Shāhbāz Khān was ordered to bring on the retinue slowly, while H.M. went ahead with a few followers.

When the standards of fortune reached the district of Jālaur there arose a sound of drums, and it appeared that this came from the advance-army. Two watches of the day had passed when they reached Jālaur. The great officers were exalted by making the prostration. An order was given that the commanders of the camp should take each one of H.M.'s companions to their quarters and show them hospitality. He himself entered for a while the *harem*. Then he came out and gave an opportunity for *kornish* (salutation). He ordered the horse-dealers who had come with the camp to be produced with their stables. They received suitable prices, and swift-coursers were distributed to many persons. An order was given that Shāhbāz Khān and Kamāl Khān of Jālaur should accompany the camp and that the other officers should proceed along with H.M. When half of the night had passed, he mounted a swift horse and went on rapidly till midday on Saturday. After that he halted in Pattanwāl.[1] He saw the moon[2] of Jamāda-al-awwal in that pleasant spot and enjoyed himself for a while and then went on. And so rapidly did he proceed that till the end of Sunday he did not repose (*lit.*, saw repose in unrepose). On the eve of Monday he reached the town of Dīsa which is twenty *kos* from Pattan. Shāh 'Alī Langā,[3] who governed there on the behalf of the Khān Kilān, from misunderstanding thought it was a foreign army and shut the fort-gate. When he learned the truth, he became fortunate by doing homage. The opinion of all the officers was that H.M. should hasten to Pattan, and

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1 Not identified.

2 *Māh-i-jumāda-al-awalī.* The 1st day of the month is meant. It was 29 August, 1573.

3 This was a son of the Bakhshū Langā who helped Humāyūn in flight from Sher Shāh.

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stay there one day so that the brave men who had fallen behind might come up. H.M.'s opinion was that there was no necessity to go to Pattan, or even to inform the Khān Kilān and others who were
47 there. Possibly they might on account of the length of their service put obstacles in the way of the rapid movement of the imperial retinue, and the report of its arrival might reach the enemy, and he might in consequence retire. Many encouraging words fell from his lips. By the efforts and importunities of the intimate courtiers it was determined that H.M. should leave Pattan on one side and go on towards Gujrat, (*i.e.*, apparently Aḥmadabad the capital), while one of the swift goers should go and bring the Pattan army. Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān was sent off for this purpose. The world's lord went on with the army of fortune at midnight. At breakfast time on Monday he reached the territory of Bālīsāna[1] which is five *kos* from Pattan. Just then the Khān Kilān with his army and Wazīr Khān, Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn, Ṭaiyib Khān, Khangār[2] and other officers were exalted by doing homage. They had been appointed out of foresight before the commotion had occurred, and as the road was dangerous they had out of precaution halted in Pattan.

At this stage the conquering troops were arranged in order. Mīrzā Khān, Shujā'at Khān, Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Ṣādiq Khān, and a number of heroes were in the centre, which is the station of the special *qūr*,[3] the right wing was held by the Khān Kilān and other brave men; Wazīr Khān and a number of courageous men of note were appointed to the left wing; Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, Tarkhān Dīwāna, and others were in the vanguard. The far-seeing mind of the Shāhinshāh arranged that he himself and a band of devoted loyalists should form the reserve. There were

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[1] The text has Māliyāna, but the variant Bālīsāna is supported by Niẓāmu-d-dīn. There is a Bālīsāna mentioned in the I. G. as in the Kaḍī subdivision of Baroda. The Bom. G. speaks of a Balāsinor. I think, however, that the proper reading is Maisāna, the Mesāna of I. G. which is 43 miles N. Ahmadābād. It is, however, more than 5 *kos* from Pattan. Blochmann 486 says it is 18 *kos* S.E. Pattan. Erskine and also some MSS. have Palitāna, but if this is correct it cannot be the well-known Palitāna.

[2] Rajah Bhagwān Dās' nephew.

[3] Blochmann 110 n.

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about one hundred horsemen in attendance on him, each of whom was a match for thousands.

Verse.

The lance of each was a flame which melted cuirasses
The sword of each a borer which pierced rocks
At once the bow of Rustum, and the arrow of Ārash[1]
All were deer for swiftness, and tiger-hunters
All were perfect in their services
All were alert in their obediences.

At the end of Monday H.M. set out from the town of Bālīsāna (qu. Mesāna ?). Shugūna, who was the special scout, was ordered to go quickly to Aḥmadabad, to inform the garrison of the coming of the victorious troops, and to bid them prepare for battle. When the troops came near, the Aḥmadabad army was to come out and join them.

H.M. rode on all night, and when part of the day had elapsed he arrived at the village of Cotāna which is a dependency of Karī.[2] There it was learnt that a number of the enemy under the command of Rāoliyā,[3] a servant of Sher Khān Fūlādī, had strengthened the fort,[4] and were prepared for battle. Apparently the wretches 48
thought that the Khān Kilān had sent a body of troops from Pattan against Karī. They therefore came out and drew up in battle array. At the same moment H.M. gave the order to a body of troops belonging to the victorious army to advance and rouse those insolent wretches from their neglectful sleep. In a moment they killed a large number of them, and the others fled inside the fort. They were preparing to take the fort when the standards of fortune arrived and halted in the city-bazaar. H.M. summoned the experienced officers and asked what was the proper thing now that the enemy had entered the fort. A party who were overcome by rashness, and were

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[1] Ārash was a famous archer in the service of Minūcihr. See Burhān Qātī s. v.

[2] Or Kaḍī.

[3] Elliot calls him Rolīyā. Add. 26, 207 has *aulīyā mulāzim, i.e.*, servants, and 27, 247 has *maqaribān mulāzim*. Erskine has Rao Liai. The I. O. MS. vary between *Rāo Liya* and *auliya*.

[4] The text has *qila gīrī*, 'the defending of the fort.' But Add. 26, 207 has *qil'ā karī*, 'the fort of Karī,' and this is also how Erskine read the passage. Add. 26, 621, and is probably correct.

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inconsiderate represented that the proper thing to do was to advance after having taken the fort. That unique pearl of wisdom and experience said that there would be no advantage in taking this petty fort, and that all their efforts should be devoted to getting hold of the rebels of Gujrat. If they paid attention to the taking of this fort, the task might be drawn out to some days. In this event the enemy would hear of the arrival of H.M. and withdraw themselves, and it was clear that the fort would be taken without difficulty by the imperial troops which were approaching. Just then a bullet struck one of the soldiers who was standing near H.M., and the man lost his courage and displayed cowardice. When the matter was inquired into it was found that the bullet had passed through his clothes and been spent (*sard shuda būd*). It was the neighbourhood of the holy personality that made it innocuous.

Verse.

On the fateful day the spear rends the coat of mail
But does not pierce the tunic of the undoomed.

At last they all agreed to what H.M. had said. They left the fort and went on. When they had gone two *kos* H.M. ordered a halt in order to refresh the troops. Next night M. Yūsuf Khān, Qāsim Khān and a number of the officers who were coming up in the rear, arrived with torches. The garrison of the fort believed them to be the special army of H.M. and came out of the fort and went off without a battle. So the idea of H.M. was confirmed. At dawn on Wednesday the army marched on in the order that had been arranged.

When H.M. arrived within three *kos* of Aḥmadabad, Āṣaf Khān was sent off quickly to that metropolis to tell that by the Divine aid the shadow of justice was being cast upon the inhabitants, and that it was fitting that the officers should with thankful hearts and loyal
49 service join the august retinue. The names of the officers who in this rapid march accompanied H.M. are as follows :—

List.

1. M. Khān, heir of Bairām Khān.
2. Saif Khān Koka.

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3. Zain Khān Koka.
4. Ḥusain Khwāja 'Abdullah Khān.
5. Jagannāth.
6. Rai Sāl.
7. Jaimal.
8. Jagmal Patwār.
9. Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āsaf Khān.
10. Rajah Bīr Bar.
11. Rajah Dīp Cānd.
12. Mīr Ghīāsu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Khān.
13. Muḥammad[1] Zamān.
14. Bahādur Khān.
15. Mān Singh Darbārī.
16. Saiyid Khwāja.
17. Shaikh Abdu-r-raḥīm.
18. Rām Dās Kachwāha.
19. Rām Cānd.
20. Bāhādur Khān qūrdār.
21. Sānwal Dās.
22. Jādūn Kaith Darbārī.
23. Sarkh Badakhshī.
24. Dawār Bahāla.
25. Har Dās.
26. Tāra Cānd Khwāṣ.
27. La'l Kalānwat.[2]

When the standards of fortune came near the enemy H.M. turned his attention towards putting on and bestowing cuirasses. One of the instructive occurrences was that Jaimal, the son of Rūpsī, came into the Presence wearing a heavy cuirass (*bagtar*). That gracious one felt for

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[1] Brother of Muḥammad Yūsuf, Blochmann 533.

[2] Erskine in his MS. translation justly remarks on the number of Hindus in this list. No. 25 Har Dās appears in some MSS. as Patr Das, Blochmann 469. No. 27 is also called Miyān La'l, Blochmann 612 and n. 4. He was a musician, and perhaps some of the other Hindus mentioned were civilians. Sānwal or Sanwlah is perhaps the painter of that name. See B. 108. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, S. Kensington, there is in the Clarke MS. a picture of the battle of Sarnāl by him. Tāra Cānd may also be the painter mentioned in B. 108.

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him and ordered that a cuirass should be given him from his private store, and presented his cuirass to Karn, the grandson of Māldeo, who was without one. When Jaimal showed himself to Rūpsi the latter asked him about the cuirass,—as he had confidence in it,—and when he learned what had happened, he, out of the enmity which he had with the Māldeo family, and on account of the goodness of the cuirass, and from his want of spirit, sent a person to demand the cuirass. The messenger from his want of sense forgot discretion and delivered the message. The lord of horizons from his width of capacity did not regard his shameful conduct and said, "We gave in exchange for it one of our own special cuirasses. Your remark is not courteous." Rūpsī in his folly took off his cuirass and made his body bare. That mountain of calmness and moderation who might have ordered the chastisement of that infatuated one, understood what to do and took off his own armour (saying), "Since our servants have resolved on going into this battle which will test men's mettle, without armour, it would not agree with valour that we should go armed." When Rajah Bhagwān Dās heard of Rūpsī's [1] misconduct, he gave him salutary advice and poured vinegar into the cup of his intoxicated head. He bitterly reproached him and brought him to repentance and apologies. He flung forward the head of shame and hastened to the Presence. Rajah Bhagwān represented that Rūpsī had been eating
50 *bang* (bhāng) and begged for mercy. The gracious Khedive accepted his petition and overlooked the fault. From there he moved forward in proper order. On this march he mounted the horse Nūr Baiẓā (white light), Rajah Bhagwān Dās congratulated him on the victory of Gujrat and said, "Three signs of success have appeared, each one of which is in the opinion of the experienced men of India an omen of victory. *First.*—At such time as this [2] you have mounted your

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[1] Rūpsī was Bhagwān's paternal uncle. Blochmann 427.

[2] Apparently the moment of mounting was an auspicious one. It will be observed that Akbar did not at once mount. He mounted on the way, presumably because the moment was auspicious. Add. 27, 247 has *boz baiẓā*, a roan horse (?). Erskine translates the account of the first omen as "the general riding on such a horse," and it is more natural to suppose that Bhagwān was referring to something special about the horse, especially as A. F. has just given the name of the animal. But two B.M. MSS. and the text have *auqāt* times. It looks as if Erskine had read *auṣāf*

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horse. *Second.*—A favourable wind is blowing from behind the victorious army. *Third.*—A great number of crows and kites are keeping us company." His representation was approved of, and many of those present had their hearts rejoiced.

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qualities, and some such reading is preferable to *auqāt*. If Bhagwān was referring to the time of mounting the horse one does not see why the plural *auqāt* was used instead of the singular *wagt*. However, the I.O. MSS. have *auqāt*.

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CHAPTER XI.

The Arrival of the Shahinshāh at Aḥmadābād, the Uplifting of the Banners of Conquest, and the Victory over Muḥammad Ḥusain M.

Though[1] the final issue of actions and the solution of difficulties throw flashes of light on the mysterious purposes of God, yet the acute and active-minded—who by the blessing of God and the efforts of their own genius have struck out a way into the hidden chamber of destiny, and who have thus attained to some acquaintance with the secrets of Existence—are well aware that the success of religious and temporal ends and the unveiling of the virgins of desires, spiritual or physical, depend upon right intention, just thinking and suitable action. Especially is this so with regard to the designs of high-born rulers. Fortune raises many walls of hindrance in front of their purposes, but whenever the auspicious and felicitous look upon the multiplicity of their affairs as material for increasing their prudence and appreciate the lofty dignity of Kingship, and understand the various grades of humanity and make use of them and so become adorners of the world; and when they regard the beautifying of external conditions as the ordering of the spiritual world, and do not, like the superficial, consider secular work as opposed to and exclusive of the spiritual world, but recognise that the well-ordering of outward matters is the choicest form of worshipping the Creator of the world, assuredly will the Managers of the eternal world grant in the most complete manner the accomplishment of whatever they shall undertake. Glorious deeds, such as human strength is insufficient for, and which the world's comprehension cannot grasp, will be effected in the briefest space of time. Nay, even things which such princes have not wished for, and which have not found the way to their illustrious

[1] Nearly the whole of this exordium is omitted in the Lucknow edition. Chapter XI begins there at p. 51, l. 3, of the Bib. Ind. edition. The meaning of the first sentence seems to be that though things are generally ruled by destiny, yet much depends upon forethought and wisdom.

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minds, will be clothed by the Originators of the world of production in the most splendid robes of being! At the present day these lofty qualities, the stuff of vast success, exist in the holy personality of the Shahinshāh to a degree which needs not the encomia of adorners of sentences, and which is greater than human reason can conceive. Hence it is that the increase in the God-given dominion of this sublime lord, and the accomplishment (*lit.*, the face-showing) of the designs of him whom God hath magnified are beyond the petty scope of human intellect. Though I know that the ill-conditioned and short-sighted regard these prolegomena of praise as the panegyrics of con- 51
ventional encomiasts, yet, as in this book of fortune I have the noble and hard-to-be-attained title of a pure heart, the evil glance of those purblind eyes makes no stain on the temple-verge of my soul. He who is far-seeing and a friend of inquiry and a foe of hypocrisy will perceive, if he properly consider the record of the Shahinshāh, achievements which is inscribed on the rolls of the Age, that what this spectator of the congeries of existence is writing down is a drop from the ocean and a mote from the desert! Especially is this so in regard to this marvellous campaign which is fitted to embellish the masterpieces of great princes!

To make a long story short, the world's lord being possessed of a right intention, an upright mind, supreme confidence in God, and a lofty courage, and also because by giving even a slight attention to the matter, 300 or 400 first-rate troopers could be collected in a short space of time, accomplished in nine [1] days such a long journey—which caravans take two or three months to effect—accompanied by a few followers, and having encountered more than 20,000 rebels, he gained a victory over them on the day of Bahrām 20 Shahriyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 5 Jamāda-al-awwal (2 September, 1573). The account of this wondrous affair briefly is that when the royal standards came near the enemy, and there was no sign of the army of Gujrat, some of those who had the right of audience sug-

[1] Akbar's feat, considered merely as one of rapid travelling, was not equal to Colonel Townley's ride from Belgrade to Constantinople when he traversed 820 miles in 5 days, 11 hours, "having the whole time to contend with the wind, rain and mud, and having into the bargain two bad falls." Grant Duff's Notes from a Diary, for 1889, p. 8. But, of course, Akbar had to bring his troops along with him.

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gested that a night-attack should be made. H.M. did not approve of this suggestion as it savoured of deception.

Verse.

A night-attack is the trade of cowards
It is disdained by heroes.

He relied upon the Divine aid and proceeded to battle. Orders were given for sounding the kettle-drums and for blowing the trumpets.

Verse.

A noise came from the flute of war
The drums made a noise in the world.

The rebels had been confident in their numbers and had pressed on the siege. They were expecting the coming of Sher Khān Fūlādī. When the sublime cavalcade came near the Sābarmatī the order was given that the troops should be drawn up in order and should cross the river. The officers were expecting the army of Gujrat and hesitated to advance. At this time about three hundred horse, who had come from Sarkēc, showed themselves, and H.M. ordered the special musketeers such as Sālbāhan, Qādir 'Alī, Ranjīt and others of the seldom-missing splitters of hairs to fire at them. The latter fled to
52 their entrenchments. The noise of trumpets and drums resounded. Some of the enemy thought it was Sher Khān Fūlādī who was coming, while others were certain that it was Khān Kalān coming from Pattan to help the Khān A'aẓim. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was astonished at the uproar and went out in person to get intelligence. Subḥān Qulī Turk and some of the loyal heroes had come a little in advance of the troops to the riverbank and were inquiring into the position of the enemy. The Mīrzā raised his voice and asked who the troops were. Subḥān Qulī Turk, with the idea of inspiring dread into the enemy and of causing division among them, replied, "O ignorant one, behold H.M. the Shāhinshāh in person with a large army, why do you stand still, and why do you ask, be quick and lead away this doomed force." Though the Mīrzā's heart was moved by the royal majesty, which is a ray of Divine glory, yet as the garment of his fate had been woven in black, he rejoined, "O brother, are you frightening me, and are you speaking from your own know-

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ledge? If the fact be really so, show me a sign of the royal elephants, and of the great army. What speech is this that you have uttered? The truth is that our couriers left the king in Fatḥpūr fourteen days ago." Subḥān Qulī replied, "The king has made this long march in nine days and has arrived with his devoted followers." When the ill-fated one heard this and became convinced of its truth he hastened to his own camp, and proceeded to arrange forces. When H.M. learnt that the enemy was ignorant of his arrival, he, in his abundant manliness and generosity in war, halted for some time until the swift scouts announced that the enemy were putting on their cuirasses and drawing up in line. Thereupon the order was given for crossing the river. Though the energetic exerted themselves to bring up the Khān Kalān they were not successful and represented that the enemy were numerous, and that it was advisable to remain on this side of the river till the army of Gujrat arrived. H.M. said, "In all enterprises and especially in this expedition all my reliance is on the Divine aid. If I had looked to ordinary means I ought not to have come this long journey so unattended. Now that the enemy are stationary and preparing for battle, what propriety is there in standing still in expectancy." As superficiality and the consideration of ways and means influenced those heroes, they delayed the crossing of the river and restrained the Shāhinshāh by stratagem. When that royal cavalier of the battlefield which tests men perceived the disposition of those timid ones who did not consider primary causes, 53
the ocean of his terrible majesty boiled over. By the inspiration of his fortune he separated himself from the companionship of those surface-viewers, and relying on the Divine help plunged into that swollen river along with his special followers who always kept by him.

Verse.

Once more he entered upon vengeance
He urged on his swift steed
The sparks from the horses' hoofs lighted up the soil
He came to the river and the fishes' eyes were burnt
Death became the partner of his spear
The mouth of the crocodile of evil was opened.

The putting his horse to the river, and the finding bottom occurred at the same time, and this caused joy to the exoteric, and also

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was a foretaste of the delight of conquest. At this time he called for his helmet which he had taken off and made over to the Rajah Dīb Cand[1] to hold in his hand and bring along with him. The Rajah produced it, but in the hurry of the advance he had let the nosepiece[2] of the helmet fall into the road. H.M. said, "It is a good omen for our front (*peshgāh*)[3] has been made clear." He then announced to them that there would be victory. Just then one of the active heroes produced before H.M. the head of a rebel. That too was an omen of victory. The king moved on with his faithful followers and when the great officers saw this they dropped the thread of calculation and began to cross the river.

The Mīrzā from his ill-fatedness came out to fight with his benefactor and the king of the age. He appointed Walī Khān, the son of Jajhār Khān Ḥabshī—whom the justice of the Shāhinshāh had capitally punished in the first expedition to Gujrat—the leader of his right wing, and assigned to him a number of Abyssinians and Gujrātīs. Muḥammad Khān, the son of Sher Khān Fūlādī, with a large body of Afghans was stationed on the left wing. Shāh Mīrzā and many Badakhshīs and men of Transoxiana whose brains and bones had been nourished[4] by faithlessness to their salt, were taken to the battlefield by the Mīrzā in person. With an evil striving he addressed himself to his own undoing, and engaged the spiritual and temporal lord. H.M. had come to a high ground one *kos* from the river and was considering the signs of victory when Āṣaf Khān came and did homage, and reported that M. Koka was not aware of the near approach of the standards of fortune, and that when the news of the Shāhinshāh's arrival reached him he thought it was a pleasantry of Mir Abū Turāb and the other loyalists of the country. After
54 many assurances he had been convinced of the fact, and now the army of Gujrat was drawn up and was in the point of coming out. He had not finished his story and the royal troops had not come up

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[1] B. 175, cf. Jahangir's Memoirs (Price), p. 54.

[2] *Peshbīnī*, *lit.*, nose-front. The word is not given in the dictionary, but I presume it means something that hung down in front and protected the nose, etc. Such a piece is depicted in B. Plate XIII, No. 43. Jahangir (Tūzak J. 19) calls it *peshrūī*.

[3] Akbar puns on the words *peshbīnī* and *peshgāh*.

[4] Apparently the meaning is simply that they were inbred traitors.

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when the enemy appeared from among the trees. H.M. in reliance upon God proceeded to advance.

Verse.

The Shāhinshāh eager for battle, on his steed
Like a fire raised high by the wind
There was a cuirass on his Cyrus-breast,
A fountain-head put in motion by the ocean
The eager heroes were immersed in their coats of mail
Hidden like fire in iron
Golden standards gleamed on every side [sedition
They were lamps showing the road of death to the night of
Lions were careering rein upon rein
There were heart-piercing lances upon lances
The brave brandished their swords and cleft the ranks
They stirred up the earth to the centre (*lit.*, navel).

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, Tarkhan Dīwāna and others of the alert heroes who were the marksmen of the centre and were stationed in the van, hastened forward and after a short contest turned back. That rock of firmness (Akbar) addressed Rajah Bhagwān Dās and said through him to all the troops that the enemy appear to be numerous, yet the favour of God towards this suppliant in the Divine Court is greater than man can conceive. It behoves our comrades to hold fast to the cable of the Divine favour, and not give place to perplexity or alarm. Let them be of one heart, one face, and one way, and, avoiding distraction, and dispersion, assail the doomed body of troops which carries red standards, for it appears that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. has made red standards the mark of his special force. None of our brave men must be immoderate in his valour. When we shall have disposed of the ring-leaders in audacity, we shall easily get rid of the rest. He used many wise and encouraging words, and associated with each one of his troops an army from the Divine hosts.

Verse.

Out of wisdon he constructed a loom[1]
With knowledge for brocade, and speech for beauty

[1] Kārgah. A factory or workshop.

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The warp he made[1] of soul, and the woof of eloquence,
The dye he took from thought, and the broidery from sense.

55 In his presumptuousness Muḥammad Ḥusain M. separated from his army and came forward with a band of doomed wretches. Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Ḥusain Khān represented to H.M. that now was the time to attack in order that the presumptuous one should receive his punishment. He who knew the niceties of the banquet and the battlefield said, "Steadfast and far-seeing wisdom is ever the exhorter and guardian of mankind, and now on this day this priceless jewel must be tested. As yet the space (*lit.*, the round of the ladder) (between the forces) is considerable. Ostensibly, we are a very small body, God forbid that by attacking from a distance our men should get dispersed. The work would not be done properly, nor their valour properly exhibited, and also we would be abandoning caution." Also, as corporeal illustrations serve to instruct the superficial, he said, "If we close our hands and go to work with the clenched fist it is better than if we undertake a thing with the open hand." After uttering those wise words he advanced rapidly but in a stately and scientific manner. The spectators learnt thereby the degrees of wisdom, and also understood the stages of courage, and with one accord each heart was a thousand. Sincerity was exalted, and practical wisdom was enlightened. Knowledge of God was also increased, and innate disposition was displayed. At length the royal forces[2] also drew near; but their order and arrangement did not remain as before. Many of the faint-hearted who belonged to the right wing turned their reins when the fighting became a little hot. Just then, when the enemy had become near, and that tiger-hunting hero resolved to attack, Hāpā[3] Cāran also cried out, "'Tis time to

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[1] The Lucknow ed. reads *Karū*, a spider's web, instead of *Karad*.

[2] Apparently this refers to the main body of Akbar's army as distinguished from his personal following.

[3] Evidently this is a man's name and has been so treated by the editors in the Index, p. 63. The Cārans were a tribe in Gujrat and resembled the Bhats. One of their duties was to raise the paean at the time of battle, and no doubt this is what Hāpā did on this occasion. See J. II. 249 for an account of the Cārans. In Jahāngir's Memoirs (Price), p. 50, Shāh Qulī Maḥram and Ḥusain K. Turkaman are said to have remarked that the time for charging had arrived.

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attack." To say and to do were the same thing. The world's lord and his war-loving, devoted followers drew their swords and charged. The cries of Allah Akbar and of Yā Mūīn [1] arose and pervaded time and space (*zamān-u-zamīn*).

Verse.

The sword-points were like clouds dripping blood
The brightness of the swords overcame the heart [2] of the cloud
The commotion fluttered the mind of Time
The ear of the sphere split with the uproar.

The majesty of the Divine halo which had seized the field of battle, did not suffer that there should be great contest. One or two swords-blows were exchanged, and then the men on the Shāhinshāh's right hand drove off the rebels. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. drove off the men on the king's left. Thinking the day was his, he halted after going some way and could see no trace of his own forces. For just then, the warriors of the right and left wings and some of the centre arrived and fought bravely.

One of the Divine helps, which are always in close attendance on the everlasting dominion, and at this time were especially con- 56
spicuous, was that *Kahak bānhā* [3] (rockets), which are a kind of fire-

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[1] Badayūnī tells us that this was Akbar's battle-cry on that day. It means, "Lo, the Helper," but I believe that Akbar used it in a double sense and with a special reference to his patron saint M'uīnu-d-dīn of Ajmere. It probably explains the "Ajmīrī, Ajmīri" of Saif Koka mentioned a little lower down.

[2] I owe the interpretation of this line to Maulvī 'Abdul Haq Abīd, who informs me that the meaning is that the cloud lost heart, on seeing the brightness of the swords. It is a hyperbolical way of saying that the flashes of the swords overcame the darkness of the clouds.

[3] I think this word must be the Arabic *Kahaka* roaring, and the meaning must be the "roaring, or screaming (whizzing) rockets." There is the variant *Katak* which means a short stick, cf. Badayūnī, text I. 418, l. 4, and Ranking's translation and note, p. 537. Meninski gives *Kehkehet* as meaning a roaring lion. Very possibly, however, *Kahak* merely means little from Kah and the affix K. I doubt now if Badayūnī's word applies. In the Tūzak Jahangīrī (Ahmed's ed.), p. 19, the rockets are called Kaukabāī کوکبای (stars). The Memoirs (Price) 55 give an exaggerated account of the incident.

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work, were being discharged against the imperial army, though by the guardianship of the stewards of fate no harm ensued, and that one of them fell among the thorn-bushes and made such a noise that one of the enemy's most notable elephants got alarmed, and by his confusion produced a great rout among the foe. This was a help to the combatants of fortune. When H.M. had gone some way he drew rein in order to take stock of events. A strange state of matters displayed itself. The army of the centre had not yet arrived, and the other troops had driven off the reserve of the enemy. H.M. was standing alone on the battlefield, and engaged in combat. Except Tārā Cand and A'alam Khān, no other of his personal retinue was in attendance. Apparently the world-adorning God had impressed upon all the case of their own safety and had loosed the thread of the understanding of far-seeing loyalists. Otherwise it would have been fitting that so many loyal heroes should have guarded the holy personality, and have regarded their comradeship with H.M. as the most glorious form of Divine worship, and as the most urgent of the affairs of royalty! During this time of solitude—No, how shall I say solitude when the (mystic) armies were careering on his right and left?—it appeared that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was engaged in fighting. Mān Singh [1] Darbārī displayed valour in the presence of the Shāhinshāh and became victorious. Rāghū Dās Kachwāha, who had no armour, gave his life in H.M.'s presence, and Muḥammad Wafā, who among the loyal *celhas* [2] (disciples) was a man of few words and many deeds, and one who did not sell his services, also displayed courage in the presence of the lord of the earth, and fell wounded from his horse. Karn, the grandson of Māl Deo, also distinguished himself in his presence.

Verse.

The warriors waged such war
That hand [3] and collar hung together
Blood and sweat were commingled
They [4] inflamed the wounds with their teeth.

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[1] Not Mān Singh Kuar. See Blochmann 506.

[2] B. 253.

[3] A phrase for great exertion.

[4] I presume the meaning is that they were so furious that they even fought with their teeth and aggravated the wounds thereby.

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Though on this day all the royal servants did great deeds, yet these few (whom I have mentioned) though they did not know that H.M. was observing them, especially distinguished themselves.

In the midst of the contest one wretch attacked H.M. and struck his horse's head with his sword. The horse reared, but H.M. laid hold of the neck with his left hand and pushed him down. With 57
the spear in his right hand he so struck the wretch that the weapon pierced his armour and sunk into his body. H.M. was trying to extract the spear when its head broke off and the adversary fled. Another wretch then came up and aimed a blow with his sword at H.M.'s thigh. The real guardian (God) prevented any harm, and the villain fled before the Divine halo. He had gone a little way when another villain came and aimed his lance at H.M. The *cela* Gūjar disposed of him by wounding him with his spear. The Khedive of the world adorned the battlefield by his courage, and in the midst of such a crowd of villains, displayed valour which exceeded the masterpieces of ancient times.

Verse.

The dragon-slaying hero with mace and arrow
The lion-throwing horseman and seizer of the brave
Wielder of the head-strewing dagger
Scatterer of the blood of the stiff-necked
Whiles he poured out blood, and whiles raised dust
Whiles he wounded elephants and whiles he killed men.

During this time the royal centre arrived with a thousand painful feelings because Surkh Badakhshī had wickedly and foolishly come before it wounded and brought bad news about H.M. When the glance of the lion-hearted sovereign fell upon this force he, from abundant foresight and a martial spirit, went towards it and cried out, "Brave men, come up quickly and dispose of these wretches." Shujā'at K. and some others of the fortunate ones recognised the voice of that spiritual and temporal leader and galloped with a loose rein in order to put down the villains. They entirely drove off Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and all who were in that field of dishonour. Before this some of the distinguished men of the centre, such as Sayid Maḥmūd Khān Bārha, Rai [1] Raisingh, and Farḥat Khān had left the centre and

[1] Blochmann 389.

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given proof of valour. Owing to the genius and fortune of the Shāhinshāh the breezes of victory [1] blew and the azure anemones blossomed. A great victory appeared—such as might be a proem to world-conquering victories. H.M. returned thanks to God and turning his reins slowly proceeded towards Aḥmadābād. He inquired about the combatants, and also investigated the cause of the delay incoming of M. Koka and the army of Gujrat. L'al Kalāwant [2] represented that Saif Khān Kokaltāsh [3] had devoted his life and gone to the other world. That mine of grace and fountain of appreciation was saddened by this catastrophe, but calmed himself and inquired minutely into the circumstances. At last it appeared that Saif K. had fought like Rustum in the first onset and had discomfited his adver-
58 sary. Two conspicuous wounds adorned his countenance. Saying "*Ajmīrī, Ajmīrī*" [4] he was searching for the stirrup of the Shāhinshāh (*i.e.*, was looking for Akbar). Ḥusain K. said "When I met him I congratulated him on his victory and on his wounds (*lit.*, on the redness of his face) and then we separated." It appeared that when Muḥammad Ḥusain M. with some of his vagabonds was contending on the battlefield, the Koka (Saif K.) came up to him and after displaying great courage departed to the holy land (*i.e.*, died). From the time that he had failed to be present at the battle of Sarnāl he in his loyalty and devotion was continually calling for death. On that day

[1] Apparently A. F. plays on the words *fīrūzī* which means both victorious and the blue colour of the turquoise. *Bihrūz* is a blue crystal. I do not know what flower is meant by shaqāīqbahrūzī, but conjecture that it may mean a blue anemone, or a tulip.

[2] Blochman 612 and note 4.

[3] Blochmann 350.

[4] I think that the meaning of this passage is explained by Badayūnī, Lowe 170 where we are told that Akbar's battle-cry on that day was Yā M'uīn, *i.e.*, O Helper. But Akbar's patron saint was Muīnu-d-din Cistī of Ajmere, and it was no doubt with reference to him that Akbar raised this cry which is also mentioned in A. F.'s account of the battle. The Ajmīrī Ajmīrī of Saif K. Koka then I regard as Saif's or A. F.'s rendering of the phrase Yū M'uīn. The M'aāṣir II 374 gives the phrase without comment, and the Lucknow editor also passes it over. It will be seen that Badayūnī twice speaks here of the battle-cry Yā Muīn, pp. 170 and 171. He also says that Saif K. plunged into the whirlpool of fight and was killed just as this cry was being raised. Cf. the account in the Tūzuk (S. Ahmad's ed.) p. 20 and also that in the Memoirs (Price) 57. The Tūzuk, p. 19 says the battle cries were Allah Akbar and Yā Muīn.

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the same wine effervesced in his faithful brain and made him throw himself singly against a host and so make the last journey. This nursling of wisdom regarded his life as coming from H.M. and was firm footed in his fidelity. His parents also regarded H.M. as the cause of the Divine gift (of a son).

The brief account of this instructive event is that his honoured mother always gave birth to daughters. His father was annoyed and used to make a disturbance. At the time when she was pregnant with this loyal servant, the father broke out and said, "If this time too a daughter comes, I shall never cohabit with you again." That chaste one went to H.M. Miriam-makānī and described the reproach (that her hushand had made), and asked permission to cause an abortion so that she might be saved from such censures. On the way (back) she encountered the Shāhinshāh, and when he heard what had happened, he, though very young, said, "If you wish to retain our affection, you will not touch this matter. God will bestow upon you a son (*farzand*) of a happy star." Though that chaste lady had obtained the permission of H.M. Miriam-makānī, she regarded the direction of the nursling of fortune as a mystic message, and abstained from her intention. What had proceeded from the lips of the Knower of mysteries came to pass.

At the time when that prince of the people of insight was in grief for the catastrophe, Zain K. Koka, younger brother of the departed, had done valiantly and laid low two of the enemy, and had picked up Subḥān Qulī Turk, who had been left on the battlefield. He was coming to kiss the feet (of Akbar) when he heard the news of his honoured brother's wounds. Distracted by affection he was going to assist him, when he found that there was another state of things (*viz.*, that Saif was dead). He remained for a while sunk in grief and then was comforted by the loyal graciousness. By the royal order Abdu-r-Raḥmān,[1] the son of Muyīd Beg was appointed to take charge of him in his distressed condition.

At this time when H.M. was distressed at the losing so faithful **59** a follower and at the delay in the arrival of M. Koka, news-bearers as a comfort to his ever vernal soul brought the good tidings that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. had been captured by the imperial servants.

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1 Blochmann 465.

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He said "Were I to consider far-seeing prudence, I'd shed the blood of such an ingrate, and so get satisfaction for the catastrophe of the Koka." But how could he do so when innate kindness and gentleness made him hesitate to loose the bond between his spirit and his body! Just then they brought that ingrate and nescient of the Truth into the presence. He had a wound in the face. When he had been wounded and had fled before the majestic light of the Shāhinshāh, and the onset of the heroes of the centre, his horse's feet came against thornbushes and fell. Gadā 'Alī, one of the royal champions, came up to him and said "Come, I'll take you out of this battlefield." He consented, and Gadā 'Alī put him in front of himself on his horse and was taking him towards the presence. One of the servants of the Khān Kilān joined him as he was mounting him on his horse. When they brought him to the presence, both claimed the reward. Those standing by H.M. asked him what was the fact, and that ill-fated one, now that he had awoke from his dream of negligence, spoke the truth, *viz.*, "The salt of the king of realm and religion captured me." When that lord of gentleness saw the wretch in that condition, the ocean of his graciousness effervesced, and he gave an order that his hands which were tied behind his back should be released and fastened in front, and he made him over to Mān Singh Darbārī. Just then Shāh Madad, who was the Mīrzā's Koka, and a partner with him in disloyalty, was brought into the presence. H.M. pierced him with a spear which he had in his hand, and he at once descended to the depths of annihilation. It was stated in H.M.'s court that Bhūpat, the brother of Rajah Bhagwān Dās, had in the glorious battle of Sarnāl drunk the cup of death from this man's hand.

One of the wonderful kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh which showed itself at this time was that while he was standing and returning thanks to God, a disturbance and noise arose. On inquiry it appeared that Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was asking water from Mān Singh Darbārī. Farḥat Khān *cela* hearing this struck him on the head with his hands, and cried out—What warrant is there for giving water to such
60 a disloyalist and rebel? That fountain of grace and gentleness reproved Farḥat Khān when he heard of this, and called for his special supply of water and had it given to Muḥammad[1] Ḥusain. The

[1] Much of this rhapsody is omitted in the Lucknow edition.

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lightning of benevolence shone forth comprehensiveness had its market-day. Appreciation had its adornment. The standard of forgiveness and grace to sinners was heightened. The sublime jewel of his disposition became phosphorescent. The unique gem of liberality became glorious. The coin of humanity was tested. Redress was given on the field of battle. Deeds like this astonish the superficial who are confined in the bonds of what is ordinary, but the far-sighted who worship spiritualities and who have some acquaintance with H.M.'s noble qualities are not surprised at them. Rather they regard them as part of his natural disposition.

When by the Divine aid such wondrous things had come to pass, and M. Koka and the Gujrāt army had not arrived, and most of the day had been spent, H.M. advanced from where he had halted. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. was made over to Rai Rai Singh in order that he might put him on an elephant and convey him to the city. At this time, when many gallant men had retired and were resting after their labours and dangers, and about a hundred men were in attendance on H.M., suddenly a large force came in view, consisting of more than 5,000 men. Men were considering and conjecturing who they were. Many thought they were M. Koka and the army of Gujrāt, and some thought it was Shāh M., who had fled at the beginning of the fight and gone towards Maḥmūdābād. After a time H.M. ascertained it was the rebel Ikhtiyār-ul-mulk who was coming. Agitation sate on the brows of most of the retinue, some because they were anxious for the Shāhinshāh because he had few attendants, and others because they were timid. The rank-breaking sovereign, like a raging tiger who in the exuberance of his youth essays his force and fierceness, displayed wondrous exultation, and before disposing of the foe addressed himself to encouraging his companions.

Verse.

A single person acting along with him
Needed not to fear a hundred thousand
When the pure God gave his (Akbar's) fortune
What fear of the enemy's soldiers remained?

He made ready for battle and mounted a world-traversing steed **61**
and uttered lofty and inspiriting words. He gave orders for the

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beating of drums and the blowing of trumpets.[1] The drummer was so alarmed that he could neither hear the sacred order, nor address himself to his work till he was brought to his senses by the menace of a spear, and began to beat his drum. Shujā'at Khān, Rājā Bhagwānt Dās, and some other brave men advanced a little way and proceeded to discharge arrows. H.M. said "Be not hasty, and await mystic victories for soon they will bring his head." During this tumult he, at the instance of Rājā Bhagwānt Dās and Rai Rai Singh ordered that Muḥammad Ḥusain M., the foundation of the sedition, should be put to death. When Almighty God wills the dispatching of anyone to annihilation, what good will the kindness and grace of the Shāhinshāh do him? But it behoves the Unique One of creation—for whose designs the Divine goodness is surety—to be a fountain of grace, and a mine of kindness.

That force which showed such pomp, became more and more confused as it approached. Ikhtiyār-al-mulk separated from it and proceeded with a few others to withdraw himself rapidly from the whirlpool of destruction to the shore of safety. He struck upon the thorns and was thrown from his saddle to the ground. Sohrāb Turkman, who was one of the royal cavaliers, had made him his mark from a distance, and was following him. At this stumble he came up to him and lightened his shoulders of the burden of his head. On this occasion he was much agitated and died in an unmanly manner.

The detailed account of this wretch is that he engaged with a large force in besieging Aḥmadābād, and was a stumbling-block in the path of M. Koka, Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, and others. When he heard of M. Muḥammad Ḥusain's capture and of the victory of H.M. he became confused and fled. What eyes of vision have the inwardly blind, and where have they the wisdom of heart to see the end of their design or to understand their own good. That ill-fated one passed with 200 men on H.M.'s right, while his large army and array of elephants went on the left of H.M. and threw the dust of defeat on their own heads. By the Divine aid a glorious victory displayed itself in the mirror of desire. A work of many thousands of years was accomplished in nine days, for most of the first day of

[1] *Karanā.* Blochmann 51.

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leaving the capital was spent in bidding adieu to the servants of fortune's threshold, and the day of the victory, in the beginning of which H.M. halted, cannot be taken into account. On the field of battle there were counted 1,200 of the enemy as killed, and the wounded who died in the fields and meadows, and near the battle-field, were reckoned at 500. A similar number may be reckoned as that of those who were wounded and escaped half-dead. Time with the tongue of action (*zabān-i-ḥāl*) came rejoicing and uttered this strain of joy :—

Verse.

By your Fortune, your enemies were, one by one
Cast by Time into enduring loss
Man killed one and heaven's avenging dagger
Cut the throat[1] of one and reft another of house and home.

It would seem that this verse was a representation of what 62
happened to those wicked and rebellious brothers. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. died in the custody of S'aīd Khān. Muḥammad Ḥusain M. became food for the blood-consuming sword at the banquet of the Shāhin shāh's wrath. Shāh Mīrzā threw the dust of disgrace on his head and became a desert-wandering vagabond. About one hundred of the victorious heroes of the royal army drank the *sherbet* of martyrdom. The chief of those devoted ones was Saif Khān Koka. Sohrāb, the cousin of Ṣādiq Khān, Rāghū Dās, and Timar 'Alī Jalāīr made over the coins of their lives to Death's treasurer.

When H.M.'s heart was set at rest by the instructive catastrophe of Ikhtiyār-al-mulk he proceeded onwards. A little of the day remained when another army was seen in battle array. The brave men advanced, and had nearly fought when Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī went ahead and learnt that it was M. Koka! The imperial servants rejoiced, and H.M. the Shāhinshāh expressed his pleasure at the arrival of the Mīrzā. He embraced him in the manner that affectionate fathers embrace their loving sons. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and the other Gujrāt officers were exalted by doing homage, they asked how they could express their thanks for the saving of their lives. Just then Sohrāb brought the head of the bewildered

[1] Ibrāhīm Husain died of a wound in the throat.

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one (Ikhtiyār-al-mulk) and was applauded by the imperial servants. H.M. prostrated himself in devotion to God, and what had passed from his lips had become fulfilled. As a lesson to the generality, an order was issued that a tower should be made of the heads of the rebels. At the end of the day H.M. reached Aḥmadābād, and the palaces of the Sultans of Gujrāt were glorified by his advent. Bulletins of victory were sent to various countries, and couriers carried the news to mortals. To Moẓaffar Khān and the officers of the province of
63 Mālwa, and to Rājā Mān Singh, there were sent rescripts to the effect that as a complete victory had been gained, and H.M. had decided upon returning, they should do homage in the capital. H.M. engaged in those delightful palaces in promoting the loyal servants, and in acts of liberality. He gave great gifts to everyone. High and low experienced his favour. M. Koka represented that some learned men and lofty recluses had plotted with the rebels. As in H.M.'s judgment they were found not to be implicated, they were treated with royal favours. Among them was S. Wajīhu-d-dīn[1] who was famed for his knowledge of the rational and traditionary sciences, and who occupied himself with the rules of contentment, seclusion, and spiritual improvement. The Mīrzā represented that property of the rebels had been found in his house, and H.M. asked the Shaikh "What connection had you with such matters?" The Maulvī replied "Acquaintanceship and delicacy made me give them one of my houses." As his honesty was evident, he was shielded from the evils of the time. Similarly, the sons of Mīr Ghīāṣ-ud-dīn Qādirī were brought in, as properties of Ikhtīyār-al-mulk were in their house. They also were preserved by the far-seeingness and kindness of the Khedive of the world. At this same time Shaikh Moẓaffar, a relative of Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabī and who was the Ṣadr of Gujrāt, was produced. Before this he had been bastinadoed by the Mīrzā on account of greed and of his trying to take bribes. When he came before H.M. he experienced the shade of his benevolence and remained in safety. So also were many of the wounded

[1] B. 415, 458 and 538. Badayūnī, III. 43, has a long account of this saint, and calls him Miyān Wajīhu-d-dīn Aḥmadābādī. He says he was a follower of Muḥammad Ghauṣ and died in 998 (1590). Jahāngīr describes a visit he paid to his shrine. Tūzuk, 211.

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rebels brought before H.M., and obtained safety from his kindness. After that he went to the houses of I'timād Khān Gujrāti and occupied himself in the work of administration. The oppressed obtained relief by his justice, and the ruined world flourished anew.

During the time that he was occupying the abode of I'timad Khān, Shujā'at[1] Khān from constitutional folly advanced his foot beyond the mark of moderation and did foolishly. He used improper language with regard to Mun'im Khān. He did not regard the respect due to the sublime assembly, and transgressed the rules of the *torah* (etiquette or code) of the eternal monarchy. Whoever is not respectful to his superior and especially to the royal commander-in-chief is verbally censured by the sovereign, and this to noble minds is more severe than strokes with the glittering sword. 64 Accordingly he was fittingly rebuked and made over to Qāsim 'Alī Khān in order that he might be taken before the Khān-Khānān and be punished or forgiven by him as he thought proper. This treatment was not for himself only, but intended to be a lesson to all the foolish ones of the court. At the same time Quṭbu-d-din Khān, Naurang Khān and a body of troops were sent to the province of Broach, as Shāh M. had fled to that quarter, in order that they might seize him and inflict suitable punishment on him. Rajah Bhagwānt Dās, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Lashkar Khān and a number of other servants were dispatched in order that they might, by way of Idar, go to the territory of the Rānā (Pertāb of Udaipūr) and put down the factious ones of that country, and chastise properly every one who was disobedient. As before, the government of Pattan was given to the Khān Kilān. Dandūqa and Dūlqa and some other states were given in jagir to Wazīr Khān and he was sent to that country.

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[1] Blochmann 371.

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CHAPTER XII.

Return of the World-Conquering Standards to the Capital.

When the administrative mind of the Shāhinshāh had disposed of the affairs of Gujrāt in the space of eleven days he proceeded towards the capital on the *roz-i-roz*, the 31st Shahrīyūr, Divine month, corresponding to Sunday 16 Jumāda-alawal (13 September 1573). On that day he halted at Mahmūdābād.[1] Next day he encamped at the town of Dūlqa. In this pleasant place he stayed one day. Here he conferred honours on M. Koka and after giving him sage instructions permitted him to depart. He also exalted Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī[2] of Qazwīn, Bakhshī, who was distinguished for good services and for eloquence and had done excellent work in this campaign, by the title of Āṣaf Khān and left him as Bakhshī of the province of Gujrāt, in order that he might act under H.M. Koka and assist in the work of administration. All the arrangements for Gujrāt were made at this station, and on the day of Ardībihisht 3 Mihr, Divine month, he proceeded rapidly towards the capital. In two marches he reached the town of Karī and from there arrived in two marches at Sathpūr.[3]

There he heard that the army which had been dispatched by way of Īdar under the command of Rajah Bhagwānt Dās had reached the town of Badhnagar,[4] and that Rāwālīā, the ghulām of Sher Khān
65 Fūlādī, who had strengthened Karī at the time when H.M. marched to Gujrāt, was now as formerly breathing the breath of defiance (in Badhnagar). Next day H.M. halted where he was, in order to see if he (Bhagwānt Dās) needed his assistance. When it appeared that the fort had been taken and that Rāwālīā, who had put on a jogi's dress, had been caught, H.M. proceeded on rapidly, and when he reached Sirohī he left Ṣādiq Khān there with some loyal followers in order that they might keep the peace there and repress the seditious.

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[1] Jarrett II. 241 and 253.

[2] Blochmann 433.

[3] qu. Satalpūr Jarrett 254. A variant gives Sitpūr, and this is supported by the Iqbālnāma.

[4] The Badnagar of Jarrett II. 254. It is Badnagar in Iqbālnāma. It lies west of Īdar and Dūngarpūr and is marked Burnuggar in Bayley's map of Gujrat. See also p. 437 of text.

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On the day of Sarosh 17 Mihr, Divine month, 27th September 1573, he alighted at Ajmir and visited the shrine of Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn. Those connected with the shrine, and others who were needy benefited by H.M.'s bounty. At the end of the next day an order was given that the main camp should proceed slowly, stage by stage, while he himself should hasten on like the wind. He travelled the rest of that day, the whole night and to the end of the next day, and arrived near Bakar.[1] There Rajah Todar Mal who had been hastily summoned from the capital, had the bliss of doing homage. Then he was sent away in order that he might make the settlement of Gujrāt, etc. He was instructed to make a just settlement without regard to the covetous demands of men, and to send the statement to court so that the clerks might act according to it with reference to the soldiers and subjects.

In short, he halted for a little in the beginning of the evening at the village of Newata,[2] where is the house of the Rām Dās Kacwāha,[3] who performed the duties of service towards him. After midnight he again set out on his swift horse and arrived in the evening at Hans Maḥal. He did not halt there, but went on that night and the next day. On the Sunday he rested in the *pargana* of Toḍa. When a watch of the day remained he left it and after midnight reached Basāwar. There the Khwāja Jahān and Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who had come from the capital to welcome him, did homage. They accompanied him on his onward journey and at dawn the town of Bajūna was reached. There he rested for a while. There an order was given that the victorious heroes who were in the retinue should take their spears or lances in their hands and so proceed to the capital. After 66
1½ watches of the day of Bād the 22nd Mihr, Divine month, corresponding to Monday 8 Jumāda-l akhira (5 October 1573) he marched to the capital. On that day a great number of the officers and nobles hastened out to welcome him, and the country was full of high and low. H.M. reached Fatḥpūr when a watch of the day remained. Fresh water came into the canals, and the world became a flowing garden! Their highnesses the Begams and the princes and the

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[1] The Bhakar of the Ain. Jarrett II. 267. It is on the borders of Ajmir. Perhaps the Bīakoī of Jarrett 273.

[2] The Lucknow ed. has Hūna. Perhaps the place is Lūnī or Bānlī. See Blochmann 398 n. 1. and A. N. text III. 326, line 9. If so, it is in Ranthanbhūr.

[3] Blochmann 483.

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secluded ladies were gladdened by seeing H.M. Largesses were bestowed. The eyes of those who longed were filled with light, and the hearts of those who waited were filled with eternal joy. By the Divine aid the march to this distant country (Gujrāt), its conquest, and pacification and return were accomplished in forty-three days.

Where is the brilliant writer who could fittingly describe the wonders of this instructive expedition? When the eye-witnesses were filled with amazement, how can hearers thereof describe it? The justice-distributing Khedive at such a time of success, and the display of such wondrous deeds, one of a thousand of which would have led many mighty men of yore into negligence and corporeal pleasures, behaved contrary to the disposition of his age and of mortals and became yet more discreet and more an adorner of the *divan* of justice and addressed himself to spiritual improvement. He enlightened the world by lofty principles and wise actions. The great men and the officers of the State came from various parts of the kingdom and did homage, and attained their desires. One month had not elapsed when Rajah Bhagwānt Dās came to court with the army which H.M. had sent by the way of Īdar. He had done good service and his reputation was increased. He brought Umrā, the son and heir of the Rānā,[1] to do homage, and also Rāwāliyā, who had fallen into his hands at the taking of Badhnagar, and he (Bhagwānt) was encompassed with royal favours.

The brief account of the campaign of this victorious army is that it in a short space of time took the strong fort of Badhnagar and then proceeded towards Īdar. The Zamindār thereof, Narain Dās Rāthor,[2] recognised the arrival of the imperial officers as a great honour and went forward to welcome them. He presented suitable
67 gifts, and when the victorious army reached Gogānda,[3] which was the Rānā's residence, Rānā Kīkā expressed shame and repentance for his past conduct and prolonged deficiency in service, and by way

[1] The Lucknow ed. has the son of the Zamindar, and Blochmann 333, calls him Amr and represents him as the son of the Zamindar or Rānā of Īdar, but it seems that he really was the son of Rānā Kīkā. See Jarret II. 269 where he is described as Pertāb's successor.

[2] A.F. speaks of him as such an austere Hindu that he only ate the grains of corn voided by a cow. Jarrett II. 241.

[3] Text Galkanda. See Blochmann 418 and note.

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of submission came and visited Rajah Bhagwānt Dās. He also took him to his house and treated him with respect and hospitality. He sent along with him his son and heir, and represented that by his ill-fortune a feeling of desolation (*tawaḥḥushī*) had taken possession of him, and that now he presented his petition through the Rajah and was sending his son as a mark of obedience. When his desolate (or savage) heart should become soothed by the lapse of time, he too would come and do homage in person. After a little time Rajah Todar Mal also arrived from Gujrāt and did homage. He made over to the imperial archives a corrected settlement (jama' manaqqaḥ) of those territories. The Rānā visited him also on his way and displayed flattery and submissiveness.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Moẓaffar Khān and his being promoted to the lofty office of *vakīl*. Though such an adorner of the throne of realm and religion requires not a *vakīl*, nor a Vizier, for his far-seeing capacity is responsible for all the duties of sovereignty, yet H.M. either in order to veil himself, or from humility before God, or in order to increase the dignity of loyal servants, from time to time makes over the duties of sovereignty to a courtier. Accordingly on this occasion he determined that the office of *vakīl* should again be entrusted to Moẓaffar Khān. From Gujrāt an order was issued that Moẓaffar Khān should be turned back from wherever he might be and should come and present himself when the victorious standards reached the capital. Moẓaffar Khān took with him Khāldīn Khān, Mīrak Khān Kolābī, Shāh Qulī Maimandī, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and others of the Mālwa army and proceeded towards Gujrāt. Near Ujjain he joined Rajah Mān Singh who was proceeding from Kaciwāra to Gujrāt. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khawāfī[1] says that two Seōrās (Jain ascetics) ascertained by means of astrology and stated that the army would shortly return. Moẓaffar Khān, in order to test them had kept them in a kind of arrest. At the town of Dhūb,[2] which

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[1] Blochmann 445. Apparently this passage means that Shamsu-d-dīn had written a history of the campaign, or of Moẓaffar K's transactions. A.F. quotes him again when describing the mutiny in Bengal and the circumstances of Moẓaffar's defeat.

[2] It seems probable that Dhūb or Dhūp is a mistake for Dohad, the well-known place on the boundary between Mālwa and Gujrāt, and which is supposed to derive its name from that circumstance. In that case the spelling should be Doḥadd. It is

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is a place between Malwa and Gujrāt, letters were received from Āṣaf
68 Khān and Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī, to the effect that the good fortune of Shāhinshāh had made the conquest of Gujrāt, and that the seditious and rebellious had been cast from the height of presumption into the abyss of ruin. A *firmān* was also issued that the officers should stop at whatever place they had reached and prepare to proceed to the capital. Surprise was expressed at the acuteness of those two recluses. There were rejoicings at the good news of victory and the army proceeded to return. Mān Singh went to his fief and Moẓaffar Khān had not yet recruited himself at Sārangpūr when news came that the royal standards had reached the capital. Moẓaffar went off post haste and did homage on the day of Anīrān 30 Abān, Divine month. He was received with princely favours, and was appointed to the high position of Vakīl. He applied himself with ability to discharge his financial and political duties. When he took charge of his former duties, and by virtue of the Shāhinshāh's fortune did good services, his eye owing to his ill-fate lost sight of the glorious aid of the God-given fortune and regarded only itself. He began to quaff the sense-destroying wine of worldly success, and ascribed every administrative success to his own abilities. He appropriated to himself the management of external affairs, and because the world's lord had for reasons of policy conferred on him the title of *Vakīl*, the simpleton gradually came to consider himself fit for such an office, and his arrogance increased. He failed to comprehend the point of the Shāhinshāh's remissness and shutting of the eyes (*lit.* winking) and looked to himself and became self-confident. At last the question of branding (*sakhn-i-dāgh i-sipāhī*) came up and as he was drunk with the intoxication of presumption, and his understanding was coated with rust, he did not comprehend the matter and made foolish remarks.

The short account of this is: H.M.'s holy head was grieved to find that there were oppositions between masters and servants. For, low-natured and mercenary officers, who had no particle of sense or loyalty, were wont to consider that their own profit consisted in others'

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famous as the birthplace of Aurangzeb. Khāfī K.I.296. It is the Dhod of Jarrett II. 256 and the Dohad of I. G. XI, 366. Aurangzeb refers to it as his birthplace in Letter XXXI, p. 35 of Jamshed Bilimoria's translation.

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loss, and practised much injustice, indiscrimination and inappreciation. Consequently, servants on the occurrence of a slight contretemps cast the dust of infidelity on their heads and chose other masters. From darkness of intellect they did not apprehend the baseness of disloyalty. The masters and leaders too were overcome by cupidity and strove to gather wealth and neglected to preserve their honour. They always gave their servants little and bartered honour for silver and gold (*dirham u dīnār*). The world-adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh which had for the sake of preserving the veil, abandoned the distribution of degrees, and of pays and stipends—which is the first work of great rulers—resolved that he would remove this veil, and conduct these matters by the light of his own far-seeing intelligence. Accordingly, he promulgated the branding regulation, the 60
conversion of the imperial territories into crown-lands, and the fixing the grades of the officers of State. He decided that he would carry out all these measures in accordance with the steadiness, the services, the loyalty, disinterestedness and energy of the officers. As spiritual undertakings were always more important than external affairs, and as he did not find an interlocutor or an assistant who was fit for this matter, he on sundry occasions discussed the question with the intimate partakers of his holy entertainments. Rajah Todar Mal used to submit that it was a good idea which had entered his mind, and that it was owing to the general want of understanding among men that the thing had not occurred to them.[1] Assuredly most of the soldiers would be loyal, and their zeal would be increased by this decision. But it was most probable that Mun'im K. and Moẓaffar K. would not approve of the plan.

When Moẓaffar K. became the transactor of business at the sublime Court, the proposition was laid before him, but he, from self-conceit and lack of understanding, showed reluctance to carry out the sacred regulations and fell out of favour.

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1 Text *jiz ain badil namīrasid*. But the I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore edition have *cīzī badil namīrasid*, and this I have taken to be the true reading. Akbar's changes were very sweeping and attended with much suffering. See infra p. 457, Fatḥ Ullah's first remark, and B. 140 n. and Badayūnī, Lowe 176 and 192. It was Shahbāz K. who introduced the branding and he only revived old regulations of 'Alāu-d-dīn and Sher Shāh.—See Elliot IV. 551.

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CHAPTER XIII.

Second Expedition of H.M.'s Army to Bengal and Bihar, and the Punishment of the Evil and Seditious.

The totality of the firmly-based energy of the sovereign of our auspicious age is directed towards enabling the inhabitants, both great and small, of every country, to worship God in accordance with their capacities, and to make harmony between their outward and their inward condition, and to arrange that they do not extend the foot of propriety beyond their carpet, nor indulge in self-worship and self-exaltation. Rather may they rise somewhat higher than this stage and become disciplined, so that while not deserving the appellation of ignorant they may also not merit the description of being idle and foolish! In the case of every country to which the lord of the earth has led his armies, and of every tribe which has felt the shade of his world-conquering troops, his sole purpose has been to improve the condition of that country or to educate that tribe. Accordingly, during the time when Sulaimān Karārānī[1] governed Bengal and Bihar, as he always remembered his position, and paid the respect of obedience, H.M. regarded such outward submission as if it was real obedience (*lit.* bought it at the price of real obedience), and so that tribe (the Afghans) sustained no injury from the victorious troops of the Shāhinshāh. And though he (Sulaimān) was on account of his secret wickedness liable to punishment in the ante-chamber of chastisement, yet as in the eyes of the wise man of the age (Akbar) external regularity is subsidiary to internal order and beauty, his outer garment
70 of (submission) was a means of saving the tribe. When he died, and the time came of ill-fated and intoxicated young men, who neglected to preserve outward appearances, and especially when the government of that country fell to Dāūd, the younger son of Sulaimān, the scarf of hypocrisy was rent, and he stretched his foot beyond

[1] The above silly tirade is not in the Lucknow edition which begins with the word Sulaimān.

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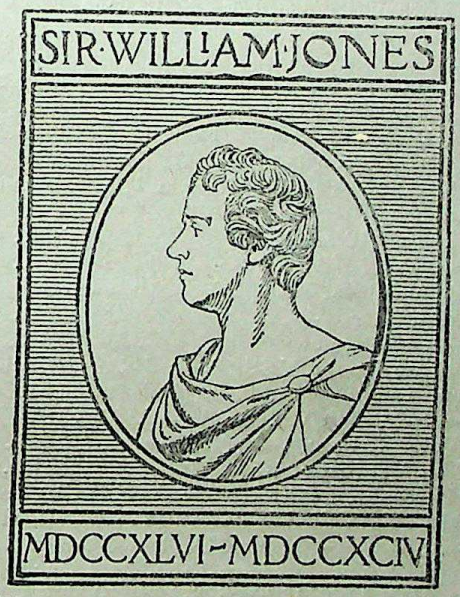

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his condition and became an element of disturbance in the country. Some account of this has already been given. The Shāhinshāh's genius applied itself to the disciplining of that tribe and to the improvement of the condition of the subjects. Though he (Dāūd) had been worthy of punishment before this time, yet in accordance with the canon of mighty sovereignty that great matters should be preferred to ordinary ones, this task, which was of an ordinary nature, remained behind the veil of postponement. Now that the mind of the world's Khedive was free of the rebels of Gujrāt, he turned his face towards the amendment of the eastern provinces, and the overthrow of the stiff-necked and presumptuous ones of those territories. As soon as he reached the capital he sent off Lashkar Khān Mir Bakhshī and Parmānand, a relation of Todar Mal, who had charge of the fleet, *i.e.*, the war-boats containing the artillery and the men attached thereto, along with the fleet, and an urgent order was issued to the great officers and to holders of fiefs in that country that they should act harmoniously together and not deviate from the instructions of Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānān.

One of the remarkable things in our lord's good fortune is that his opponents accomplish a work which the imperial servants could not effect by a hundred strivings. Accordingly, a new proof of this was given by Dāūd's putting to death Lūdī Khān. He was far-reaching in stratagems, and had a vigorous mind for plans, and was the rational spirit of the eastern provinces, and was helpful in promoting the cause of the Afghans. By help of the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh he became opposed to Dāūd, who had been raised up by him. And it has already been described how Dāūd's killing his own cousin, the son of Tāj Khān, upset Lūdī's mind, and how Mun'im Khān escaped from his great danger. As he (Lūdī) had not effected a genuine relationship with eternal dominion (*i.e.*, with Akbar), and in appearance he had quarrelled with his benefactor, all that wisdom [1] of his became a hindrance to him, and the loyal

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[1] Ān hama 'aql 'aqīla shud. The Ghiāṣu-lughat gives a rope or a tether as one of the meanings of *'aqīla*. *'Aqīlā* also means a secluded, or bashful woman, and perhaps the meaning is that Lūdī's reason became secluded, that is, disappeared from sight.

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Afghans turned away from him. Dāūd by the efforts of Qatlū, Gūjar, Shams Khān Mūsāzai, Ism'aīl Silāḥdār and others, strengthened Garhī, and opened his hands to distribute the treasure of Sulaimān. Those who were of little sense and of a fly-like disposition gathered around him, and Lūdī who presumed upon his own craft and experience and his foolish and vaunting acquaintances, became helpless and took shelter in the fort of Rhotās. Dāūd appointed a force against him and it arrived near Rhotās. As
71 Lūdī was helpless he turned to the sublime court, and asked help from Mun'im Khān. The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān, Tengrī Qulī Khān, Bārī Tāwācī-bāshī[1] and Maulānā Maḥmūd Akhūnd with a force to assist him with sword and counsel. He also moved forward himself as possibly Lūdī would come and see him, and the affairs of Bengal and Bihār would be easily disposed of.

This state of affairs came to H.M.'s knowledge at the time he was at the capital, and he with the tongue of fulfilment gave out the good news of victory and conquest. H.M. gave some of his sublime attention to the facilitating of the conquest of that country. Though a numerous army had been nominated for this service, yet it is not every one who has such a nature that he performs his service equally well whether he is kept in sight or not. In order to stir up the feeble and those of a mercantile nature who reckon service without pay, and exertion without wages as their loss, and want prompt recompense, Rajah Todar Mal was appointed, who was distinguished for trustworthiness, reliability and favour with the Court. He was to see that the men came forward, and have them mustered[2] so that the above-mentioned two classes of men might regard him as an observer, and not indulge in sloth or cantankerousness, as is their nature, and might regard the absent (*i.e.*, Akbar) as present and perform their duties after the manner of loyal servants.

Mun'im Khān the Khān-Khānan had reached the bank of the Tirmohiní,[3] which is the junction of the rivers Ganges, Jumna

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[1] The Iqbālnāma has Yār Ḥusain Tawācībāshī.

[2] *dīdan-i-shān-i-lashkar*.

[3] Tirmohinī. Sarū is another name for the Gogrā. The Tirmohinī is near Chaprā. Though called a Tirmohinī (three mouths), it seems to be really only the junction of the Gogrā and Ganges. The Jumna had already joined the Ganges at

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and Sarū, when Rajah Todar Mal arrived, and energetically set to work. In a short time a large army was collected. The command of it was distributed as follows: The centre was under the Khan-Khānān; Majnun Khān, Bābā Khān and others had charge of the right wing. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Qīyā Khān, Ashraf Khān and others were in charge of the left wing. The Khan 'Ālam, Mīrzā 'Alī and others were with the vanguard. When the Rajah had mustered[1] the army, Lashkar Khān and many of the Khān-Khānān's servants crossed the river. Niẓām who had a large force of Afghans, for there was a newly-constructed fort in front of the royal army, took to flight. At the same time letters came from Tengrī Qulī and the force that had gone forward with him, to the effect that Lūdī had dismissed them and reconciled himself with Dāūd, and was now ready for battle and had with him a numerous army. Though this news was a little perplexing to the superficial, the eternal fortune (of Akbar) rejoiced at it and regarded it as a means of conquest. Accordingly the mystery of this singular arrangement (*manṣūba*) was afterwards revealed.

In fine the wiles of Dāūd, who was under the tuition of Qatlū and Gūjar, led Lūdī out of the road. He sent a message (to Lūdi) saying, "You are in the place of Sulaimān, if on account of 72
love to this family you have become angry with me and gone off, you have done your duty, and I am not displeased with you. In every undertaking I seek assistance from you. At this time, when the sublime armies have come against me, do you also from the excellent good-will which you have always shown, gird up the loins of energy for battle; I make over to you the army, the treasure and the park of artillery." After much talk a form of peace was, by the efforts of Gūjar, established between Dāūd and Lūdī. Dāūd soothed him and sent him in advance. After some days Lūdī in his ill-fortune came face to face with the victorious army, built a fort, and engaged in war. There were constantly fightings on the bank of the Sone, and the imperial servants were invariably successful. The brave men crossed the river and engaged in battle. One day a body of troops was sent across the river under the command

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Allahabad. It was at this Tirmohinī that Khwānd Amīr finished, in Bābar's Camp, his Ḥabību-s-siyar.

[1] *Shān-i-lashkar dīd.*

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of L'al Khān and sent against Jarāndakot.[1] He acted with energy, and fourteen of the enemy's boats fell into his hands. Many of the rebels were killed, and L'al Khān's son gave up this unstable life in the service of his lord, and gained eternal fame. Just then the Afghans fell into confusion and there was a report that Lūdī Khan was killed.

The facts of this are that when Lūdī had been reassured and was carrying on the war with energy, Dāūd followed him up and arrived at the house of Jalāl Khān Gidhauriya (?).[2] He sent a messenger to invite Lūdī, Kālū, and Phūl, who was Lūdī's vakīl, to come and see him, as he had various things to say. Lūdī went with all confidence, and Phūl with him, but Kālū did not go, saying that the invitation had not a good odour. At first Dāūd treated Lūdī with respect. After that he retired. Qatlū and others came and were about to arrest him. Lūdī's servant who had his (Lūdī's) sword, when he saw that there was going to be treachery, aimed a blow at Qatlū, and was himself cut to pieces. Lūdī was arrested, and a disturbance arose among the Afghans. All the officers agreed that he should be put to death. Dāūd asked him what he ought to do. He replied: "Do not injure me in my dignity and honour; now that at the instigation of short-sighted men I have fallen into this evil, the proper thing for me is that I obtain repose in the privy chamber of annihilation." The wretches in their folly struck a blow at their own power by putting him and Phūl to death. It was one of the notes of God-given fortune that Lūdī should have been thus removed by the efforts of foes, when it would have been difficult to have got rid of him by a thousand plannings. Well-wishers conveyed
73 Ism'aīl, Lūdī's son, and who was very young, to the Khān-Khānan. The latter now crossed the Sone. From excessive caution, and owing to the plague of foolish prattlers, an easy task was made difficult. The killing of Lūdī had produced such a dissension among the enemy that if the imperial commanders had shown energy and resolution the work would have been finished quickly and easily. But as the disposal of this affair was reserved for a special time and

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[1] Perhaps the Chanend or Cheranend of Jarrett II. 156, or is it the Kot in Sarkār Rohtas of p. 157?

[2] The T. A. seems to have Jalāl K. Krorī.

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for the advent of H.M., there occurred caution and delay instead of alacrity. The whole army put on their cuirasses and mounted their steeds, and Rajah Todar Mal, Lashkar Khān and 'Ītimād Khān the eunuch went forward and selected a site for a camp. The ground was made over to the men and in a short time a strong fort and a deep moat were constructed. After this fashion they followed the path of vigilance and caution up to the neighbourhood of Patna.

Owing to the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, Dāūd with such an army and equipment went off in a cowardly fashion and shut himself up in the fort of Patna. With his own foot he imprisoned himself in the furnace of destruction! The imperial army arranged the batteries and invested the town. An account of the Divine assistances, and the details of the daily-increasing fortune of H.M. were written and sent to Court. These communications led to new thanksgiving. The Shāhinshah of horizons rejoiced mankind in Agra by princely favours and instructed them in Divine worship and in usages. He displayed wonders in the way of liberality and forgivenesses, and he also laboured strenuously for outward civilisation and spiritual advancement. Contrary to the practice of most princes of the age he paid his thanks to God by the tongue of deeds. He put foreign lands (*wilāyat*) in the same position as the Sultanate, and made the sitter in the dust and the sitter on the throne of equal consequence (*hamsang*).

One of the glorious characteristics of the Shāhinshāh, which was displayed at this time, was that when it was brought to his hearing that Saif[1] Khān Kokaltāsh, who had attained the eternal world while displaying good service and loyalty, and also Shaikh Muḥammad Bokhārī, who in the first expedition to Gujrat had suffered noble martyrdom, had left large debts. Gifts from the Shāhinshāh's kindness lightened the obligations of those loyalists by paying all their heavy debts, and the distressful hearts of the creditors were comforted. Lofty words and sublime laws were continually issuing from that fountain of vision, and mine of eloquence. If examples thereof were recorded by a true pen, the simple-minded would undoubtedly accuse encomiasts of exaggeration. Though the holy soul of the Shāhinshāh be not defiled by the ordinary sciences and acquired

[1] Cf. Elliot V. 370.

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74 knowledge, yet as his sacred mind has received absolute light without any human intermediary or local associations, holy words come intuitively from that reservoir of abundance. Accordingly a few of those inspired utterances will be written in the conclusion of this noble volume.

Among[1] them was that at this time on a Friday he was present in the Jāma' Masjid of Fatḥpūr and was watching the crowd of ostensible worshippers. Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the preacher, who had recently come from Māwara-n-nahar (Transoxiana), was discoursing. In the course of his address he spoke of the infidelity of the parents of the Prophet and spoke of them as being in danger of hell. H.M. said: "Methinks this statement is not true, for when there has been intercession for so many offenders by this means (the Prophet), how can the father and mother be excluded, and be consigned to everlasting infidelity?" The assembly applauded and paid him the homage of devotion.

One of the occurrences was the festival for the circumcision of the glorious princes. Inasmuch as the keeping alive of old customs is a strong pillar of administration, and the following in the steps of predecessors is an essential point in the management of the external world, and especially as the wearers of scarves and turbans regard Use and Wont as related to the Divine laws, and most of all because rulers search for opportunities for feasts, and make them an occasion for liberality and forgiveness, H.M. determined upon celebrating the circumcision of the princes. Able and labour-loving men were nominated to arrange this delightful reunion. The gates of liberality were opened, the materials of rejoicing were prepared, and there was a brilliant market of gifts. He gave a lofty foundation to his genius, and the veil over his disposition was removed. The intoxication which is the ornament of wisdom took possession of the solitaries who were lovers of melody. By exquisite musical cadences the calamity of melancholy departed from the disturbed brains of the partakers of the feast of love. The stomachs of the desires of those who looked for substance were filled. Those who had long yearned were successful. Joy left the private banqueting-hall and came to the public hall of audience.

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[1] This passage does not occur in the Lucknow edition, nor does Akbar's remark appear in the sayings at the end of the Āīn.

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Verse.

Sagacious, liberal and gentle
An angel in the form of a man
He spreads wide the carpet in the courtyard
Happiness is obtained in proportion as he smiles.

On the day of Āẕar 9 Ābān, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday, 25 Jumāda-al-ākhir (22 October 1573), those three holy-dispositioned ones underwent the rite of circumcision, and became nurslings adorning the garden of Hope.

Quatrain.[1]

Was the petal of the red rose scattered by the wind
Or did the rosebud draw the veil from her face?
Nay, nay; when the fruit of the tree of desire formed, 75
The expanded blossom dropped from the branch.

The world became pleasant to small and great. Such an occasion for expansion of the heart revealed itself to the spiritual and temporal ruler who continually used without occasion to cast treasures into the bosom of the poor and needy. The acute can imagine what sumptuous liberality was displayed! The garland-weaver of the age (Akbar) in appearance gives adornment to the creature, inwardly, he keeps close to the incomparable Divinity and his heart is embellished by the obliteration of the marks of existence.

Verse.

Good God! From his unequalled genius
Wisdom was part of his nature.
I do not comprehend one drop of his abundance,
I do not see even one particle of his light.

One of the benefit-conferring and auspicious acts was his having himself weighed against precious things. Mankind were made happy by gifts and forgivenesses.

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[1] The allusion seems to be to the drops of blood caused by the circumcision.

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Verse.

He's a Shah whose heart holds the mighty talisman,
Heaven's nine [1] treasures come short of his weight.
His sublimity is such that he cannot be weighed
Unless, perhaps, they put two worlds in the other scale.

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[1] The nine heavens. Akbar was weighed twice a year, B. 266. This was the great or solar weighment, which usually took place on the first of Ābān.

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CHAPTER XIV.

The sending of Prince Sulṭan Selīm to school.

The wise[1] sovereign kept his children under his own care and did not appoint any guardian to them, and was continually educating them in the most excellent manner of which there are few instances in ancient times. Their holy minds have been enlightened daily by the sciences. At this time, though that light of the garden of fortune (Selīm) was constantly acquiring various outward and inward excellences in the society of H.M. and in the Shāhinshāh's entourage, and from time to time the clarified heart of this nosegay of the spring-tide of dominion was acquiring degrees of light by the blessing of H.M.'s holy spirit and of his exalted attentions, though he learnt the rules of justice and of the cherishing of subjects and the principles of settling disputes—in which the friend and the stranger must be viewed with the same impartiality; though he acquired the secrets of the spirit and came to know the wondrous clarifications of the heart, nor was there need that that nursling of fortune should be delivered over to school and become a pupil, yet it is an old custom that far-seeing great ones should commit their capable children to the instruction of teachers adorned with outward and inward knowledge so that by seeing and hearing from them, and by their walk and conversation, their qualities may be developed, and also that by the companionship and conversation of such teachers the lessons that they have learned in the holy Presence (of their fathers) may become fixed in their minds even when such Presence is apparently absent. Another reason 76
is that by means of this service the capable men of the age may emerge from the defile of limited means and that their employment may be a means of conferring abundance and general comfort on them. Also there is hereby provided a mode of intercession for the afflicted and the criminal. For in this sublime court just as the control of mortals is based upon disciplining and chastising the rebellious and

[1] This insipid and turgid declamation is considerably shortened in the Lucknow edition.

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froward, so also is the administration adorned by forgiveness and overlooking of offences. The administrators of the world have small leisure for forgiveness when they are under the influence of wrath. Hence it is that far-seeing rulers continually seek out a number of honest servants and give them authority to take the reins of power into their hand at times when wrath is in the ascendant, and enable them to save the guilty by means of making representations. For if the person be not guilty, such interceders perform a religious duty and save their master from issuing an unjust order. And if he be really guilty, yet as the foundation of man is trespass, forgetfulness,[1] and fault, there are many guilty whose offences have been washed by the waters of forgiveness, for the majesty[2] of man is very great, and at the time of the ebullience of wrath there is little leisure for consideration or investigation. It is an indispensable canon of rule that every master should in proportion to his position seek out for himself some servant or other person and have him by him, who may have such a position and trust that he can show courage at such critical moments, and can convey words of truth. The king of realm and religion for these purposes, and for others which the wise and far-sighted see and know, resolved that the light of the lamp of glory and the jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate, Prince Sulṭan Selīm, who was a pupil in the Divine school, should be made over to one of the upright-minded and be subject to his instruction. Maulānā Mīr[3] Kalān Haravī, who was distinguished for his knowledge of exoteric and esoteric sciences, was exalted by this grand appointment. On the day of Khirdād 6 Āẕar, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday, 22 Rajab[4] (18 November 1573), there was a great feast, and the holy spirit of that pupil of the eye of sovereignty, in whom by the perfumes of the Divine aids had been implanted the preparations for lofty knowledge, began outward instruction. This shining lamp of the portico of the Caliphate was increased in brilliancy by the oil of instruction. The commencement of this great design was with the holy name of God, whereby the gates of Divine bounty were opened.

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[1] Alluding to the story of Adam's forgetfulness.

[2] Meaning that life is very sacred and should not be lightly taken away.

[3] Blochmann 540.

[4] The Iqbālnāma remarks that the prince was then four years, four months and four days old.

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After that he began with the letters of the alphabet,[1] which are the foundation of learning and the centre of things visible, and so was guided to the highness of wisdom. The holy ones of spirituality, and the loyal servants of the Court uttered congratulations, and a hum of prayer went up from high and low.

One of the joyful occurrences of this glorious year was the auspi- 77
cious arrival of the secluded lady of the Court of Chastity, the noble dame Ḥājī Begam. After she had returned from the holy places (Mecca and Medina) she had, in spite of the ties of love between her and H.M., chosen Delhi as her place of abode. She had taken up her residence in the neighbourhood of the tomb of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī and devoted herself to works of charity. At this time, when the victories of Gujrāt occurred, and there were great feasts, she came on the day of Mārisfand 29 Dai, Divine month, to offer her congratulations. H.M. went out to welcome her. She was the daughter of the maternal[2] uncle of the mother of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī. Alāmān M. was their child. H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī had a great respect and regard for her. I have heard the Shahinshah say: "The kindness and affection which she showed to me, and my

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[1] *ḥarūf-i-abjad.* Letters of the *abjad,* i.e., letters having a numerical value, but used here to mean the ordinary alphabet.

[2] دختر طغاي والده Ṭaghāī means maternal uncle and so the meaning here, and at II. 243, seems to be that Ḥājī B. was the daughter of the uncle (maternal) of Humāyūn. But possibly *wālida* is redundant, and the meaning is that she was the daughter of Humāyūn's maternal uncle, in other words, that she was Humāyūn's first cousin. This is how Blochmann has understood the relationship (465). He has *taghāī zāda-i-wālida-i-Jinnat āshiyānī* which, however, I think should still mean daughter of Humāyūn's mother's uncle. Hājī B. was the lady who was taken prisoner at Causa and who was released and sent back to Humāyūn by Sher Shah. She showed her love for Akbar and her observance of court-etiquette by swallowing some of the medicine herself before administering it to Akbar. Miriām-makāin was uneasy, but from respect to Humāyūn was afraid to say anything to the elder wife. Presumably Humāyūn was away campaigning. Ḥājī B. was the daughter of Yādgār Ṭaghāī, Bābar 388. She went to Mecca in the beginning of 972 (1564) and returned in 975, A.N. text II. 243 and 329. If A. F. is correct, and I have understood him properly, Hājī B. was the cousin of Māham Begam, the wife of Bābar, *i.e.,* she was the daughter of her maternal uncle Yādgār Ṭaghāī. Humāyūn then was her cousin, once removed.

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love for her are beyond expression. Every one who did not know the real facts thought that she was my own mother. In my sixth year I was distracted by tooth-ache. She said she had a medicine which she had tested, and went off to get it. H.M. Miriam-makānī being a world of vigilance and caution was in an agony lest she should give me the medicine, and yet she did not venture to say anything out of respect to H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī. So she tried to take me away to her own house, but I would not leave my attendance on the lady (Ḥājī Begam). Just then she brought the medicine, and as she knew what the state of feeling was, she, in her love to me swallowed some of it without there being any order to that effect, and then rubbed the medicine on my teeth. The minds of the superficial were set at rest, and also my pain was soothed."

One of the occurrences was that Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān and other Saiyids of Bārha, and Saiyid Muḥammad of Amroha and a large body of brave men, were sent to the territories of Madhūkar,[1] who was turbulent and disobedient. The Saiyids behaved courageously and brought the country into order. The turbulent men therein had their power lessened. Shortly afterwards Maḥmūd Khān died.

Also during this year Mīr Muḥsin[2] Riẓavī of Mashhad, who had been sent on an embassy to the Deccan at the time of the first expedition to Gujrāt, brought presents from the ruler of the Deccan, and representations full of submission. The brief account of this is that when Muḥammad Ḥusain M. and a number of wretches had fled
78 to the Deccan, H.M. considered it necessary to send an able man to the ruler of the Deccan to give him good advice and guide him to the path of obedience, so that he should send the rebels to Court, or drive them away from his borders. The above-mentioned Mīr was chosen for this duty, and though Niẓām-ul-mulk, the ruler of Aḥmādnagar, had not the grace to arrest those wretches and to surrender them, yet he did this much that was good, that he did not give them a place in his territories. He also sent proper presents along with trustworthy servants and displayed loyalty. The Mīr reported to H.M. the restlessness of the men of the Deccan and their instability. They had been greatly affected by the deeds of the imperial

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[1] Rajah Madhūkar Bundelā, of Undcah.

[2] He was a poet. Badayūnī III.

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army and the recent victories, and they had conveyed their goods to the defiles of the mountains and were on the watch. But in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's principle of preferring urgent matters to ordinary ones, the conquest of the Deccan was delayed, and all his energies were devoted to the taking of the eastern provinces and the chastisement of the rebels there. And as he was in expectation that this work would be brought to a conclusion by the army, which under the command of Mun'im Khān was engaged in the siege of the fort of Patna, as has already been mentioned, he delayed action and kept himself on the alert so that if it became necessary he would go there in person.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. mounted his horse and adorned the festival of the 'Īd of the Ramẓān. While in that great assemblage he heard that the cupola of purity Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-shahīd,[1] the grandson of the Defender of guidance Nāṣiru-d-dīn Khwāja 'Abdullah, who is known as Khwāja Aḥrār, was present. As the righteousness and seeking after God of this Khwāja was conjectured by some, and was known to others, the Khedive of the world in this worship of God paid attention to him, and having regard to the holy man he took him out of the lower ranks (of spectators) and gave him a place near himself. God be praised! H.M. in spite of all his wealth, material and spiritual, is ever unresting in his love of God, and is ever active in endeavouring to compass His Will. 'The majesty of spiritual sovereignty never withholds him from this quest, how then can external glory do so? If one who by sublime fortune has become familiar with the grades of existence and Divinity and is the ruler of those two great worlds displays such wondrous works in his holy personality, what marvel is it?

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[1] Blochmann 539. He was the son, by the second marriage, of Khwāja Khwājakā, the eldest son of Khwāja Aḥrār. See Khazina Aṣfīyā, I. 597.

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CHAPTER XV.

H.M.'s visit to Ajmir.

The sovereign, from his abundant capacity and prudence, and
79 reverence, etc., attaches himself in all his undertakings, whether they be of a general or a special nature, to the sublime court of monotheism, and he reckons as part of this duty the paying of respect to those associated with the families of worshippers of the Creator. Although those who comprehend the secrets of the visible world, or rather the well-disposed but superficial observers of this world, have come to feel assured that the daily-increasing outward majesty and the augmenting spiritual supremacy, and the real and apparent conquest of countries, and the aggregation of exquisite corporeal and mental qualities are the products of the unequalled personality of this unique one of the court of creation, yet he from his perfect happy fortune, knowledge of God, and singleness of heart, casts no glance upon himself and recognises all such things as coming from the court of eternity. Accordingly, whenever an enterprise comes before him, he in the first place renews his devotions at God's threshold, and regards this as a dressing-up of the face of fortune. At this time it occurred to his inspired mind that the conquest of Behar and Bengal would not be accomplished by the contingent sent there, and that it would be necessary for the holy standards to go there. Accordingly he proceeded to pay his devotions, and to circumambulate the shrines. On the day of Ormuzd, the beginning of Isfandārmaẕ, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 16 Shawwāl (8 Feb. 1574), he proceeded to Ajmir. The first stage was in the environs of Dābar,[1] and he remained four days in that pleasant place. The various grades of mankind obtained inward and outward joy. Khwāja 'Abdu-sh-shahīd formed part of the royal cortège and here took leave to go to the city. On the day that the royal standards halted at Toda, M. Koka arrived in his affection post-haste from Gujrāt, and H.M. exalted him by going a few steps to welcome him. He encompassed him with royal

[1] Cf. text 145. It was 4 kos from Fatḥpūr.

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favours. On the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaẕ, Divine month, he halted at a distance of seven kos from Ajmir. Next day, as was his custom he proceeded on foot to the glorious shrine. At the end of the day he arrived at the lofty edifice and paid his pilgrimage to it. The needy and those others attached to the shrine were enabled by the Shāhinshāh's bounty to remove the limit of abundance (*i.e.*, they received unlimited largesse.....). After paying his devotions he took up his quarters in the delightsome palace, which by this time had been nearly completed. He directed his attention to 80
putting down the wicked and seditious and to the cherishing the loyal and obedient. Rai Rām Dās,[1] who was distinguished for administrative ability and moderation, was appointed to the Diwānī of the sublime Sarkār. An order was issued that the officials should as before be Rajah Todar Mal's men, so that neither should the affairs of the Diwānī suffer by the Rajah's absence, nor the writing of dismissal be applied to him, and that the confidence of service rendered might be maintained.

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[1] Blochmann 483. Blochmann says Rām Dās was made Todar Mal's Naib in the 17th year. Apparently this should be the 18th year, and it would seem that he was appointed Diwān, though Todar Mal's clerks were kept on.

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CHAPTER XVI.

Beginning of the 19th year from the accession, *viz.*, the year Mihr of the second cycle.

At this season when the spiritual spring was in its glory, the sound of the New Year's footsteps made the external world accord with the internal. The inner world too was exalted above angelic purity and received the holiness of Divinity.

Verse.

In that sacred expanse was opened
The cell of the bud by the key of the breeze
The rose flung her cap from her head
She placed the hundred-ply [1] cloak on her breast
The nightingales shrilled the praises of God
They turned their rosaries and parted their lips for the beauteous utterance
The rose threw perfume to the world's brain
The branch [2] threw his head-dress on the rose's tablecloth.

On the day of Thursday, after the passing of one hour and forty one minutes of the 17th Ẕī-l-q'ada 981 of the lunar year (11 March 1574), the spiritual and physical light-increaser (the sun) cast his ray on the Sign of Aries. The dejected terrestrials and the holy celestials received fresh decoration, and the nineteenth year of the second cycle began with joy and splendour. The unique jewel of the Caliphate made a great feast at the shrine of M'uīnu-d-dīn, and there was a grand assembly.....All day and night that ocean-

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[1] Alluding to the hundred-petalled rose.

[2] Shākh. A branch, also civet and the civet-cat. B. 79. But I do not understand the line. Probably shākh here means branch and not civet, and perhaps the iẓāfat should be between *gul* and 'imāma, and not between *naṭ'a* and *gul*. The meaning then might be, "The branch flung on the carpet, *i.e.*, the ground, the head-dress of the rose", *i.e.*, it scattered the petals on the ground.

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hearted one distributed treasures of red and white money in trays to skirt upon skirt of those present, and the general public obtained abundance. The hearts of the wishful were tranquillized.

At the time when H.M. was at Ajmer it was brought to his notice that Candar Sen, the son of Rajah Māldeo, from folly and an evil star had left the path of obedience and was in rebellion. He had strengthened the fort of Siwānah,[1] which is the strongest fort **81** in the province of Ajmer, and he looked upon it as a place of refuge in time of his adversity. H.M.'s heart, when he heard of this, felt for the subjects of that country, and he appointed Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, Rai Rai Singh, Shimāl Khan, Kīsū Dās, son of Jaimal of Mīrtha, Jagat Rai, son of Dharm Cand, and a number of brave men to chastise the presumptuous one. In accordance with his disposition he gave them wise instructions and said: "Our threshold is an illustrious spot of grace and forgiveness, should the lamp of wisdom light up the dark soul of that wanderer in the desert of ignorance, and he feel ashamed of what he has done, you will make him hopeful of royal favours." The envoys proceeded towards the city of Sojat. Kala,[2] the grandson of Rai Māldeo, was holding out there, but on the approach of the imperial troops fled to Sirbārī,[3] which is in the defiles of the mountains. The officers pursued him and burnt the fort, and he fled from there to the mountain of Koramba.[4] (?) The brave troops made no difference between hill and plain (*dasht*) and followed him. When Kala saw that he was likely to be taken, he placed his hand in the skirt of supplication and by means of right-thinking men joined the victorious army. He brought along with him Kesū Dās his brother, Mohes Dās and Prithī Rāj Rāthor in order that they might enter into service. He himself obtained leave to remain behind in order that he might readjust his broken fortunes.

When this work had been advanced by celestial help and Candar Sen's security was disturbed, the officers proceeded towards

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1 Blochmann 399, n. 1. Jarrett II. 276.

2 Blochmann 399 and 476.

3 Variant Siryāni. Perhaps it is the Sarwār of J. II. 273.

4 The Iqbālnāma seems to have *Koh-Korīna*, which is also a variant. Perhaps the last word is merely a jingle, or it may be connected with kaur, "ground full of hollows."

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Siwānah.[1] Rāwal Sukhrāj, one of the followers of the rebel, was holding that place. At this time some of the servants of Rai Rai Singh proceeded, under the command of Gopāl Dās, to attack his country (of Candarsen). Candar Sen sent Sūjā and Debī Dās with some brave men to assist Rāwal, and when the army was returning after plundering some of the villages, Rāwal came with a body of troops to attack it. A battle took place, and the brave men on both sides distinguished themselves. Sūjā, Debī Dās and Mān, the brother of Rāwal, were killed in that engagement, and by God's
82 help the standards of victory were upreared. Rai Rai Singh on hearing of the engagement proceeded to the field of battle, but the Shāhinshah's fortune had prevailed before he arrived. When Rāwal had been thus defeated he turned back from his roadless way and sent his son to the victorious army. The victorious troops proceeded from there to the conquest of Siwānah. Candar Sen[2] did not think it advisable to remain himself in the fort, and made it over to Patāī Rathor and Patāī Baqqāl. The imperial servants addressed themselves to the siege. When the mind of the Shāhinshāh was at ease about the affairs of this province he proceeded towards the capital on the day of Amurdād 7 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 23 Zī-l-q'ada (17 March 1574).

On the day of Rām 21 Farwardīn, Divine month, he reached Fatḥpūr, and unfolded the standards of the cherishing of subjects, the checking of oppressors, and the befriending of the oppressed, in the face of mankind.

About this time, which was the beginning of the rainy season, reports came from Mun'im Khān from the eastern provinces to the effect that the siege of Patna was being protracted. Though the

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[1] There is the variant Mathra, and the Iqbālnāma has Mahwa or Mahatwa: query: The Mahēwah of J. II. 276?

It seems evident that Siwāna is wrong, for the troops marched there after the battle described below.

[2] The Rajputana Gazetteer II. 232 calls Candar Sen the second son of Maldeo, and says he was killed at the storm of Sīwāna, but this fact is not stated in the A.N. The authority for the statement is evidently Tod's Rajasthan. He seems to put the death of Candar Sen into 1584. Māldeo's eldest son was Udai Singh, commonly called the "fat Rajah," B. 429. His sister was the Jodbai who was married to Jahangir and was mother of Shāh Jahān.

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combatants on both sides continued to give proof of courage, and victory was on the part of the imperial servants, yet as the river was on one side of the fort, abundant provisions reached the besieged. The fort too was well equipped, and the troops, the park of artillery, the treasure, and the abundance of elephants gave confidence to the enemy. The approach of the rainy and tempestuous season disturbed and distressed the imperial army. If H.M. came in person, the knot of difficulty would be easily untied. In the report many things were said which might act as inducements for H.M.'s expedition. Among them was the martyrdom of Kākar 'Ali Khān [1] and his son. They had one day attacked the enemy and done brave deeds and killed a number of the foe and then themselves gloriously drunk the last cup. There was also the great deed of the Khān 'Alam who had at dawn fetched a circuit and attacked at the Panjpahārī and had come to the market gate (*darwāza nakhkhās*) [2] and made a bold attack and had captured great elephants and much plunder, and then returned. He had been a cause of admiration to critical spectators. There was also mention made of the coming in of Ḥasan Khān [3] Batanī and of the plan of attacking the dam of the Pun-pun, which was suggested by him.

The account of this is that Ḥasan Khān Batanī was one of the heroes of the age. By his good fortune he became separated from the enemy, and joined the victorious army. Mun'im Khān encom- **83**
passed him with royal favours.

He continually encouraged the imperial servants and suggested measures for resisting the foe. Among them was his statement that two things were imperative in order that by the aid of God the knot of difficulty might be unloosed. First, the dam on the river Pun-pun must be broken down, so that at this season the waters, which had been brought there and were daily increasing, might flow into the Ganges. Otherwise the waters would come towards the fort and make the position of the besiegers difficult. Secondly, Ḥājīpūr must be freed from the possession of the enemy as most of the provisions for the fort came from there. Mun'im Khān ordered the Khān 'Ālam to take Ḥājīpūr, but he replied that he had been appointed from the

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1 Blochmann 408. 2 The gate where slaves and cattle are sold.
3 Blochmann 476. Patanī in text.

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Court to the vanguard of the army. On account of this contention, the project was postponed. Majnūn Khān and a number of brave men were appointed to break the dam. They went off by night and executed this service in an excellent manner. Owing to the Shāhinshāh's good fortune, Sulaimān[1] and Bābā Mankalī who were among the great officers of the enemy and who were guarding the dam were on that night sleeping the sleep of negligence. Being ashamed of their behaviour they became wanderers in the desert of ruin and went off to Ghorāghāt.

As the siege was protracted and as H.M. was already inclined to turn his rein towards the conquest of the eastern provinces, the receipt of Munʿim Khān's reports confirmed his purpose. The royal retinue therefore moved from Fatḥpūr to Agra, and preparations were made for the expedition. Arrangements were made for having large boats, and it was decided that H.M. the Shāhinshāh, together with the princes and a few of the ladies, and the cream of the courtiers, should proceed by boat, while the main army and the great camp should travel by land. As absences from musters[2] exceeded the attendances, able and zealous *sazāwals* were appointed to cause the presence of the troops. The Shāhinshāh directed his attention in Agra towards the arrangements for this expedition and considered the improvement of the world as Divine worship.

At this time the writer of this glorious record, Abul Faẓl, the son of Mubārak was, in accordance with a sublime indication and mysterious message, exalted by prostrating himself at the holy Court of the Shāhinshāh. By the Divine assistance there was a beginning
84 of the cure of his self-worshipping pride. The brief account of this matter is as follows. After[3] coming from the hidden chamber of the womb to the crowded inn of existence he (*i.e.* A. F.) in his fifth year attained to conventional discretion. Under the educating eye of his spiritual and physical father he in his fifteenth year became acquainted with the rational and the traditional sciences (*fanūn-i-*

[1] Blochmann 370 and 476.

[2] Shān. Cf. p. 71 of text, line 11. Shān should be *sān*. See Vullers II. 195*a* and Irvine, A. of M., p. 182.

[3] Cf. Jarrett III. 443. It is interesting to compare A. F.'s account of his mental struggles with that given by the Rev. Imādu-d-dīn, a convert to Christianity, in his autobiography, English translation, London, Church Missionary House. 1885. Part of this is given by Garcin de Tassy in his History of Hindustáni Literature II, 14.

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ḥikmī-u-a'lūm-i-naqlī). Though these opened the gate of knowledge and gave him the entry to wisdom's antechamber, yet by his ill-fortune he became egotistic and self-conceited. The foot [1] of his energy rested for a while in admiration of his own excellences, and the throng of students around him augmented his presumption. Their indiscriminate agitation and lack of judgment put into his head the thought of asceticism and retirement. Though during the day his cell was made bright by teaching science, yet at night he would take the path of the fields and approach the enthusiasts of the "Way of Search." He would implore inspiration from those treasure-holding paupers. I was kept [2] in the defiles of astonished perturbation by the contrary views of the superficially learned, and by the vogue of imitative formalists. I had neither power to be silent nor strength to cry out. Though the exhortations of my honoured father kept me from the desert of madness, yet no helpful remedy reached the troubled spot of my soul. Whiles my heart was drawn towards the sages of the country of Cathay (khiṭṭa-i-Khaṭā), whiles it felt inclined towards the ascetics of Mount Lebanon (the Druses) [3] (?). Sometimes a desire for conversation with the Lamas [4] of Thibet broke my peace,[5] and sometimes a sympathy with the *padres* of Portugal pulled at my skirt. Sometimes a conference with the *mubids* of Persia, and sometimes a knowledge of the secrets of the Zendavesta robbed me of

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[1] The meaning is that his success lessened the spirit of self-improvement as he halted in contemplation of his own abilities and acquirements.

[2] Here A. F. changes to the first person.

[3] Blochmann in his translation of this passage, biography of Abul Faẓl, p. xii, has "the hermits of Lebanon." The words in text are *murtāẓān-i-Lubnān*, and perhaps the reference is to the Noṣairis or followers of 'Alī. Cf. mention of Nosairīs in III. 271.

[4] The text has *jogīyān*, but there is the variant Lābhāī, which is a corruption of Lāmahā.

[5] A. F. begins his account of himself in the third person and then glides into the first. The best comment on the passage is to be found in the third book of his letters, under the head of "*Khuṭbu-i-kajkāl buzurg*, i.e., "Discourses about the great beggar's bowl," p. 265 of Newal Kishor's lith. ed., where he gives a similar account of himself. There (p. 266) he says that contrary to the experience of most men he came to the years of discretion at five, and understood all the ordinary sciences by the time he was fifteen. He then spent ten years more in discussions and conferences. This only increased his self-conceit. But his soul turned away from the delight of teaching and the applause of his pupils, and he thought of

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repose, for my soul was alienated from the society both of the sobered[1] and the (spiritually) drunken of my own land. Though the foodlessness of search was broken by the emporium (*miṣr-i-jām'a*) of outward and inward perfections, by which is meant my advantageous attendance on my honoured father, yet as that unique product of creation's workshop lived under the veil[2] of seclusion, there was no remedy for my distress. Owing to my own ignorance I thought that my outward[3] position was incompatible with the final state (*'uqbā*), and was much disturbed in consequence, and sought to be remote from the society around me. At last fortune favoured me, and mention was made in the holy assemblage (Akbar's religious meetings) of the acquirements of this one (himself) who was bewildered in life's society. My honoured brother,[4] my well-wishing friends, my loving relatives, and my disciples were unanimous in saying, "You should obtain the boon of serving the spiritual and temporal Khedive." I was not inclined to do this, and my atrabilious apprehensions of the social state disturbed my soul, which was inclined to solitude. For I had not opened a farseeing eye, and my genius was bent upon breaking the bonds of restraint. After the fashion of the ignorant and superficial I looked upon external circumstances as destructive of inwardness, and limitation as opposed to absoluteness. At length my father[5] withdrew the veil and guided me to truth. He made clear to me the

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pursuing a life of religious seclusion. He then goes on to describe his seven births somewhat as he does at p. 115 of A.N. III. (text). A. F. was born in the beginning of 958 A.H. or 14 January 1551, and he was introduced to Akbar for the second time in the 19th year (982) when he was in his 25th year. His first introduction occurred a few months previously.

[1] Arbāb-i-ṣaḥū-u-iṣaḥāb-i-sakr, "The masters of sobriety, and the lords of drunkenness," meaning the rationalists and the enthusiasts, *i.e.*, the Ṣūfiṣ. Cf. Dārā Shikoh's account in the Safīna-al-auliya of the famous mystic Ḥusain b. Manṣūr, Ḥallāj, where he calls him a Ṣāḥib-i-sakr.

[2] Referring to his father's retirement from the world.

[3] I think the reference is to A. F.'s position, and not to that of his father.

[4] *Barādarān garāmī.* I think that this is a honorific plural and that the reference is only to Faẓiī, and Blochmann, p. xii, seems to have so taken it. But A. F. had other brothers than Faiẓī, though they were younger than himself, and they may be referred to here. Or the reference may be to brothers and cousins (brethren).

[5] *Khudāī majāzī.* The visible God, *i.e.*, his father Mubārak.

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wondrous working of the authors of destiny, and withdrew from my head the hood of self-conceit. By delightful discourses in private interviews and in judicious assemblies, he impressed upon me the spiritual perfections of the sitter on the throne of fortune (Akbar). By sage expositions he made it clear that "The piety and knowledge 85
of God possessed by this divinely born jewel are imperfectly known by any one. At this day he is the leader of the caravans both of Society and of Seclusion, the meeting of the oceans of Realm and Religion, the dawn of the lights of form and substance. The multiplicity of external associations does not withhold him from essential unity. Outwardly bound, he is inwardly free. From him comes the solution of spiritual and temporal matters." Of necessity I preferred the pleasing of him (his father) to my own desires, and as my heart's treasury, rich in spiritualities, was empty of the world's goods, I wrote a commentary on the verse of the Throne [1] as an offering to the sublime court, and I presented the writing as an excuse for my being empty-handed. The Shāhinshāh received it graciously. He cast special glances on me, and by the wealth of service which is indeed the elixir of worth, he calmed my troubled mind. Love for that holy personality took possession of my heart. At this time the expedition to the eastern provinces engaged his mind. My disposition did not permit me, the sitter in the dust, to seek association with the great ones of the court, and those who were attached to the threshold of honour had not, when engrossed by the affairs of the Sultanate, leisure to take notice of unknown and humble persons. I was debarred from entering the service. Though my old notions still lurked in my soul, yet the spiritual tie between me and that great one of realm and religion continued to bind me, and when the lord of the earth returned, after conquering the eastern provinces, to the capital of Fatḥpūr, he remembered me, the anchorite. I had the good fortune to kiss the threshold, and this bewildered one came to find his face on the path. A short account of this will be given in the account [2] of the events of that period.

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[1] "Name of the 256th verse of the second chapter of the Qorān." (B. xii, note.) Badayūnī B. 168 says that people reported that this commentary was really written by Mubārak.

[2] See text, p. 114, where A. F.'s second interview and his presentation

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One of the occurrences was that Shujā'at Khān came from the Khān-Khānān and did homage. It has already been mentioned that he had been sent in charge of Qāsim 'Alī Khān to the Khān-Khānān in order that he might punish him. The Khān-Khānān returned thanks for this great favour. He treated Shujā'āt with affection and respect and solicited his pardon. As it is the Shāhinshāh's nature to forgive, he granted the request and sent for Shujā'āt. On the day of Amurdād 7 Khurdād, Divine month, he produced nine choice elephants from among the spoils which Khān 'Ālam had taken from the enemy. Among them was Gaj Ratn which was a magnificent elephant and was entered among the special elephants. In a short time the arrangements for the expedition were made by the personal attention of H.M. Such wonderfully fashioned boats were made under his directions as to be beyond the powers of description. There were various delightful quarters and decks, and there were gardens such as clever craftsmen could not make on land, on the boats. The bows,[1] too, of every one of those waterhouses were made in the shape of animals, so as to astonish spectators. The clerks who were employed arranged large boats for every office which is required for administrative purposes, and all the courtiers had boats suitable to their degree. There were wonderful instances of architecture, and various canopies and extraordinary decorations, etc., so that if this writer should proceed to describe them he would be thought to be exaggerating.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. the Shāhinshāh appointed Muẓaffar Khān to the charge of the great camp in order to educate him and to bring him out of his seclusion. But he in his folly used improper language in regard to his acceptance of this great office and so again fell out of favour. The duty was therefore made over to M. Yūsuf[2] Khān Riẓavī.

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of a second treatise, *viz.*, that on the chapter of victory, are described. See also Blochmann, pp. xi and xii, where this is noticed and where there is also a paraphrase of A. F.'s account of his early days. See also Jarrett III 443-5 for a more detailed account of A. F.'s early studies.

[1] See B. 279, where however the statement is that it was the sterns of the boats that were made in the shape of animals. The word in text is *sir*.

[2] Blochmann 346. Firishta mentions that he married a daughter of M. Askarī.

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One of the occurrences was that as H.M. was proceeding towards the eastern provinces it came to his hearing that there was disorder in Gujrāt and that the sons of Ikhtiyār-al-Mulk had stirred up rebellion. M. Koka was distinguished by royal favours and received leave to go there.

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CHAPTER XVII.

Expedition of the Shāhinshāh by Water to the Eastern Provinces.

The[1] canon of majestic sovereignty and the principles for just rulers, who have charge of spiritual and temporal affairs, require that just as contentment with their position is fitting for good subjects so that they should not be distracted by trying to grasp what they cannot get, and should not extend the foot of desire beyond their condition, so should justice-loving rulers not be satisfied with the countries of which they are in possession, but should set their hearts upon conquering other countries and regard this as a choice form of Divine worship. This is a very important point and one which the
87 far-sighted should keep before their vision. The wise and judicious who understand the spirit of the age have said that if this civilised world, which has been split up owing to the inattention of great souls, were under one able and just ruler of extensive capacity, the dust of dissension would assuredly be laid and mortals find repose. Hence it is that the Adorner of fortune's parterre in our age is continually engaged in the conquest of other countries.

When the arrangements for the expedition had taken shape, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān who was the Vakīl of the Diwān-Khālṣa, and had full control of that department, was left in Agra. At the same time Ṭaiyīb Khān was set aside, and Rai Bhagwān Dās was made Mustaufī[2] of the whole of the imperial dominions and Rai Purukhotam[3] received a robe of honour and was made Bakhshī. On the day of Dībāẕar 8 Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Tuesday 29 Ṣafar (15 June 1574), H.M. embarked in company with the august princes and the veiled ladies.

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[1] A. F.'s defence of Akbar's restlessness and continual encroachment on the territories of others is interesting, but not convincing.

[2] Blochmann VI, where the Mustaufī is said to be the deputy-Diwān. Evidently this was not Rajah Bhagwān Dās Kachawaha.

[3] Blochmann 180 and 528.

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Verse.

The skill of clever workmen
Made a house to go round the world
'Twas a wondrous device of the master-sage,
A moving house while the inmates stood still
All the travellers went on it
They journeyed with it, seated, while it travelled.

The names of the renowned companions who went with H.M. on this auspicious expedition are as follows:—

1. Rajah Bhagwant Dās.
2. Rajah Mān Singh.
3. Zain Khān Koka.
4. Shahbāz Khān.
5. Ṣādiq Khān.
6. Qāsīm Khān Mīr Baḥr.
7. Rajah Bīr Bar.
8. Jalāl Khān.
9. Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān.
10. Saiyid 'Abdulla Khān.
11. Mādhū Singh.
12. Naqīb Khān.
13. Qamar Khān.
14. Mīr Sharīf.
15. Niyābat Khān.
16. Saiyid Muḥammad Khān Maujī.
17. Ḥakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk.
18. Maliku-sh-shu'arā S. Faiẓī.
19. Peshrau Khān.

Of the *Ahl s'āādat* (the learned men) there were Shaikh 'Abdu-n-nabī the Ṣadr, Ḥakīm-al-mulk, Qāẓī Y'aqūb[1] and other distinguished men.

One of the wonderful things was that H.M. took along with him two mountain-like, swift-as-the-wind elephants. The first one was Bāl Sundar, who was put into one boat with two female elephants.

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[1] The Iqbālnāma adds the name of Faiẓī.

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The merits of this elephant are beyond description. Together with rank-breaking might, and strength to cast down mountains he was perfectly sedate and quiet. He showed discretion even when in the height of being *mast*. He did nothing immoderate without the hint of his driver. The other elephant was called Saman and was a fit companion for the other. He was in another boat along with two females. The spectacle was an astonishing one. The numerous boats of various kinds, the hoisting of sky-high masts, the tumult of the waves of the river, the force of the wind, the rush of the clouds and the rain, the roar of the thunder, and the flashing of the
88 lightning produced a strange appearance. On the day of Mihr 16 Tīr, Divine month, when the fleet halted at Etawah there was a storm in the Jumna, and many of the river-houses were sunk by the waves. On the day of Rām a halt was made at Kālpī; on the day of Anīrān, the 30th Tīr, Divine month, in the village of Cakūr a wicked brahman,[1] who from excessive lust had intercourse with his own daughter, was capitally punished. On the day of Shab H.M. halted at Ilahābās (Allahabad). On the day of Ormuz, the 1st Amrdād, Divine month, when he left that pleasant station, the river was very boisterous. There blew a hurricane, and eleven boats were sunk. The orchestra too was damaged, but was saved by the Divine help. As H.M. wished that the baggage (*aghrūq*)[2] and the large camp should stay at Jaunpūr, Muḥasan Khān who had charge of that city in accordance with orders arranged equipages for a journey by land, but H.M. did not approve of the sacred pavilions being sent on from where he was. Near Ilahābas, Qāsim 'Alī Khān came from the Khān-Khānān and had the bliss of doing homage. He brought reports of the success of the army. On this day H.M. the Shāhinshāh remembered Ḥusain Khān and inquired why he was not in attendance during this auspicious expedition. It was represented to him that atrabiliousness (*sauda*) had overcome him, and that he was spending his days in attacking subject-people and in plundering the peasantry. H.M. was displeased on hearing this report, but as the grand expedition was going on, he did not send anyone to chastise him. On the day of Bahman 2 Amardād, Divine month, he set up his standards in Benares. On

[1] The case is more fully described in the T.A.

[2] It seems especially to mean the tents of the women.

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this day, too, the river was boisterous. Especially this was the case near the fort of Cunār, so that the naval authorities were alarmed. A large number of persons left the boats and came on by the dry land. H.M. put his trust in God and went on by boat with the same open brow and cheerful heart, and he sent on Sher Beg Tawācī-bāshī in a swift skiff to the Khān-Khānān to give him the news of his near approach. He remained three days in that pleasant city (Benares) and on the day of Khirdād cast anchor at the village of Godī which is a dependency of Saiyidpūr and where the river Godī[1] joins the Ganges. On that day the great camp arrived in the vicinity of the royal standards, and M. Yūsuf Khān and several officers paid their respects.

Though the Shāhinshāh was according to his custom always in appearance engrossed in the great matters of the state, yet by virtue of the principle of seclusion in the midst of society he ever kept up communion with the incomparable Deity, and never for a moment abandoned spiritual contemplation. In order to strengthen this connection and seclusion (*parda ārāī*), sweet, heart-entrancing minstrels **89** whispered in the precincts of his quarters strains of detachment and of increase in ecstacy. On many occasions of his presence Mīr Sharīf[2] the brother of Naqīb K. read with a beautiful[3] voice about spiritual love, and H.M. emerged many a time from behind the veil and showed tender-heartedness (*riqqat mīfarmūdand*) and had wetted eyelashes. O God! this sea of wisdom and ocean of enlightenment would left fall drops of sorrow on account of the blasts of the strong gales of ignorance, and of the deviations of men! Or perhaps it was to teach softness of heart and humility to stony-hearted worldlings that this rosewater of tears was poured forth. Or from the rush of

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1 Kūdī in text. It is the Gumtī. See Jarrett II. 171, 172. Saiyidpūr is the Saidpūr of I. G., xxi, 384, and is in the Ghāzīpūr district.

2 He was a son of 'Abdul Laṭīf of Qasbīn, and he and his brethren were on this expedition. He was afterwards accidentally killed by his brother Naqīb while playing polo. A.N., iii, 173. Badāyūnī mentions his fine voice (ii, 230).

3 Kitāb-i-'Ishqīya. There is the variant 'Ishīqa, which is supported by the Iqbālnāma. Probably it was some special book having this title. D' Herbelot mentions two Kitāb 'Ishqī, one being attributed to Aristotle. Possibly the work meant is the *dīvān* of 'Ishqī K. See Badayūnī iii, 277.

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spiritual things he felt cramped in the gilded parlours of externality and so expressed his sorrow. Or from his wide capacity and the shorelessness of the ocean of Divine excellence he regarded his spiritual treasures as of small amount, and while possessing a mine of wisdom let trickle forth the regret of non-attainment!

Verse.[1]

I call for a pilot in Noah's ark
I call for an acquaintance in a kinsman's house
I'm not Jacob, none of mine is in the well
Yet I'm wondering whom I should call (to help).

Before H.M. had left the capital, reports used to come from the Khān-Khānān and the other great officers to the effect that it would be well if H.M.'s army came as far as Jaunpūr, and that Dāūd would inevitably become a wanderer in the wilderness of ruin. The holy lips, which are interpreters of the Divine secrets, remarked thereon that such language was not good, and that the game would not be captured till the *humā* of his majesty had spread his shadow over the province, and the falcon of his might spread his wings in the atmosphere of that land. But his genius—from a regard to the education of his servants—was willing that the victory should be obtained by them. So by his order the boats were taken up the river Godī in order that they might stay for some time at Jaunpūr, and that what the officers had requested, and what the court had replied, might be impressed upon all high and low. Accordingly, on the day of Mirdād 7 Amardād, Divine month, the standards of fortune halted in the village of Bahirāj which is a dependency of the *pargana* of Karākat.[2] On the day of Dībāẕar when they were stationed at the village of Yaḥyāpūr[3], one of the dependencies of Jaunpūr, reports came from the officers to the effect that the difficult knot would be easily untied if H.M. would speedily cast his shadow over them.

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[1] The verse describes one who is discontented or sorrowful in the midst of abundance.

[2] J. ii. 164. It is in Sarkār Jaunpūr.

[3] Badayūnī 179 says it is at the junction of the Ganges and the Gumtī.

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On the day of Āẕar the princes and the ladies were sent to Jaunpūr by the river Godī. Ḥakīm-ul-mulk, S. Aḥmad, Ikhlāṣ K. and others were left in charge of them and H.M. proceeded to Patna.

Good God! The Shāhinshāh of the age from consummate well- 90
wishing desired to magnify the work of the loyal, and the incomparable Deity willed that all great affairs and noble deeds should be accomplished by that mine of greatness, so that both his grandeur might be certified to all, and also that mercenary servants might have no claim upon him! Accordingly that easy task became difficult to the army, so that they had to ask for the royal expedition. H.M. asked for assistance from the hidden armies and addressed his mighty genius to the conquest of the countries of Bengal and Behar. At this time news came of the conquest of Bhakkar (Scinde). The secret intelligences at this time increased congratulation upon congratulation. First, there was the fact that the fort of Bhakkar, which world-conquerors could not have quickly taken, had been conquered by mediocre servants of the Khedive. Second, it was an omen for the victories of the imperial servants who had girt up their loins for the conquest of the eastern provinces.

Though able and zealous servants may exert themselves, yet the far-seeing sage knows that, as regards the unravelling of the difficulties of the world, and the attainment of great designs, the chief results are obtained by the right intentions and proper actions of world-rulers. And those who study the masterpieces of ancient times know that success does not come into the bosom without preliminary (unsuccessful) efforts. It is not till the second attempt that the object is obtained. Hence it is that the sitter on fortune's throne (Akbar) concentrates himself upon every work that he undertakes and brings to a conclusion everything that he has glanced at. This is perfectly clear to every one who knows the events of the reign. The taking of Bhakkar[1] is a conspicuous and new instance. The history of it is as follows: It has already been narrated that Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, and Mujāhid Khān had at the request of Nāhid Begam received permission to go to Tatta. Sulṭān Maḥmūd had shown hostility, but they had by virtue of mystic aid and by their energy done great deeds and engaged in the siege of Bhakkar. Sulṭan Maḥmūd

[1] B. 421.

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occupied himself in defending the fort. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a famine broke out in the fort and Sulṭan Maḥmūd from excess of caution, or from meanness and avarice distributed to his men grain that had been stored up for twenty or thirty years, though he had abundance of new supplies. The result was that there was a great deal of disease and swellings. God's anger sent a pestilence. A strange thing was when the swellings were prevalent in the country every one who boiled the bark of the *siris* tree (*acacia odoratissima*) and partook thereof recovered his health. Hence the bark was bought for its weight in gold.

91 When Sulṭan[1] Maḥmūd was nearing his end he petitioned the court, saying that he had always remained on the path of obedience and that it was his ill-fate that this distress had come upon him. Now he was presenting the fort to Sulṭān Selīm the noble prince. But as there was a cloud between him and Muḥibb 'Alī Khān he saw that if he made it over to him, he would only be rendered contemptible. Battles had taken place between them and he was not safe from being molested by him. He hoped that one of the servants of the court would be sent in order that he might make over the fort and district to him and might rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune. H.M. graciously accepted this petition and sent Mīr Gesū who was an old and able officer. Before he reached that country Sultan Maḥmūd had died and the garrison were waiting for him. When he arrived, Mujāhid Khān was besieging the fort of Ganjaba. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān's daughter Sām'iah Begam who was the mother of Mujāhid Khān was angry on hearing of Mīr Gesū's coming, and in her wickedness fitted out some ships against him and brought him into difficulties. The Mīr was nearly captured. Khwāja Muqīm of Herat, the father of Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, who had gone to that country as Amīn, by wise counsels prevailed upon Muḥibb 'Alī Khān to abstain from misplaced strife and improper commotions. When Mīr Gesū came to the fort they delivered over the keys to him. Thus did a large an extent of cultivated country come into possession. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān and Mujāhid Khān from evilness of disposition and foolish greed did not uproot their

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[1] Sultan Maḥmūd died in 980. See T. Ma'ṣūmī, Malet 146. This message was sent shortly before his death (1572-73).

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hearts from that country. At the same time it was difficult for them to remain there without the holy order. Mūḥibb 'Alī Khān took the course of coming to terms, and at last Mīr Gesū settled that Mujāhid Khān should go to Patna,[1] and that Muḥibb 'Alī Khān with his wife and daughter should dwell in the town of Loharī. When the agreement had been carried out Mīr Gesū put a large force on board of boats and proceeded against Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. He could not resist, and went off to Mātīla. The assailants plundered the city (Loharī), and Sām'īah Begam fortified her house and took to fighting and resistance. For one night and a day she with supreme boldness and skill maintained her position within the four walls. When she was[2] at extremity Mujāhid Khan made a forced march and defeated the troops (Mīr Gesū). For three months longer he held possession of the country on this side (the east) of the river (the Indus). At length Bhakkar was conferred upon Tarson Khān. His brethren hastened to the province. Mir Gesū in his folly wished to hold the fort (of Bhakkar), but at last was guided by auspiciousness and gave up the seditious idea. A country which, when held for some time by a stranger increases presumption, must have some quality in it **92** which carries the obedient and submissive to the extreme of turbulence. Otherwise whence this sort of men? and whence this boasting and sedition?[3]

Now that an abridged account of the bestowal of this mystic favour (the conquest of Bhakkar) has been given, I return to the high road of my design. On the day of Abān 10 Amardād, Divine month, the royal barges entered the Ganges from the river Gūdī, and halted at the village of Cocakpūr. M. Yūsuf Khān here joined the cortège along with the main camp. After this the army encamped opposite whatever place the royal barges anchored at. Next day H.M. mounted the elephant Mubārak-Qadam and drove it in person?[4]

[1] Blochmann 421 and the Lucknow Edition have Tatta instead of Patna. See T. M'aṣūmī, Malet 146, for an account of the delivery of the fort of Bhakkar.

[2] The T. M'aṣumī, Malet 146, speaks of Sām'īah Begam's exercising great cruelty on the sick who came out of Bhakkar.

[3] See for an account of Mīr Gesū's proceedings, Elliot I, 241. He was a man of violent temper, and was afterwards killed by his soldiers at Mīrtha. See *infra*, p. 414. A similar fate befel a successor of his—'Itimād Khān.

[4] Perhaps it is only meant that he led the way.

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About 500 elephants descended into the river in the wake of that tiger of the forest of war. The spectators were full of amazement. By the favour of God they were safe in those raging waters, but one elephant named Pūskā, which was about that time overflowingly *mast*, fell into the whirlpool of annihilation. While traversing the river and in the midst of the waves a large fish jumped up and rested in front of the Shāhinshāh. Soothsayers knew that this was a sign of success, and gave thanks to God. On the day of Mah, 12 Amardād, Divine month, the station of Ghāzīpur was reached.

From the day that H.M. set out on this expedition he left the boat every day and enjoyed himself in hunting deer with *citas*. It was an occupation to the superficial, and those who were attached to this department had their desires gratified. The far-seeing prince ostensibly enjoyed himself in their company, but inwardly he was immersed in the rays of worship, and was also cultivating his spiritual kingdom. Judicious spectators had in this way an opportunity of beholding in this assemblage of the decrees of fate (Akbar) the indications of final success, and so gained courage. Among these there was this, that on one occasion of the usual daily hunt in this delightful spot a deer came in sight. H.M. ordered an eager leopard swift as the wind to be loosed. By vulpine tactics the deer escaped from his claws and went off swifter than the wind. Just then a second leopard came up and disposed of him. The far-seeing mystery-knowing prince said[1] to his courtiers: "At the beginning of this sport we took from the behaviour of this leopard an omen about
93 Dāūd. It flashed upon our soul that he would not, on this occasion, become the prisoner of the claws of the kingly wrath; but that the second time he would be caught by the exertions of the hunters of fortune (*iqbāl*)." The end was as had flashed on the mirror of his enlightened heart. Accordingly an account thereof (that is, of the success against Dāūd) will come from the tongue of the pen.

On the day of Tīr, Amardād, Divine month, the boats anchored at Dāspūr, which is on the bank of the Ganges. 'Itmād Khān, the

[1] Perhaps Akbar said this not then but at some subsequent time when surrounded by his courtiers. The story is also told in the T. A., where the name of the particular kind of deer is given, and Akbar is represented as mentioning the omen then and there.

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Khwāja sarā (eunuch) came in a swift boat from the siege, and was exalted by doing homage. He gave the news of friends and foes, and represented that the enemy was very strong. The adorner of fortune's assembly in order to gladden hearts lifted the veil of mystery and made announcement of victory. For the sake of giving confidence to the disturbed hearts of the generality he sent for Saiyid Mīrakī,[1] the son of Mir 'Abdu-l-Karīm Jafarī (diviner) of Ispahān, and bade him ascertain the result of the expedition and the character of the future. He, in accordance with the rules of the science, arranged and classified the letters and brought out this verse:—

Verse.

Akbar by auspicious fortune shall quickly
Take the country out of the hand of Dāūd.

The superficial and simple became tranquillised by this result, and the day of victory bedewed with the sweat of shame the countenances of the crafty seekers after interpretations. Also at the time when H.M. was at the capital and engaged in preparations for the expedition, the same Mīr had received orders to take an augury in order that the hearts of the superficial might be comforted, and he produced this verse:—

Verse.

Though there be a countless and victorious army
Yet conquest will come from the advent of the prince.

On the day of Gosh 14 Amardād, Divine month, while the ships were anchored at the ferry of Causa, a report of a new victory came from the Khān-Khānān. The detail of this is as follows: A body of Afghan vagabonds under the command of 'Isā Khān Niāzī, who was a distinguished soldier, fell upon the entrenchment of Qīyā Khān, and there was a great fight. The defenders behaved with valour. By the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, the staunchness of Qīyā Khān, and the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal, the enemy were repulsed. 'Īsā Khān was killed by one of the slaves of Lashkar Khān, who did not know who he was. On hearing this good news, which

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[1] Cf. Lowe 179, where Badayūnī has a good deal to say about the soothsayer whom he calls Saiyid Mīrak Ispahānī.

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was a fitting prelude to legions of victories, there was exultation in the army. H.M. in his graciousness sent the original of the Khān-
94 Khānān's report to the princes in order that their longing hearts might be comforted. On this day the main camp which was marching by land crossed the Karmnāsa which is an affluent of the Ganges. One of the special elephants was drowned. The river is regarded as unfortunate [1] by the people of India. Next day the encampment was on the banks of the Ganges which is fed by the fountains of the bounty of God. By the efforts of those in charge the whole army passed safely over. On the day of Mihr, when H.M. was encamped at the village of Ḍomnī, which is a dependency of Bojpūr,[2] a report came from Mun'im Khān. The gist of it was that H.M. should come by water and that the main camp should come by land. It also represented that from the length of the siege and the constant rains, the army was deficient in equipments, and that if the Shāhinshāh would send help from his special armoury (*qūr-i-khāṣa*) it would be useful. The request was approved and armour and weapons of various sorts were sent. On the day of Rashn 18 Amardād, Divine month, Lodīpūr was reached. On this day too the river was boisterous. One of the boats which contained the *cītas* was sunk, and of the special *cītas* Daulat Khān and Dilrang were drowned. Also the boat of the army-qāẓī,[3] of Bhagwān Dās the treasurer and Sher Beg,[4] went down in the waves. On the day of Farwardīn 19 Amardād, Divine month, H.M. halted opposite the town of Maner. At this place [5] the river Sone joins the Ganges and loses its name. Next day the boats remained there at anchor and an order was given that Ṣādiq Khān and Shahbāz Khān should cross the main camp over the Sone. A large sum of money was made over to Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Khān, and he was sent to the glorious shrine of Shaikh Yaḥīā [6] Manerī which is in Maner, to distribute it among those attached thereto and to ask for inspiration.

The Shaikh was the son of Shaikh Israel and one of the saints of Hindustan. He belonged to the Cishtī order, and also to the

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[1] Jarrett ii, 151, and note I.

[2] The text has Barjpūr.

[3] B. 288. We learn from the T. A. that the Army-Qāzī (judge advocate) was named Y'āqūb.

[4] B. 515.

[5] Jarrett ii. 150 and note 1. The junction is now ten miles higher up.

[6] This is Shaikh Yahiā the father of Sharafu-d-dīn. Cf. Jarrett iii. 370, where A.F. gives a short biography of Sharafu-d-din.

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Firdūsī[1] order. Men put much reliance on the Shaikh. They say the father was extremely desirous of having a son, and went to wait upon S. Sharafu-d-dīn[2] of Pānīpat. The saint perceived his desire, foretold the birth of a son and bade him call him after himself. Though the Shaikh did not leave India, yet by the force of his genius he became saturated with the knowledge of the spiritual world and also fully understood the sins and deceptions of the carnal 95
spirit and then rested in firmness of soul. His words have great weight among the Sufistic sects. The Kitāb-i-ma'dan-al-ma'ānī (the book of the spiritual mine), the Ganj-i-lā īkhfā (the abiding treasure) and the Sharḥ-i-ādāb-al-murīdīn[3] (the exposition of the education of disciples) are among the jewels of his pen. There are also three collections of spiritual and theological truths which he sent to some of his followers in the shape of epistles. One contains 150 letters, the second has 100 letters of advice, while the third has 2 letters. The Shaikh lived in the time of Sultan Muḥammad[4] Tughlaq. In the beginning of his career he chose hills and deserts, and practised vigorous austerities. Afterwards he came to Delhi and paid his respects to Shaikh Niẓām.[5] At his instigation he entered the service of Shaikh Najmu-d-dīn Firdūsī.[6]

On the day of Rām 21 Amardād, Divine month, when the victorious standards were flying at Sherpūr, Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage. He reported on the state of the army. He asked for orders about the coming of Mun'im Khān as an *istiqbāl* (coming to welcome), and as to how far he should come. The order was that as the siege was going on, he should not come further than two *kos*, and that the other officers should remain at their posts in the entrenchments. On the same night the Rajah was encompassed with favours and received his dismissal. At this time 'Arab, the son of

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1 The eighth of the orders of India. Jarrett iii. 354 and 356.

2 Jarrett iii. 368.

3 A. F. refers to this work in the beginning of the third volume of his Inshā, and it would appear that he edited the letters. Sharafu-d-dīn's writings were a favourite with Akbar. B. 48, 103, and Khazīna A. I. 291.

4 The text has Sulṭān Mahmūd, but this is obviously incorrect if Maḥmūd Ghaznavī is meant. I therefore adopt the variant, Sharafu-d-dīn died in 781 or 2 A.H., 1379-80, and M. Tughlaq I. died in 1351.

5 *i.e.*, Nizāmu-d-dīn Auliyā. Jarrett iii. 365.

6 Jarrett iii. 356.

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Hāshim Khān, who had entered into service, and who as deputy[1] for his father brought reports about the events of the eastern districts, was honoured by receiving the title of Nīyābat Khān.

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[1] *Niyābat.* Apparently this viceregency procured him his title.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

The arrival of the holy cortège of the Shahinshah at the environs of Patna, and his addressing himself to the taking of the city.

The world-conqueror chose the river route, in this season full of turbulence, and with constant rain and tempest. With a tranquil heart he halted at the desired place on the day of Bād 22, Amardād, Divine month, corresponding to Wednesday 15 Rabī-us-ṣānī, 3 August, 1574. At a distance of two *kos* from this station the Khān-Khānān paid his respects, accompanied by boats containing various kinds of fireworks, and gunners and cannoneers. He was distinguished by favours, and in accordance with H.M.'s signal those in charge of the pyrotechnics fired the guns. The noise, the smoke, and the concussion shook the earth, and the neighbourhood for several *parasangs* became dark as the fortunes (*lit.* day) of the enemies of domi- 96
nion. The horrific noise wound its way into the brains of the darkened foe, and their gall-bladders became as water. Their liver-less souls were upset, and there was a loud sound of the tocsin of victory. Trumpets conveyed to men the news of victory. In an auspicious moment H.M. turned his face to the shore and mounted the steed of fortune. He alighted at the quarters of the Khān-Khānān, where lofty platforms had been erected, and there he received presents of jewels and other rarities, and also distributed them. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Birlās, Qīyā Khān, Ashraf Khān, Majnūn Khān, Khān 'Ālam, and other great officers who belonged to the army, paid their respects. After them other sirdars and noted men were exalted by the bliss of prostration. Each of them was distinguished by special favours.

Next day H.M. surveyed the fort, and as he perceived that the taking of Ḥājīpūr would be the means of subduing it he applied his genius to this enterprise. That fort is opposite Patna, and the river Ganges which is about two *kos* broad flows between the two cities with great force and turbulence. Next day M. 'Alī 'Alam Shāhī, Saiyid Shams Bokhārī and his sons, Rajah Gajpatī and an army of

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brave men were appointed, under the command of Khān 'Ālam, to mount upon the river-traversing camels of boats, taking with them a suitable park of artillery, and to take that fort, which was a great support of sedition.

Also on this day Dāūd's ambassdor attained an interview through the intervention of the Khān-Khānān. Before the royal standards had been reared in those parts, the Khān-Khānān had sent Khāldīn Khān to Dāūd and given him good counsels: the gist of them was that the thread of affairs was still in his hand, that he should consider his position, and should look well to the might of fortune, and the daily-increasing dominion of the Shāhinshāh, and so be merciful to himself. He should not be the cause of the shedding the blood of so many men, and of the ruin of the property and honour of so many. There was a limit to the intoxicating power of the world. Why did he not come to himself, and why did he not attach himself to the saddlestraps of God-given fortune? He after much meditation, from feline treachery, sent one of his officers along with Khāldīn Khān, and made various supplications. He represented that he did not for himself approve of the title of sovereign. Lodī who
97 had brought him into this whirlpool of notions had received the punishment of his deeds. Now obedience to the Shāhinshāh had taken possession of his whole heart. Whatever extent of territory should be vouchsafed to him would be considered by him as a piece of good fortune. As owing to his youth and infatuation faults had been committed by him he could not agree to kiss the threshold until he had amended them by good service.

The wise sovereign understood his secret ambushes and answered as follows: "We, by virtue of our being the shadow of God, receive little and give much. Our forgiveness has no relish for vengeance, provided that Dāūd has, in this word-weaving, light from the torch of truth and will rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune, so that the hand of our grace may disperse the dust of destruction from the crown of his fortune. Otherwise let him do one of three things so that the lives and goods of so many thousands may not be an offering to ruin. First, let some one of his party come to our camp and be a spectator, and some one from our side go to his army and be a sentinel, so that no one on either side engage in war, and let us two come into the field of battle and fight with one another

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with all the arms that he knows, so that whoever by the Divine decree, and the help of heaven, shall be the conqueror shall have the kingdom. If his courage be not equal to this, let him choose some one of his soldiers who is distinguished for valour and strength of arm, and skill in combat. We also shall send one of our strong-armed ones, whose countenance shall be decked with might, against him. These two combatants will contend in the arena. The army of whichever of them conquers shall be victorious. If in his army there be no such lion-heart, then let him choose one of his host of elephants, and we too shall produce an elephant majestic as heaven. Victory shall be on the side of whichever of them prevails." The gall-bladder of that son of an Afghan was rent by the majestic utterance of the tiger-hunter (Akbar), and his sense was destroyed. As his soul was rusted he did not grasp the bliss of obedience, and and as he had no spirit he did not accept any of these just proposals !

One of the occurrences was that H.M. mounted an elephant and went to survey the height of the Panc-pahārī which is over against the fort. These are five solid[1] brick domes (mounds) (?) which ancient rulers have left as a memorial, and pahārī is the Hindī word for a little hill. That is to say, there are five mounds (*gūmbaz*) which resemble in height five hillocks. The black-hearted Afghans in their shamelessness and wickedness discharged cannon (at Akbar) and so worked their own eternal ruin. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was in the fort of 98
the divine protection and contemplated the wonders of creation. Friends and strangers recognised that he was guarded by God, and were impressed by the amount of his reliance upon Him.

One of the fortunate events was the falling into possession of Ḥājīpūr. The brief account of this is as follows: On the day of Arād 25 Amardād, Divine month, at breakfast-time, it appeared that the ocean of battle was in agitation in the direction of Ḥājīpur. The far-seeing prince went to the battery of Shāham Khān, from where Ḥājīpūr was visible, and watched the victory of the imperial servants.

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[1] If A.F.'s account is correct, the buildings were in a state of preservation at that time. There are only mounds of earth and brick now. Excavations have recently been made there under the superintendence of Dr. Waddell.

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Though the efforts of the heroes could not be fully made out, yet so much was clear that the flames of war were blazing. While the result was in the balance, and a watch of the day remained, H.M. the Shāhinshāh sent some experienced troops in war-boats to help the army. The garrison of Patna on seeing this placed some *ghrābs* (boats) on the route and prepared for battle. The imperial troops by God's help defeated them, and before they reached the besiegers the fort had been taken. The majesty of the Shāhinshāh's might turned to water the gall-bladders of the men of iron courage, and a large number of the wretches were slain.

The account of this is as follows: When the Khān 'Ālam was honoured by this service, a number of boatmen became his guides. At the end of the day of Dīn 24 Amardād, Divine month, he embarked, and his guides took him up stream and at night brought him, in such manner that the enemy did not know of it, into the channel which separates from the Ganges and flows close by Ḥājīpur. The presumptuous garrison fell into the whirlpool of anxiety but were compelled to fit out boats carrying guns. At first they fired guns and culverins. There was a tempest of fire, and it seemed to the spectators as if the garrison would have the best of it. Just then the ships[1] (*ghrābhā*) of the Shāhinshāh, which carried victory with them, cast a ray of conquest. At once the firmness of the wicked gave way. But, as owing to the force of the current, it was difficult for the boats to come up, the enemy could not be disposed of. Guides took the boats up towards the Gandak and then brought them to Ḥājīpūr. Though there was a rain of cannon (balls) from
99 the top of the fort, yet what could the evil imaginings of the motes of contingent existence do against the Divine aid which was supporting dominion? The warriors came out of the boats and entered the arena. Fatḥ Khān the son of Ghāzī[2] Khān, Ibrāhīm Khān and Ilhadiyah Sarwālī, who were the sirdars of the garrison, barricaded[3] the lane of access and made a hot resistance. Fatḥ Khān and many of the enemy fell in that fight, and many escaped as quickly as possible from that whirlpool of destruction. Sundry vagabonds set

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[1] Apparently this means that the boats sent by Akbar came in sight and that the enemy's fleet thereupon fled.

[2] Perhaps Ghāzī Khān Tannūrī. [3] *Kocaband karda.*

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fire to the city and plundered it. By the help of the mystic hosts the fort came into the possession of the imperial servants. Rajah Gajpatī, Piyāda Rawān (?), the [1] gladiator, and M. 'Ali Beg [2] 'Alamshāhī, and Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī with his sons rendered valuable help to the Khān 'Ālm in this battle. All the heroes exerted themselves, and by celestial help a difficult task ended by becoming easy.

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[1] *Shamsherbāz*. B. 252. [2] B. 482.

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CHAPTER XIX.

The capture of the fort of Patna, the flight of Dāūd, and H.M.'s flying march.

As the parterre-deckers of the new spring of existence had been continually, from the first break of the dawn of fortune till the present day, which is the beginning of the blooming morn of auspiciousness, rearing this fortunate nursling, and dressing the garden of his dominion, every rosebush of hope which sheltered itself under the shade of that celestial tree was ever irrigated by the streams of delight, and day by day its branches obtained the fruit of their desires. On the other hand, every sour and crooked growth which was rampant, and scattered thorns in the path of the flower-gatherers in this garden where Spring always reigned, was consumed by the lightning of destruction. Everyone who fastened himself to the cords of this glorious threshold obtained deliverance from the accidents of the age, and prospered day by day. Every one who from want of understanding, or from infatuation, indulged in thoughts of opposition was trodden down. Worldly wealth helped him not, nor did outward helpers profit him. Every enterprise that the sublime genius of the Shāhinshāh engaged in was accomplished with the greatest ease, however difficult it might appear to ordinary eyes. Accordingly, a few instances out of many have been shown, and will yet be shown in this noble record. Verily, these doings are of Grace and not manufactured. They are Fortune and not contrivance. A fresh instance appertaining to the personality of the Shāhinshāh is the flight of Dāūd without a battle, and the taking of the fort of Patna.

100 When the Divine glory from the crescent moon of the standards of fortune shone upon that country, the Afghans' presumption began to totter, and in their confusion they chose the path of error. When the Shāhinshāh's messages, which turned to water the courage of the iron-hearted, reached them, and when at about the same time the heroes conquered Ḥājīpūr, Dāūd, who was exhilarated by the wine of thoughtlessness, came to his senses, and began to consider

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his situation. No light remained in the lamp of his contrivance, and the candle of his heart gave no illumination. In his ill-fatedness he left the path of auspiciousness, and at a time when he should have come shamefaced to kiss the threshold he went off to the desert of destruction. On the night of Ārād 25 Amardād, Divine month, he left by the wicket gate of the fort and embarked in a swift boat and proceeded to Bengal. Gūjar Khān, who was their chief swordsman, went off by the gate of the Deer-park (Āhūkhāna) with all the elephants and soldiers and fled by land. The pride and presumption of this crew were at once blown to the winds. They regarded their safety as consisting in[1] flight, and some lost their lives in the waves of the river; many perished in the intricacies of the roads, and others sank in the depths of the moat. Many perished from not being able to distinguish boat from water. Many were lost with their boats from making no distinction between a crowd and a small number (*i.e.*, from overcrowding). Many were trodden under foot in the press. The transit was closed to those behind. Heads, which were homes of folly, rubbed the feet of baseness, and haughty diadems (*afsarhā*) were fastened to the halters (*afsār*) of camels and mules. A number in fear of their lives regarded height and depth as alike and turned from the zenith of the Pleiades, (*ṣuraiya*) to the dust (*ṣara*). The fort-moat was filled with various classes of beings (*viz.*, men and animals), and a large number of Gūjar's comrades were drowned. A number rashly threw themselves into a whirlpool of evils and were destroyed. On that night, which was linked with a victorious morning, there was great commotion in the fort. A number of inexperienced and intellectually deficient persons thought there was going to be a night-sally, but the skilful felt certain that the Afghans were in confusion and about to run away. At this same time H.M. called for Bāl Sundar which was conspicuous among many thousand elephants for beauty, good temper, height, swiftness, etc., and mounted him.

When H.M. became aware that the enemy was in flight he wished to make an expedition in the self-same dark night. The Khān-Khānān kissed the ground with the lip of respect and petitioned, saying, that H.M. should set out when the standard of light should be unfurled from the Eastern quarter. This would be in accord with

[1] The text has *fasād*, but I adopt the variant *farār*.

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the rules of prudence, and also would admit of the condition of the
101 enemy's being fully ascertained. The wise prince approved of his representation, and accepted it. On the morning of the day of Ishhtād 26 Amardād, Divine month, the victorious standards entered the city of Patna by the Delhi gate. The great officers and others offered up congratulations. Abundant booty in money and goods, and especially noted elephants, came into the hands of the imperial servants. Two astronomical hours of the day were spent in arranging the affairs of the city, and then the Khān-Khānān and many able servants were appointed to bring on slowly the main army. H.M. himself mounted Nūrbaiẓā (white-light), which was at the head of the special horses, and went off post with an army of loyal heroes, so that if Dāūd had hurried off towards destruction by the way of the river, he might catch Gūjar who had taken the flower of the elephants along with him. When they came to the river Pun-Pun, its waters were greatly agitated, but the Khedive of the world relied upon God and put his horse into the stream. His devoted followers also plunged into the waves, and by good fortune the sublime retinue crossed over. The dust of injury did not touch the skirt of those who belonged to this select station of the field of trust in God. The miraculous power of the King displayed itself, and there was the note of sanctity, for the sovereign and his whole army crossed in ease and comfort the river, while many of the swift enemy, with all their knowledge of the entries and exits, had not been able to make a passage for themselves to the shore of safety. H.M. went on rapidly to Daryāpūr which is about thirty *kos* distant. He made one march of it and then drew rein. As it was evening he halted on the bank of the Ganges. Majnūn Khān, Shāhbāz Khān and other active officers were sent in pursuit of the defeated troops. As the pen of fate had not decreed their capture, they did not come up with them. But many of that ill-fated crew went to their death in the rivulets and in the mud. In that victory, which may be regarded as the broidery of great victories, 265 elephants were part of the booty. If I were to detail the marvels of those mountain-like animals, this noble record, which is adorned with conciseness, would not contain the account. On this night, and while the royal standards were placed on the bank of the Ganges, many Afghan boats full of goods were carried by the wind towards the camp, and

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immense plunder came into the possession of the warriors. On that fortunate day the general public of the camp-market gathered from the hollow of the moat, the river Pun-Pun, from a stream seven or eight *kos* from Daryāpūr, and from the bank of the Ganges purses **102** of gold and articles of armour. The common people of this great army gained their wishes. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh, such a well-epuipped army which had been the cause of much foolish boasting on the part of Dāūd had the dust of destruction thrown on its head without a battle. Their secular and spiritual reputation was destroyed. Ḥusain, the son of Ādilī,[1] who from his bad fate and darkened understanding had fled and joined the enemy, was made prisoner, and at the instance of the Khān-Khānān was put to death. By the shining of heavenly lights and the aid of spiritual hosts such a great victoy, which even the far-sighted among the exoteric regarded as difficult, was displayed. It was all accomplished with ease in the time of the rains, which the enemy had regarded as their strong fortress.

When the Khān-Khānān arrived with the main army, a chamber was prepared, and there was a private assemblage, and a council was held. The various officers submitted their opinions. One set of them, whose vision did not extend beyond the surface of things, represented that until the end of the rains, Bīhar, which had been newly acquired, should be cleared of the rubbish of opposition, and that H.M. should address himself to the conquest of Bengal at the time of the rising of Canopus. A large body of those officers who were prompt and courageous and skilful represented that Bengal should be attacked without delay, and that the enemy should not be given time to recuperate themselves. H.M. approved of this opinion and addressed himself to the conquest of Bengal. Though in his heart he wished to undertake in person the loosing of this difficult knot, yet as the balance of action was held in the hand of reason he regarded the orders of King Wisdom as the orders of God, and so adopted postponement. For the felicitous sages who have from their height of vision beheld the rose-garden of direction have decided that no service which can be performed by officers of **103** the lower class should be entrusted to those of the middle class, nor any which can be disposed of by the latter, be entrusted to the

1 The last Afghan king of Delhi.

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great officers. And what the latter can do should not be entrusted to the sons and relatives. And an enterprise which can be accomplished by those adorners of dominion should not be undertaken by himself, for he should conserve his own position which is one of the greatest gifts of God. For the maintenance of outward conditions, which is connected with discrimination, and the preservation of dignity and majesty, is in reality the guarding of the Divine gifts, and the praising of God by action. Good God! What eyes and what anxieties must belong to the far-sighted ones of actuality and to those who pay their devotions by deeds! This very conservation of dignity, and this trouble about glory are the worst qualities in the class of anchorites and ascetics, and the highest form of worship among the workers who have to do with social life! It was from the observance of this same lofty view that this victorious expedition was in the beginning kept under the veil of postponement, but as the officers were without genius, and as they begged for the presence of H.M., he was obliged to consider them and to take the field in person. Now that great victories had revealed themselves, and that the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh had again rubbed the rust off the superficial, and that the courage of the officers was increasing, that their intellects were becoming more exalted, and that they were becoming fond of work, Mun'īm Khān Khān-Khānān took responsibilty upon himself and asked to be entrusted with the service. His prayer was granted, and he was encompassed with princely favours. Many great officers, and other officials and cavaliers and an army of more than 20,000 men together with large equipments were sent with him. And in order to soothe him and to assist him in his work he was given a jāgīr in Bihār. Jaunpūr was included in the exchequer (*Khālṣa-i-sharīfa*) lands. Raẓavī[1] Khān obtained the viziership of it, and Rajah Todar Mal, who was capable and trustworthy, was presented with a standard and drum. He too was the recipient of boundless favours and went with the army. So also were all the servants, who were nominated to this army, given high offices and jāgīrs and lofty rank. Valuable instructions too were given to them, which might be honest companions to them in times of success and prosperity, and prevent

[1] B. 438. A. F. says, later, that his misconduct was one of the causes of the Bengal Mutiny. He was Selīma Begam's Atka (Bayāzīd 91a).

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them from becoming in the end intoxicated thereby, or from breaking the thread of the perception of their duty. Thus, as their outward rank was enhanced, so did he increase their spiritual condition.

On the day of Ormazd 1 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, the Khān-Khānān was sent off to Bengal, and H.M. returned to Jaunpūr where were the fortunate sons, and the chaste ladies. The chief officers who were sent to conquer Bengal were as follows:— **104**

LIST.[1]

1. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās.
2. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl.
3. Qīyā Khān.
4. Āshraf Khān.
5. Khān 'Ālam.
6. Shāham Khān.
7. Bāqī Khān.
8. Rajah Todar Mal.
9. Lashkar Khān.
10. Bābā Khān.
11. Ḥaidar Khān.
12. Mīrzā Qulī Khān.
13. L'āl Khān.
14. Payinda Muḥammad Khān.
15. M'uīn Khān.
16. Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān.
17. Naqīb Khān.
18. Ghāzī Khān Qazwīnī.
19. Mīrzā 'Alī 'Ālamshāhī.
20. Ṣāniḥ 'Āqil.
21. Wazīr Jamīl.

On that day the camp was pitched at the town of Ghīāṣpūr on the bank of the Ganges. H.M. halted there four days. Part of the

[1] The text makes 3 and 4 one man, and also unites Nos. 18 and 19. The Lucknow edition omits No. 19. This man is probably the cousin of the Naqib Khān mentioned by Blochmann 449, and who may be the No. 155 of Blochmann.

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time was spent in reviewing Dāūd's elephants. M. Yūsuf Khān was directed, as formerly, to take charge of the main camp and proceed by land. On the night of Isfandārmuz 5 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, H.M. mounted an elephant and marched off. On the day of Khirdād he reached the environs of the pleasant city of Daryāpūr. There he engaged in the pastime of elephant-fights, using for this the elephants of Dāūd.

As according to the religion of sovereignty and the canons of world-conquest, contentment (or moderation) in regard to the subjugation of countries is blameworthy and disapproved of, just as covetousness is in ascetics, he addressed his energies to the taking of the fort of Rohtās.[1] This fort has no equal for strength and solidity. There are several villages (*dih*) on its plateau, and there are various kinds of cultivation, and these yield sufficient provisions for the garrison. There are abundant springs of good water, and though the fort is on the top of a hill which neighbours the sky, and on the sides of which well-water is found at a great depth, yet inside the fort sweet water pours out on a little digging. Haibat Khān Karārānī and his son Bahādur Khān had strengthened the fort, and then gone to sleep in insouciance. Farhat Khān was nominated for this enterprise, and Moẓaffar Khān, who on the day when the Bengal officers went off had in a shamefaced manner joined the main camp and had not had the bliss of doing homage, was appointed to accompany him. His pride and vanity were cured in this way. Hājī Khān Sīstānī, Fatḥ Khān Maīdānī, Khudādād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khwāfī, Bāqī Khān Kūlābī and other warlike men were appointed to assist him. This army was sent off after it had received salutary counsels.

105 When H.M. was relieved of this business he on the day of Mirdād 7 Shahriyūr, Divine month, left Patna and encamped in the territory of Sherpūr. On that day M. Yūsuf Khān who had conducted the main camp by land was made blissful by the Shāhinshāh's advent. Next day the camp reached Fatḥpūr-Patna which is a distance of 21 kos. On that day the Sone, which was in flood, was crossed and Ṣādiq Khān was given leave in order that he too might join the main camp, and might take special precautions that the

[1] *Cf.* Jarrett II. 152.

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common people of the camp, and the household officers and especially the select (*khāṣa*) elephants should cross the river in a proper place. On the day of Āẕar 9 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, H.M. made a forced march and at the end of the day arrived at the Causa ferry. The Ganges was very broad and deep and its commotion was enough to frighten the brave. Under God's protection H.M. passed over, and left Mīr Khān Yesāwal and a number of capable and active men to assist in ferrying across the river. The cavalier of fortune went on so rapidly that many swift-goers were left behind. With a few fortunate companions of lightning-like speed he reached Jaunpūr on the day of Ābān 10 Shahrīyūr, Divine month. Men shouted for joy on beholding him so that their rejoicing reached the ears of the holy angels. The princes paid their repects, and the veiled ladies attended and partook of joy. The servants of the holy threshold and the officers of the province performed the *sijda* and contributed the brightness of two worlds. The world received the glory of springtime, and mortals got fresh life. H.M. was gracious to every one and gave his attention to the affairs of state and opened the gates of justice in the face of mankind. As thoughtfulness and prudence are the pillars of dominion H.M. remained in that city until the imperial servants had satisfactorily cleansed Bihār of the dust of the seditious. By his assistance the army which had gone towards Bengal had its wants provided for, and the conquest of that country speedily insured.

One of the occurrences was that Qāsim Khān, whom they called Kāsū, Maḥmūd Khān and a number of evil-disposed Afghans came to the borders of Bihar. The Khedive of the world sent off Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān, Shāh Ghāzī Khān of Tabrīz and many brave men, and an order was given that Muḥsin Khān and other fief-holders in that **106** country should assemble and should gird up their loins for the quieting of the province. When the abovementioned had received the order they ascended by the ladder of good service to the upper chamber of honour, while the disaffected were cast down into the pit of ruin. The dust of rebellion was entirely laid.

One of the occurrences was that it was brought to the august hearing that Khān 'Ālam in reliance on the royal favour and clemency had come to court without obtaining a written permission from the Khān-Khānān. As the observance of orders is a necessary part

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of rule a rebuke was issued by the Shahinshah and he was ordered off. A number of right-thinking and adroitly-speaking persons represented that he had left his family in the camp, and that for urgent business he had come rapidly and humbly to court. H.M. received their explanations and allowed him an interview. He gained his wish and had permission to return.

Among the events which conveyed advice to the superficial and which augmented the enlightenment of the esoteric were H.M.'s teachings about the Divine mercy. The brief account of this instructive story is that for some time there had, by heaven's decree, failed to be a bountiful rain for the crops. The cultivators and the public in general were afraid of a famine and came with lamentations, and with one heart and tongue implored the Unique one of creation, who unites sanctity and inward splendour, that he would call upon the Almighty to open the doors of compassion so that by the intervention of his chosen intercession good might be bestowed upon mortals, and the knot of their difficulty loosed.

Verse.

Thou hast the power of fastening, O Eternal Wisdom.
Loose the knot from the fortune of Thy creatures.

The holy lips uttered, "Asking and praying belong to the external world. The beneficent Creator knows everything and it is written upon the tablet of fate before a wish is expressed. Apparently, the reason why saints have had recourse to prayer is that those who slumber in the dark night of ignorance may be awakened and enter on the path of submission which is the adornment of worship, and the material of bliss.

"The divine goodness towards His servants is greater than that His mercy should depend upon our appeals to Him, or upon our calling His attention to the matter, or that we should teach Him graciousness."

Verse.

Wilt thou teach God the path of mercy?

Just while this Divine wisdom was trickling from that reservoir
107 of the pearls of truth, the clouds of mercy appeared and there was

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abundant and continuous rain for a week. The sown fields and the meadows became verdant and full of moisture. The thirsty-hearted were satiated, and the weak-souled gained conviction and certitude. They came to know the sublime rank of the Shāhinshāh and increased their worship and devotion.

One of the occurrences of this time was the censure passed upon Ṣādiq Khān. The brief account of this is that M. Yūsuf Khān and Ṣādiq Khān who had charge of the great camp, came on the day of Ābān 10 Mihr, Divine month, and it transpired that the special elephant Lāl Khān had been drowned at the Causa ferry. Ṣādiq Khān who had not used great care and intense exertion in crossing the elephants, fell out of the royal favour, and his fief was confiscated. He was not allowed to perform the *kornish* and was dismissed to Tatta, and an order was passed that until he produced a choice elephant which might compare with that incomparable one he would not be exalted by the performance of the *kornish*.

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CHAPTER XX.

Departure of the Shāhinshāh's Cortège for the Capital, and the Arrival on the way of the News of the Victory of Bengal.

When the world-adorning mind of the Shāhinshāh had disposed of the affairs of this country, and had resolved upon proceeding to Fatḥpūr the capital, he on the day of Māh 12 Mihr, Divine month (about 22nd September, 1574), moved from Jaunpūr at an auspicious hour. He encamped at the village of Khānpūr,[1] and he remained there in spite of his having scented victory, in order that he might quiet the minds of many of his servants who, on account of their superficiality, were in an anxious condition, and were wondering how the eastern officers were faring. Suddenly there arrived the good news of the victory of the Bengal army. Everybody recovered confidence, and the insight of the world's lord was impressed upon their hearts. The brief account is as follows: When the army went off to conquer Bengal, the first town to be taken was Sūrajgarh. Afghans could not withstand the victorious troops and fled without a battle. After that Monghyr was taken. Rajah[2] Sangrām the zamīndār of Kharakpūr, and Pūran Mal the rajah of Gīdhor[3] and many landholders of that part of the country bound themselves to the saddlestraps of eternal dominion. The Khān Khānān ably conveyed in such a rainy season a large army by land and water, and acted with prudence as well as success. As the
108 genius of the Shāhinshāh was guiding the troops, they were victorious wherever they came, Bhāgalpūr, Colgong (Khalganw) which was a rendezvous of the Afghans, came into possession without a battle.

When the army reached the village of Gūna[4] it became known that Ism'āīl Khān Silaḥdār, whom Dāūd in his folly had styled Khān-

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[1] Jarrett II. 163.

[2] Blochmann 446 and n. 1.

[3] Blochmann 479 n. 3 and Jarrett II. 154.

[4] Kozrah of Jarrett II. 155? Or is it the Gūnasagar mentioned by Buchanan in his MS. account of Teliagharī? It is kūnc or konch in text.

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Khānān, had strengthened that fort and was there with a large force. What increased the difficulty was that the country from the army's halting-place to Gaḍhī was under water. This would impede the encamping of the army. Let it not be concealed that Gaḍhī is the gate of Bengal. On one side is a sky-ascending mountain which is difficult to be surmounted on foot, and so there is no question of its being practicable for cavalry. From the side of this mountain several rivers join the Ganges and are torrential. Among them is a strong fort which was founded by the rulers of the country. A general council was held at this stage and the wise and experienced deliberated on what remedy should be chosen. All agreed that the problem demanded solution at this stage. The landholders of the country represented that there was a secret path through the territory of the Telī Rajah.[1] Although laden animals could not pass by that ravine (garīwa) yet light horsemen could do so with ease. The proper course would be for the main army to set itself to take Gaḍhī and to proceed thither by the high road (shāhrāh) while some bold warriors should go by the path.

Certainly the enemy would by this means come to waver and would take to flight. Accordingly Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl with a force

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1 Tiblī in text, and there is the variant nīlī, but clearly the word is Telī, being the name of the Rajah or his caste who held Gaḍhī before the conquest by the Muḥammadans. See Jarrett II. 116 and n. 1, and the Buchanan MS. I.O. vol. for Bhagalpur, p. 230. An extract from Buchanan's account of Teliaghrī was given by me in the National Magazine (Calcutta) for January, 1894, p. 2. The Rajah belonged to the oilman caste. Buchanan says *l. c.* in his account of thāna Faiẓ-ullaganj in the Bhagalpur volume that he saw the ruins of a fort called Dharhara. The local tradition was that it belonged to a Khetauri Rajah called Gaurmardan who had a very clever daughter named Bidya-Bilās. She resolved not to marry any one who was not more learned than herself. At last a mendicant answered her questions and married her. But not long afterwards he and all the other inhabitants were killed by Kālī except one oilman to whom the goddess gave the property. Buchanan also mentions a deep tank in the neighbourhood known as Gūnāsāgar. See also I.G. article Teliyagarhī. The Siyaru-l-mutākharīn has a note by the translator about Garhī, which tells how the fort was turned by the Mahrattas in 1740. Mīr Jamla had done the same thing in the previous century, and now we learn from A. F. that the pass was circumvented in the 16th century.

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of heroes was sent by the path, and Qīyā Khān with a number of noted warriors was sent towards Gaḍhī. The other leaders were about to march when the prestige of the Shāhinshāh discomfited the foe. First a body of troops from the army of the Khān-Khānān made some commotion and inspired the enemy with fear, and when Qīyā Khān arrived at the place with a well-equipped force the thread of their plans was at once broken, and they fled in confusion. Thus, a place such that it could hardly have been gained by fighting came, by the Divine aid, easily into possession. Next morning after that day which was the emergence of the lights of fortune, the Khān-Khānan came and returned thanks to God. Majnūn Khān traversed the ravine and arrived the same day. The zamindars had acted with proper loyalty, and if the Afghans had esconced themselves in the fort they would have been dislodged by this force. But by God's favour a difficult task became easy without its assistance. On receiving the news of this victory H.M. ordered thanksgivings to God, and threw wide the halls of joy.

One of the occurrences was that at this station Ghāzi[1] Khān
109 Badakhshī, who had in Kabul donned the pilgrim's dress, came out and did obeisance. He ascended from the (*girīwa*) ravine of exoteric knowledge and came to the rose-bower of Truth, and had a scent of the flowers of fragrance. By the blessing of the holy attentions of the Shāhinshāh, and the felicity of becoming disciples of that Khedive of enlightenment, many emerged from the defiles of the path of Divine worship and attained to the upper chamber of verity. Fīrūza[2] Khāṣ Khēl, who was a special favourite of M. Ḥakīm, and a number of others came from that country and rubbed the face of ashamedness on the threshold of fortune with the idea of entering the holy service. Every one of them was so fortunate as to receive proofs of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness above their merit. From thence H.M. proceeded on towards the capital. He passed from stage to stage, occupied in appearance with the service of administering justice, and the enjoyment of hunting, while in reality he was perpending the Divine mysteries, and imparting to society the gifts of seclusion. On the day of Dībādīn 23 Mihr, Divine month, when he was encamped

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[1] Blochmann 440. He introduced the *sijda*.

[2] Blochmann 526.

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at Iskandarpūr,[1] which is near Mānikpūr, a petition came from the Khān-Khānān. Its purport was that Dāūd had chosen the road of ruin and that the victorious army had arrived at Tānda the capital. The account of this Divine aid is that when Gaḍhī was taken, Dāūd could not withstand the shock of the victorious army. He took to flight and trod the desert of destruction. The river Ganges divides into two branches at Tānda.[2] One goes to the mart of Sātgām and ends in Orissa. The other goes towards Maḥmūdābād, Fatḥābad, Sonārgaon and Chātgaon (Chittagong). Dāūd went off quickly by the Sātgām river in the hope that he might stir up strife in the borders of Orissa. The Khān-Khānān entered the city of Tānda, which is the centre of Bengal, on the day of Gosh 14 Mihr, Divine month, and addressed himself to the spreading of the laws of justice which had been communicated to him from the court. The words of the world-cherishing prince came into operation. The Divine graciousness increased daily. The tongue of words and the tongue of acts joined in calling for thanksgiving. A rescript issued to the Khān-Khānān, and he was praised for his good services. H.M. then proceeded on from that place (Iskandarpūr) under the veil of the pleasure of hunting, with a heart of thanksgiving and with outward joy.

One of the occurrences of this time was the death of Khwāja Jahān. He, on account of illness, was in Jaunpūr, and by heaven's decree a *mast* elephant ran at him. His foot caught in a tent-rope and he fell. This ruined his health, and the cup of his life became full near Lucknow.[3] Fortunate was he in that the cup of his life ran over in the presence of his benefactor, and that he ended his days in good service, and fidelity, and in seeking to do his pleasure. On the 110
day of Ardī Bihisht 3 Abān, Divine month, the royal standards halted on the bank of the Ganges near Qanauj. When the august cortège

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[1] Apparently the Sikandarpūr of Jarrett II. 164, and which is in Jaunpur Sarkār.

[2] Cf. Jarrett II. 120 where A.F. says that the division takes place at Qāẓīhattah in Sarkar Bārbakābad. See l.c. 133.

[3] Blochmann 424. The accident took place at Jaunpūr. Apparently he was travelling by water from Jaunpūr in company with Akbar to Lucknow when he died. The Iqbāl-nāma also says the accident was at Jaunpūr.

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reached Patialī,[1] Ḥusain Khān who in this campaign had become mentally afflicted and been debarred from the bliss of service, presented himself, but had not the good fortune to perform the kornish.[2] When H.M. came to the third[3] stage from the capital he felt a desire to circumambulate the shrines of Delhi and Ajmere. In the early part of Abān (qu. Aẕar the 9th month), Divine month, he reached Delhi, and performed the duties of respect and reverence. The inhabitants of that country benefited by H.M.'s spiritual and temporal bounty.

One of the occurrences was that Ḥusain Khān became overcome by atrabiliousness (*saudā*), and putting away the things of fortune became a qalandar. The Shāhinshāh applied the remedy of kindness, and presented him with an arrow[4] from his special quiver in order that by help of it (*'itīẓād*) he might get possession of his jāgīr which had been confiscated, and that he might apply himself to the recruiting of soldiers. I laud the genius and wise capacity which are lavish of benefits in proportion to offences, and are bountiful towards the disobedient. From this pleasant stage (Delhi) he proceeded by way of Nārnol to Ajmir. At Nārnol at the hunting rendezvous, the Khān Jahān, who had put on the pilgrim-dress[5] at Lahore,

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[1] In the Etah district. It was Ḥusain K.'s home and *jāgīr*. The text has Betālī, but the variant Patīālī, which, of course, is a quite different place from Patīāla, is right.

[2] See the account in Badayūnī 187 who says that Ḥusain K. came in the neighbourhood of Patīāli and Bhongāon to do homage, but that he was not admitted, and that Shahbāz K. the Mīr Bakhshī was ordered to put him outside of the rope that ran round the audience-hall. Upon this Ḥusain resolved to become a Qalandar, and gave away all his property. Akbar thereupon took pity upon him and sent him a shawl, an arrow, etc., but to no purpose.

[3] The text has *sirmanzil*, station or place where one changes his course. But the true reading is sihmanzil 2 "the third stage," as shown by the Iqbalnāma and also by Badayūnī 187 where for 3 cosses read three stages. The Iqbālnāma says Akbar left Agra on the left and went on to Delhi.

[4] Evidently the arrow was given as a symbol of authority and as an evidence of the order in his favour. Cf. Badayūnī 188 where the statement that a quiver was given is a mistranslation. Cf. the account in Bayley's Gujrat 389 of Humāyūn's binding his quiver round the body of the minstrel Bacū in order that he might obtain the release of his friends.

[5] Not to go to Mecca, but to appear before Akbar.

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suddenly appeared. This was a pleasure to H.M., and he rewarded him with royal favours. Also in the neighbourhood of Nārnol, Khān A'ẓim M. Koka came a long journey from Gujrat on the wings of affection and did homage. He was exalted by glorious favours from the Shāhinshāh. In the beginning of Dai, Divine month, the delightful spot of Ajmīr was visited by H.M., and he circumambulated the shrine. Justice and liberality were dispensed, and night and day there were glorious festivals in that Martyr's plot. All classes of men experienced his bounty. The chief philosophers and the leading men of learning sought enlightenment from the holy words of H.M., and seekers after the spiritual and temporal kingdom gained their desires. May the world-adorning Creator long preserve his holy frame so that he may complete the defective and exalt those who are perfect in faith!

At the time when Ajmīr was blessed by the presence of H.M., Rai Rai Singh came in haste from Fort Siwāna and reported that Candar Sen, the son of Māldeo, was making a disturbance in Jodhpūr, and that the army which had gone to take Siwāna had not been able to put him down. If an army of the combatants of fortune were sent against him, things would have a happy termination. His representa- 111
tion was approved of, and he was treated with favour and sent back to his work. Ṭaiyīb Khān, Saiyid Beg Toqbāī, Subḥān Qulī Turk Kharram, 'Aẓmat Khān, Sewa Dās, and many able servants were sent against Candar Sen. That ill-fated one withdrew from Rāmpūr to the steep mountains. The victorious army, knowing that the daily-increasing fortune of the world's Khedive made difficulties easy, proceeded to the hill-country. They were partially successful, and many of the guilty were trodden under foot. The wretch (Candar) could not withstand them and became a vagabond in the desert of destruction. The *ghāzīs* from inexperience and shortsightedness regarded his flight as the end of the task and returned to court without being summoned. When H.M. heard of this, he, in order to give a lesson in the laws of service, degraded those astrayed ones from the position of trust.

In a short time H.M. had disposed of the affairs of that part of the country, and on the day of Rām 21 Dai, Divine month, he distinguished the Khān A'ẓim with great favours, and sent him away to manage the affairs of Gujrat. He himself proceeded towards the

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capital. One of the occurrences was that for the comfort of travellers he issued an order that at every kos of the way from Agra to Ajmīr a pillar[1] (*minār*) should be set up, and be adorned with deer horns so that those who had lost their way might have a mark, and that strength might be given to the fatigued.

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1 Some of these pillars still exist. Badāyūnī is sarcastic about the benefit of them.

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CHAPTER XXI.

The Arrival of H.M. at the Capital (and building of a House of Worship).

H.M. had in the course of seven months done the work of many years in conquering new countries, administering the old, in favouring the sincere and serviceable, and o'erthrowing the ungrateful, in extending justice, in general benevolence, and in advancing the science of worship. On the day of Ardībihisht (18 January 1575) 3 Bahman, Divine month, he illuminated Fatḥpūr by his presence.

Quatrain.

What ray is it that fortune sheds upon the earth?
What commotion is it that dominion casts into the sky?
Is it the dust of the cortège or the breeze of success
Which sends a fragrance of peace and repose to the nostrils
of my soul?

The degrees of sovereignty and the stages of world conquest, 112
which are based upon increase of wisdom, and on perception, went on augmenting, and that which is apt to become in mortals, whether in former or in present times, a source of insouciance, only increased his circumspection. Although Almighty God raised the pure-dispositioned one to lofty heights, *viz.*, to increased territory, abundance of devotees, the overthrow of enemies, the gaining possession of the wonders of the world, and the opening of the doors of knowledge, and lofty perception, yet this suppliant of Deity increased his supplications, and the thirst for inquiry augmented.

At this[1] time when the capital (Fatḥpūr Sikrī) was illuminated by his glorious advent, H.M. ordered that a house of worship ('Ibādatkhāna) should be built in order to the adornment of the spiritual kingdom, and that it should have four verandahs (aiwān).

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[1] The order for the building of the 'Ibādatkhāna was given in Zī-lqada 982, February-March, 1575.

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Though the Divine bounty always has an open door and searches for the fit person, and the inquirer, yet as the lord of the universe, from his general benevolence, conducts his measures according to the rules of the superficial, he chose the eve of Friday,[1] which bears on its face the colouring (*ghāza*) of the announcement of auspiciousness, for the out-pouring (*ifāẓat*). A general proclamation was issued that, on that night of illumination, all orders and sects of mankind—those who searched after spiritual and physical truth, and those of the common public who sought for an awakening, and the inquirers[2] of every sect—should assemble in the precincts of the holy edifice, and bring forward their spiritual experiences, and their degrees of knowledge of the truth in various and contradictory forms in the bridal chamber of manifestation.

Wisdom and deeds would be tested, and the essence of manhood would be exhibited. Those who were founded on truth entered the hall of acceptance, while those who were only veneered with gold went hastily to the pit of base metal. There was a feast of theology and worship. The vogue of creature-worship[3] was reduced. The dust-stained ones of the pit of contempt became adorners of dominion, and the smooth-tongued, empty-headed rhetoricians lost their rank. To the delightful precincts of that mansion founded upon Truth, thousands upon thousands of inquirers from the seven climes came with heartfelt respect and waited for the advent of the Shāhinshah. The world's lord would, with open brow, a cheerful countenance, a capacious heart and an understanding soul, pour the limpid waters of graciousness on those thirsty-lipped ones of expectation's desert, and act as a refiner. He put them into currency, sect by sect, and tested them company by company. He got hold of every one of the miserable and dust-stained ones, and made them successful in their desires,—to say nothing of the be-cloaked[4] and the be-turbaned. From that general assemblage H.M. selected by his far-reaching eye a chosen

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[1] Shab-i-jam'a, which, as B. points out, 173 n. 3, means Thursday night, as the Muḥammadans commence the day at sunset.

[2] Text *muḥtājān* "the necessitous." I. O. M.S. 235 had this reading, but the copyist has erased it and substituted *murtāẓān*, which seems a better reading.

[3] Khalqparastī, *i.e.*, authority.

[4] *lit.*, the wearers of large turbans, and the hangers-down of scarves. The Maulvis and learned doctors are meant. A. F.'s account

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band from each class, and established a feast of truth. Occasionally he, in order to instruct the courtiers, sent perspicuous servants who could discriminate among men, and these reflective and keen-sighted men brought every description of person to perform the *kornish*. Then that cambist and tester of worth examined them anew and invited some of them. There were always four noble sections in that spiritual and temporal assemblage. In the eastern chamber of worship (*'Ibādatkada*) were the great leaders and high officers who were conspicuous, in the courts[1] of society, for enlightenment. In the south- 113
ern compartment the keen-sighted investigators, both those who gathered the light of day (*i.e.* the Illuminati) and those who chose the repose of the night-halls of contemplation, sate in the school of instruction. In the western compartment those of lofty[2] lineage practised auspicious arts. In the northern compartment were the Ṣūfīs of clear heart who were absorbed in beatific visions. A few of felicitous and wide comprehensiveness - which they had attained to by the bliss of H.M.'s holy instructions—lighted the torch of knowledge in all four compartments. Lofty points and subtle words passed from the holy lips, and physical and Divine truths trickled from that soothsayer of the court of variety, so that the leaders of the arena of manifestation, and the swift coursers on the mountains of contemplation burned[3] with shame. It is of this condition that Ẓahīr[4] sings.

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of the 'Ibādatkhāna may be compared with Badayūnī's, B. 170 and 171, Lowe 203, and the T. A. Elliot V. 390. Badayūnī states that the 'Ibādatkhāna was erected on the site of a cell once occupied by Shaikh 'Abdullah Niyāzī of Sarhind (for an account of whom see the Darbār Akbarī 81 and Badayūnī III. 45). The original building must surely have been much larger than what is now pointed out as the 'Ibādatkhāna.

[1] *Ḥijābstān-i-t'aalluq*, meaning "in social life."

[2] *i.e.*, the Saiyids, see Elliot V. 391. I.O. 235 has *Muhaiman parastān* "worshippers of God."

[3] It is *ātish* "fire" in text, but I.O. 235, and apparently I.O. 236, has *uns* and the meaning seems to be "they associated in grief" (*i.e.*, were ashamed).

[4] Ẓahīru-dīn Faryābī, a Persian poet, who died at Tabriz in 1201 A.D. See Browne's Daulat Shāh, p. 109 *et seq.* Some preferred him to Anwarī. The variant *ab-kār* is more poetical than the *afkār* of the text and it has the support of both the I. O. MSS. The word *m'araẓ* معرض might then be taken as *m'iraẓ* and the lines translated, "Before the robes of the daughters of his fancy, shame befalls the roses and the rose-garden."

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Verse.

In the glorious assemblage of his thoughts
Shame befalls the rose and the rosarium.

A set of wisdom-hiving, judicious men were in readiness to propound questions and to record views. The difficulties of the various classes of men were fittingly resolved. The mirrors of the inquirers of the Age were polished. The whole of that night was kept alive by discussions which approved themselves to one and all. The degrees of reason and the stages of vision were tested, and all the heights and depths of intelligence were traversed, and the lamp of perception was brightened. By the blessedness of the holy examination, the real was separated from the fictitious, and the uncurrency of those who were only coated with wisdom was brought to light.

Verse.

The fictitious (*lit.*, copper-cored) Ḥāfiẓ [1] did not pass with him.
For the expert sees all the hidden faults.

The various forms of ability came from the darkness of concealment to the hall of manifestation. Rather they came from the abyss of non-existence and were resplendent on the height of existence. If I were to record in detail the illustrious events of these glorious assemblages, and describe the attainments in learning of this school of truth, a separate volume would be required.

During this spring-time of enlightenment, the writer of this noble volume presented himself a second time, and had the glory of a second birth. The brief account of the instructive story is that in the beginning of this year he brightened his forehead by performing the prostration in Agra, the capital. As he had the pride of common place knowledge in his head he delayed in proceeding to the eastern provinces in spite of the spirit of sincerity and loyalty which he had borrowed from his honoured father. Though he had not the equipment for a journey yet there was also in his idolatrous and conceited soul no aspiration for such an expedition. Also
114 there was pride in the idol-temple of his knowledge. A desire for physical retirement and for contemplating the world was seething in his soul. But he did not think it proper to traverse

[1] One who knows the Qoran by heart, also, a singer or musician.

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the world without the permission of his honoured father. That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid me adieu. At last a gracious letter came from my most excellent of brothers from the eastern provinces to the effect that the prince of the world had remembered me. As his (A. F.'s) means were insufficient, his design of entering into service was not carried out.

One of the wonderful things was that at the time when the predominance of the Afghans was bruited abroad, and there were praters in the city, one night of nights when my soul had been freed from the connections of existence, and had gone to the world of dreams, a window suddenly opened into the mystic world. The victory of the eastern provinces with all the circumstances which actually occurred, from the beginning of the siege to the time when Dāūd went to annihilation, and also the attainment, by this confused one of Creation's contingent, of the bliss of service and the degrees of favour from H. M.—which came to be realised—became visible before his astonished eyes. And in that long night, whenever he awoke from dreams, he contrary to custom immediately fell asleep again, and what was still more strange, whenever he began again to dream he commenced where he had left off. At dawn he went to his honoured father's chamber and described to him what had happened. He displayed great joy, and congratulated him. A desire to serve arose in his heart's core, and he wrote out the draft of a commentary on the beginning of the *Sūra* (chapter) of Victory in order that he might offer it as a present to the holy assembly. When the royal standards came to Ajmīr and H. M. in the banquet of wisdom again remembered this disturbed one of the desert of existence, and when by the great kindness of the (A. F's) noble brother this was revealed, the longing to kiss the threshold increased. All my aspiration was that I might behold for some days the world-adorning beauty of the world's lord, and then retire to the corner of obscurity and enter into a contest with myself. The sole desire of my troubled mind was that the horrid desert of hermitage might be trodden by the feet of my energy, for my heart was aweary of beholding the men of my own land, and I had no inclination for society. Thousands of thoughts careered in my mind. I had not the detaching reason to enable me to dispense with plans and to make the thorn-brake

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of solitude the mantle (*purnyān*) of repose, and when it chanced to me to be in that emporium, there was no gracious one to help me, and pride did not suffer me to search for an introduction (to Akbar). Nor had I a place where for a time I might burn the lamp of privacy. My brother, greater in years and in wisdom than I, guided me to his own cell (*zāwīya*), and as he was one of the feeders on spiritual food I of necessity conceived a longing for the Spiritual chief (Akbar). Next day I happened to go to the chief mosque, which is one of the grand edifices of the Shāhinshāh, and suddenly, on that great assemblage, the world's lord cast the shadow of kindness (*i.e.* Akbar came into the mosque). I had the bliss of performing the prostration from afar off. I had the sense to be entrusted with the thought "If the Shāhinshāh
115 does not see you, yet you are seeing that holy light, and if I be not favoured by a glance from the Shāhinshāh I have attained vision and understanding by beholding that holy one." In this thought I was absorbed in the contemplation of Divine power, when the appreciative sovereign cast an educating glance upon me and summoned me. Inasmuch as there were present to my mind the circumstances of the time and the nature of mankind, and there was added to the fact of my being a long way off from H. M., I regarded my sight of him as the consummation of my wishes. But at length it appeared from the glorious interest which the Shāhinshāh took in me, that my good fortune was powerful, and that the star of my destiny had emerged from its obscurity. I approached him and rubbed my forehead on the sublime threshold. On one occasion he accosted me in that assemblage of realm and religion, where hundreds of thousands of sects and schools were gathered together, and described my condition beyond what I myself was conscious of, to the special guests at the sacred festival. Many lassoes fell on my soul's neck and drew my heart towards the slavery (*giraugānī*) of the hall of dependence. Though for two more years a longing, which nearly came to action, held my heart so that in the recesses of soul there rose the strain "Ho, come out from among citizens and men of the world and indulge your idiosyncrasy in the ample abode of uniqueness, and the pleasant place of singularity," yet the Shāhinshāh's graciousness was daily lifting me from the floor of

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grovelling (*khasī*) to the summit of personality (*kasī*) and was elevating me, degree by degree, on the steps of education. Accordingly the key of the temple (*Bait-al-maqaddas*) of Attainment fell into my hand, and Truth, spiritual and temporal, removed the veil from my eyes. In the first place I emerged from the tumult of Desire, and my second birth began. By my good fortune I reached the lofty chamber of discipleship to the sublime Director and so turned my face towards the border of my third birth. I came from the womb of conceit to the land of supplication and became a front-sitter in the reposeful hall of universal peace. By the blessing of the Divine aids and from the light-shedding of the sitter on the throne of fortune I came from the thorny ground of "Peace with all" to the ever-vernal rose-garden of Love, and became a gatherer of the flowers of joy. A fourth child was born to my mother-nature. At this stage my endeavour is to obtain a lofty-chambered dwelling in this thornless garden and autumnless spring, so that by the blissful ray of the Shāhinshāh's glance and by perseverance, a fifth child may glorify my mother-nature and I be exalted to the exceeding bliss of absolute Resignation, and so the cheating commotion of Desire may sink her face in annihilation. When I shall have obtained in this holy heaven a heart-pleasing abode, may I, by the guidance of the Foreseer of Creation's banquet obtain the fresh honour of a sixth birth and enter the glorious ocean and sit[1] at ease in the four-arched portico of Surrender, and abode of enlightenment, where the feet of Desire have been amputated, until at the seventh birth—which is the time of loosening the links of the elements—I may cast off from the shoulder of my nature the burden of social life, and arrive at the privy-chamber, which appears as non-existence, but which is full of joy. In that holy shrine there will be bestowed, together with an easy mind and an open brow, leisure for denudation and permission for separation, till at the eighth birth—either in the abode of metempsychosis or in the cessation of resurrection—I 116
shall not be within the circle of Desire.[2]

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1 *murabba'a-nishīn*, *lit.* sitting squarely, *i.e.*, with the legs folded under one, as in the statues of Buddha.

2 Cf. the third book of the Inshā, pp. 266-67 of the Niwal Kishor edition. Seven births are there described.

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One of the occurrences was that Mu'nim K. Khān-Khānān had his fief in Bengal. When H. M. went to the eastern provinces, his estate had been allotted to him in Bihar. When the rebels of Bengal sustained defeat after defeat, and that country became an abode of peace, he sent Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr of Shīrāz to court and asked for a *jāgīr* in Bengal. The Shāhinshāh's graciousness granted his request.

One of the occurrences was that in the country round Agra things like spiders' webs, but several degrees thicker than they, fell upon the fields and pastures. In some places they were half a *jarīb* [1] in length and breadth, and in others they were smaller than this in length and breadth. Apparently, the sublime Divine Wisdom devised such a remedy for the corruption of the air, and so made a special display of His benevolence towards mankind.

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[1] The *jarīb* was according to Wilson originally a measure of capacity. Jarrett II. 61, n. 2. Afterwards it came to be synonymous with a bīgha or about five-eighths of an acre, *id.* 62 n. But the word is Arabic, and Lane gives *jirba* as a place of seed-produce. The word jarīb is also used in Timur's Institutes, White and Davey 365, to mean a division of land.

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CHAPTER XXII.

INTRODUCTION OF THE LAW ABOUT BRANDING,[1] AND THE GUIDING OF MEN TO TRUTH AND FIDELITY.

The adorner of the throne of sovereignty never passes a year or a month without devising good institutions or without tranquillising and decorating the world by the gleams of his far-seeing wisdom, which is the mirror of things earthly and Divine. At this time he cast far-reaching glances and established great principles for the regulation of the army and the peasantry and for the prosperity of the country; among them was the institution of Branding (*Dāgh*). It is not hid under the veil of concealment from judicious observers that man is continually dominated by cupidity and anger. The power of lust or wrath covers with dust the bright lamp of the understanding of the wise and mature, whenever there comes a little carelessness or neglect, so what can happen in the case of those who are sunk in folly? When too justice and humanity are rare, or rather are non-existent, and when the lord of horizons (Akbar or other sovereign) is behind the veil of inattention, assuredly there will be the commotion of avarice and the typhoon of faithlessness among many of the masters and servants. The commander[2] (*tābīn bāshī*) withholds from the followers what he has received from the court, and becomes more greedy, and the follower sprinkles the dust of disloyalty on his head and acts on all occasions as if he were his own master (?).

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[1] In spite of the heading of this chapter, no description of branding is given. There is an account of it in the 7th Ain, B. 255. It was introduced by Shahbāz K. in the 20th year, B. 326. The corresponding chapter of the Iqbālnāma is fuller than the A. N., for the author has added some particulars taken from the Ain.

[2] Text *baāīn-i-imdād* بائین امداد But a note states that several MSS. read tābīnbāshī, and the two I. O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have this reading, and it is probably the right one. For *tābīnbāshī* see B. 242 and 265.

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Whoever turns away from such wickedness and from the crowd of the unjust and from such improper courses and out of self-respect
117 and observance of equity takes the path of just dealing, and chooses contentment and honesty, becomes stained with the dust of suspicion. Though in the beginning of this year, before the commotion in the eastern provinces, H. M. had applied his mind to this subject, and his officers had begun to work, yet the organisation of this great task took shape while the standards of fortune were at the capital. The inquiry was made then, and the grades of offices were settled. The Shāhinshāh in order to arrange the foundations of the kingdom, and for the peace of the subjects, made the imperial territories crown-lands. At the time when the sovereign was under the veil and was testing men, the imperial clerks increased immoderately the assessments on the territories, cities, towns and villages and opened the hand of embezzlement in raising and diminishing them. Whoever acquired their good graces gained his ends, and whoever's heart was not in the quarter of giving became a loser. Also whoever was well-treated, was from his unfairness and avarice, ungrateful, and whoever was less successful was on account of his discontent and disloyalty a grumbler. At the time when the beams of fortune's morning were brightening, and the throne-adorner was engaged in casting away the veil, he gave some of his attention to this subject and began by making the imperial territories crown-lands. The officers and other servants received money-salaries and their ranks were determined in accordance with their merit and the extent of their commands.

Able and trustworthy men were appointed to survey the spacious territories of India and to determine the amount of production and to substitute payments[1] in cash so that the market of the embezzlers might fall flat. The provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Gujrāt were from foresight and appreciation left as they were; Kabul, Qandahār, Ghaznī, Kashmīr, Tatta, the tracts of Bajaur

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[1] I think this must be the meaning of the phrase *baqaid-i-ẓabṭ darāvarda* بقید ضبط در آورده

See Ain text, p. 296, line 6, where the phrase baẓabṭ āmad is used to express the fact that Sher Shah and his son substituted cash for payment in kind. In Timur's Institutes, p. 364, the phrase arāẓī maẓbūṭ is used, and the translators render it "restricted land." Apparently it means lands in occupation.

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and Tīrā, and Bangash, and Sorath and Orissa had not been conquered. 182 collectors (*'āmil*) were sent off to take care of the crown-lands (Khālṣāt), and as every collector was appointed over an extent of territory which yielded a kror of *tangas*,[1] they were popularly known by the name of *krorī*. At this time the head-officers were Shahbāz Khān, Khwāja Ghīāṣud-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khan, Rai Purakhotam and Rai Rām Dās. By these measures the equipment of the army was provided for, and the country was well governed, while at the same time there was a safe-guard against trickery and embezzlement. H.M. also gave his attention to the regulation of measurements in order that cultivation might be increased. In former times measurements were made by a rope, and thus a difference arose according as the rope was wet or dry. This gave an opportunity for dishonesty. The Shāhinshāh introduced poles[2] made of a reed which in Hindi is called **118** *bāns* (bamboo)—and which poles were joined by iron rings. By this device men's minds were quieted and also the cultivation increased, and the path of fraud and falsehood was closed.

One of the great institutions was that of a Record-office.[3] It was at this time of smiling fortune that the idea occurred to H.M. An order was issued and it was decreed that whatever proceeded from the court should be recorded so that the officers might have a valuable assistance, and that the administrative orders might be preserved. God be praised! for that what was formed in the hidden chamber of the holy heart was carried into effect. By this excellent device the religious service suitable to the condition of society was performed! The details of these great laws are given in the concluding volume.[4]

One of the occurrences was that the cupola of chastity Qasīma[5] Bānū, the daughter of 'Arab Shāh, entered the royal harem. A

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[1] Or *tankas*. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 192, and Elliot V. 383. At B. 13 A. F. speaks of officers being appointed over a kror of *dāms*. Does this mean that *tanka* and *dām* are synonymous?

[2] Cf. Jarrett II. 62.

[3] See account of this office in Blochmann 258.

[4] The reference is to the Ain, Blochmann 258, etc.

[5] Qīma in text, but there is the variant Qasīma (beautiful) which I adopt in preference to Blochmann's Qismīyah, Blochmann 618.

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great feast was given, and the high officers and other pillars of the State were present at it and rejoiced.

Verse.

Gardens on gardens (of flowers) were scattered in joy.
Caps were flung to sky upon sky.

This is an important chapter, but as usual, A. F. is unduly concise when he ought to be explanatory. The measure of making the whole of the dominions crown-land seems very revolutionary. The office of 'Āmil or collector is described in Jarrett II. 43.

There is also a reference to the krorīs in Blochmann 13. A.F. there states that it was the Khwājahsarā Iti'mād Khān who set Akbar upon making his reforms in the administration of the land. See Blochmann's note 1, p. 13. The chapter on Sayurghals, Blochmann 268, should be studied. See also Elliot V. 343.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

MUN'IM KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN'S WARS IN BENGAL, THE DEFEAT OF DĀŪD, AND OTHER EVENTS.

When by the Divine aid Bengal had been conquered, Dāūd went off to Sātgāon and Orissa. Kālā Pahār, Sulaimān, Bābū Mankalī and some other Afghans went off to Ghorāghāt. Wherever they went, they raised disturbances. The Khān-Khānān in concert with Rajah Todar Mal took up his quarters in Tānda which is the capital of that country, and engaged in arranging matters, political and financial. Owing to the just constitutions of the Shāhinshāh the distracted condition of Bengal was cured. Victorious armies were stationed in the vicinity of and on all sides of that city in order that that delightful country might be wholly purged of the weeds and rubbish of opposition. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāī, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Nīyābat Khān, Qamar Khān, Maqbūl Khān, Ṭālib Beg, Nāṣir Beg and a set of brave and active men were sent towards Sātgāon under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās in order that they might give Dāūd no time to make preparations and that they might seize him. Majnūn Khān, Bābā Khān, Jabbārī, M. Beg, Khāldīn and another set were sent 119
to Ghorāghāt[1] in order to put down the disturbances there. Murād Khān and a chosen force of brave men were sent towards Fatḥābad[2] and Baglā[3] in order to make that territory an abode of peace. I'timād Khān and a number of strenuous combatants were sent to Sonārganw (Sonārgāon) in order that they might stay the hands of the oppressors.

When the cure of the calamities of the people of that country had been arranged for, it was announced that Junaid Kararānī—who had fled from the sublime court—had cast the dust of failure on his

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1 Blochmann 434.

2 Jarrett II. 123.

3 Jarrett II. 132. Baglā is Baklā and is part of the modern district of Backergunge. Pargana Candradwīp belongs to it. See Jarrett II. 123.

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head and had come from Gujrat and the Deccan to Jharkhand, and was meditating a disturbance. Rajah Todar Mal, Qīyā Khān, Naẓr Bahādur, Abul-Qāsim Namakīn and a number of holy warriors set themselves to suppress him. By heaven's help they did good service, and the enemy suffered loss and turned their faces to the desert of destruction. The Qāqshāls displayed valour in the country of Ghorāghāt, and the discomfited enemy fled towards Kūc (Kūc Bihar). Sulaimān Mankalī was killed, and the victors obtained much booty, and made the families of the Afghans prisoners. That extensive country came into the possession of the imperial servants. Junaid, who had come out from Jhārkhand, turned away before the might of the brave ghāzīs, and hid himself in the hills. The victorious army returned and came to Bardwan.

At this time Maḥmūd Khān, son of Sikandar Khān, Muḥammad Khān and some other presumptuous rebels stirred up strife in the town of Selīmpūr.[1] The Rajah sent a suitable force against them, and there was an engagement. Muḥammad Khān was killed, and Sikandar's son fled. Just then news came that Junaid had emerged from the abyss of contempt and was stirring up strife. The Rajah went off to that quarter. Junaid had gone off from Jhārkhand to Dāūd with the idea that perhaps he might play the game of deceit with him and collect materials for disturbance. Owing to his self-opiniatedness, and excessive demands he did not get his companionship, and was returning when he was astonished by hearing the sound of the victorious army. Naẓr Bahādur, Abul Qāsim Namakīn, Muḥammad Khān son of Sulṭan Ādam Gakhar, Imām Qulī Cūlak, Bihārhamal Khetrī, and some brave men who were marching in front of the victorious army, had from inexperience advanced too far, and had not behaved with prudence.
120 Junaid fell upon them. Muḥammad Khān, Bihārhamal and some others behaved bravely and sacrificed their lives. When this news came to Rajah Todar Mal he proceeded with prudence to chastise the wretch, and Junaid was unable to stand his ground and fled quickly to Jhārkhand. By the daily-increasing favour of God the dust of disturbance was laid.

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[1] In Sarkār Maḥmūdābad. Jarrett II. 133.

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One of the occurrences was that Yār Muḥammad Arghūn Qarāwal proceeded to near Mūlhair[1] and plundered that country and got hold of a great deal of property. The elephant Apār, which is one of the noted elephants of that region, was one of the things he got. Though Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān summoned[2] him, he made excuses, and hastened to the borders of Jhārkhand and set about collecting property. The vagabonds of the country gathered round him. Thence he plundered up to the city of Belghatha, and came to the jungles of Lūnī[3] and Kankar, which were the asylum of the Afghan families. There too he stretched out the hand of power and got possession of much property. His whole design was that he might hasten by way of Jhārkhand to the sublime court, and in this way bring into safety his collections. When he came to Tāra,[4] Bhūpat Cohān and Shihāb the son of Dhanjī arrived in the jungle. The victorious army addressed itself to pursue them. Bhūpat from trickery came and paid his respects (to Yār Muḥammad). He learnt the state of affairs and in the guise of friendship acted as an enemy. By his guidance Junaid made a night attack, and got hold of everything that he (Yār M.) had collected, and of all the goods of the merchants and of that great caravan. The slumbrous one awoke from the sleep of negligence, and was fortunate enough to join the Rajah's army. Before the might of the latter Junaid again took shelter in the hills.

Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās proceeded against Dāūd with the army which was aided by heaven, and conducted it with prudence. When he came within twenty *kos* of Sātgāon, the enemy began to waver. They threw the dust of ruin on their heads and

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1 In Baglāna S. of Gujrat. Mulhair is now in the Nausārī district of Baroda. Jarrett II. 251, n. 2, where it is spelt Muler. But it is doubtful if this can be the place meant. Muher on the borders of Behar and Jhārkand may be the place meant. See text, p. 127.

2 It appears from the sequel that it was rather the elephant that was sent for, than the qarāwal himself! Yār Muḥ. was shortly afterwards put to death, text p. 127.

3 This can hardly be the Lūnī in Jodhpūr, B. 398, n. 1. Belghatta may be the place in Ghoraghāt. J. 136.

4 Perhaps Du Tara or Dunārā in Jodhpur. Jarrett II. 276.

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went off towards Orissa. The victorious army encamped at the port of Sātgāon. The gates of justice were thrown open and measures were taken for soothing the distracted inhabitants. At this time, scouts brought the news that Sirharī who was Dāūd's rational soul was going off rapidly to the country of Catar.[1] Though Muhammad Qulī Khān made all speed, he was not successful, and that alert trickster got off in safety. All the thoughts of the leaders of the army were about taking their ease in that country. Meanwhile
121 Rajah Todar Mal joined them, and spoke severely and honestly to them about proceeding towards Orissa and extirpating Dāūd. By the vigour of his intelligence and his endurance of burdens he cured the babblers and he supported Muhammad Qūlī Khān Barlās. While they were at the town of Mandalpūr[2] Muḥammad Qulī Khān died in the middle of Dai, Divine month. Except that at the time of breaking his fast he ate *pān* and then got fever (*harāratī*), no other cause of death appeared. Some farseeing ones ascribed this result to the evil designs of one of the slaves of the Khwāja Sarā.[3] This unavoidable event caused disorder in the camp, and the market of the opportunists became brisk. A number of men made Qiya Khān, who was the head of the babblers and was at enmity with the Khān-Khānān, their leader, and resolved to proceed to court by way of Jhārkhand. They proposed to make the discomfiture of Junaid a trophy for the *kornish*. Though Rajah Todar Mal used his reason and his loyalty, he

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[1] *Catar* (ڈھڑ) in text: see Blochmann 341 who calls Sirharī Sarmadī. Perhaps Chittuī is the place meant. See Blochmann 375, 376. Chittuī is N. of Midnapore. Apparently this is the Chatwā in Madāran of Jarrett II. 141. There is the variant Jessore.

[2] B. says 342 Mednīpūr and so does the T. A. But Mednīpūr was then in Orissa, which perhaps the imperialists had not entered. The Maaṣir III. 206 has Mandalpūr, as in the A. N. There is no Mandalpur in the 'Ain, but there is a Mandalghāt mentioned in Sarkār Madāran, J. II. 141, which is perhaps the same as Mandalpūr. B.J.A.S.B. XLII, 223, says it is at the mouth of the Rūpnarain. Perhaps by Mednīpūr B. only means that the place is now in the Midnapore district. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 107.

[3] Blochmann 341, 342. I take the Khwāja Sarā to be I'timād Khān, but perhaps all that is meant is that Muhammad Qulī was poisoned by one of his own eunuchs. This is Blochmann's view.

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was not successful. He sent couriers to the Khān-Khānān to inform him, and represented that the method to restrain the faction was to send money by one who was loyal and smooth-tongued. Mun'im Khān sent a large sum by Lashkar Khān, and held out both threats and hopes. In accordance with the Rajah's advice the envoy in a manner quieted the slaves to gold. By the foresight and efforts of Mun'im Khān, Shāham Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, and a body of brave and loyal men joined the army, and by their arrival order was restored. Their hesitating and discontented hearts resolved upon extirpating Dāūd, and they marched off.

Dāūd had hurried off to the extremities of Hindustan and was anxious to spend his days in the corner of obscurity, but when he heard of the dissensions in the victorious army, and got encouragement from Khān Jahān (Lodī) who governed Orissa for him, he returned to do battle. The officers left Bardwan and came by Madāran[1] to Citua.[2] As the foreheads of many of the officers were still stained with disaffection the Rajah (Todar Mal) considered that if this was their condition how would things go on the day of battle, which is the time for the seething of devotion and courage. It was clear that if the Khān-Khānān arrived, no mischief would happen from the evil-heartedness of some of the misguided ones. Acting on this idea he wrote to him. The Khān-Khānān was spending his time in the far-off thoughts (*i.e.* apprehensions) of old men, and he did not consider sufficiently that if a misfortune happened to the army, things would become difficult. At this time the prescience of the world's lord took matters into its **122**
hands. The brief account of this story is that the alert *sazāwals* brought the holy order. Its gist was that as by heaven's help that fine country had come into the possession of the imperial servants, and the inhabitants had obtained justice, he was not to consider the discomfiture of the enemy a light matter, but address his energies to his extirpation so that the inhabitants might once for all be at rest about his commotions. The Khān-Khānān was

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[1] Identified by B. with Bhitargarh in Hugli district, J.A.S.B., vol. 42, 223, n. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

[2] In Sarkar Madāran, the Catwa of J. II. 141. It is in Midnapore, near Ghattāl, Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 106.

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obliged to conform to the order and to undertake the task. He joined the army at Cittūā. Dāūd was with a large army in Harpūr,[1] which is intermediate between Bengal and Orissa, and was taking special care to strengthen the approaches. Many of the officers, and the common soldiers, were from folly and cowardice, and bad intentions, disinclined to serve, and wanted that there should be some kind of agreement made (with the enemy). The Khān-Khānān convened a council of enlightened men and in the first place read chapters from the Shāhinshāh's book[2] of fortune (his rescript), and exerted himself to encourage them. After this he spoke about loosing the knots of difficulty, and about their preserving their reputation. Each officer answered according to his knowledge and courage, and the degree of his devotion. Some preferred peace to war, and sought for safety. Some set their hearts upon fighting, but reflected upon the difficulties of the roads. Others from excess of courage did not distinguish between what was easy and what was difficult and rejoiced in the giving of battle. At last by the exertions of Rajah Todar Mal and the firmness of Munʿīm Khān Khān-Khānān, all agreed to fight. But search was made for another road, for it was difficult to go straight forward. Ilyās (Elias) Khān Langā and a number who knew the difficulties of the country pointed out an easier way and did good service. The strenuous and laborious were sent off to smooth and make easy that route. They with agility and dexterity crossed by that path into Orissa. All Dāūd's plans for fortifying the roads were made vain. With a distracted heart he turned back and resolved upon giving battle. The two armies came face to face in Tukaroī,[3] and that battlefield was adorned by the flashings of the heroes' swords. The brave men on both sides distinguished themselves, and presented the coin of valour to a crucial test. At last by the blessing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune,

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[1] Or Harīpūr, B. 375. Perhaps the Harpat of J. II. 125. However I. O. MS. 236 has Dharpūr, which is given as a variant in Bib. Ind. The word recurs at p. 435, and perhaps Dharmpūr is the correct reading. See Elliot VI. 75.

[2] Perhaps this only means that he recalled to their recollection various successes of Akbar.

[3] See Blochmann's valuable note 375.

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on the day of Dīn 24 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, corresponding to Friday 20 Zīlq'aada (3 March 1575), Dāūd was defeated, and a large number were killed. The account of this great boon is that when the Khān-Khānān determined on this engagement, the troops were drawn up as follows: He commanded the centre, and Lashkar Khān, Hāshim Khān, Maḥasan Khān and many strenuous men 123 supported him. The *Altamsh* was commanded by Qīyā Khan, Khānzāda Muḥammad Khan, son of Kocak 'Alī Khān Badakhshī, and others. The *harāwal* (vanguard) was composed of 'Ālam Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khan, Saiyid 'Abdullah, M. 'Alī 'Alamshāhī, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Khalīl, Ṭalīb Khān, Nīyābat Khān, M. Muḥammad Jalāīr, Khan Qulī Dīwāna, Ḥāfiẓ Kosa, Shujā' Beg, and others. The right wing was ordered by the strength and wisdom of Shāham Khān Jalāīr, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tokbāī, Payinda Muḥammad Khān, 'I'timād Khān, Qatlaq Qadam Khān and Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī. In the left wing were Āshraf Khān, Rajah Todar Mal, Moẓaffar Moghal, Yār Muḥammad Qarāwal, Abūl Qāsim Namakīn, and others. When the enemy came in front of the victorious army, courage was tested each day, and brave actions were performed on both sides.

Verse.

From the amount of blood sprinkled everywhere
The ground was like a lacerated face.
Three days was blood thus spilt;
The valiant did not cease from fighting.

On that day, in consequence of oppositions of the planets they did not intend to engage, and the brave men combated according to the daily practice. All at once the enemy came up in battle-array. In the centre Dāūd heaped up materials for his ruin with his own hands. The right wing was dark with the gloom[1] of Sikandar, the brother of Khān Jahān. The left was oppressed by the evil thoughts of Ism'ail Khān. The van was commanded by Gūjar Khān. All at once the commotion began. The Khān-Khānān was

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[1] *Shomī*, referring to Alexander's failure to find the water of life.

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compelled to draw up his forces and was supported by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh. The Khān 'Ālam from his noble disposition and excessive courage broke the thread of discretion, and galloped too far. The archers[1] applied their hand to the work and there was a hot fight. The Khān-Khānān was vexed at this mistake and sent an angry message to him and brought him back. The imperial army had not yet been properly arranged when Gūjar Khān advanced with a formidable line of active elephants in front and his presumptuous and daring troops behind. As the tusks and heads and necks of the elephants were covered with black yak-tails and the skins of the animals, they produced horror and dismay; the horses of the imperial van were frightened on seeing these extraordinary forms, and hearing the terrible cries, and turned back. Though the riders exerted themselves, they were not
124 successful and the troops lost their formation. Khān 'Ālam, who was mounted on a tried and fearless steed, remained firm and displayed courage, and slew many of the Afghans. Suddenly his horse got a sword-cut and reared, and he fell off. But with consummate agility he mounted again, and again adorned the fight. Just then a misfortune befel him, *viz.*, he was overthrown by an elephant. The Afghans crowded on, and he yielded up his life after the manner of the loyal and the famous of the visible and invisible world. By this profitable trafficking (*az saudāī pūr sūd*) an everlasting good name revealed itself. Before the dust of war had risen he had said to some of the servants of the fortunate threshold that he had a presentiment that he would fall in this banquet of battle and that he trusted that they would mention his devotion at the sacred court and tell the great assemblage that the well-pleasing of the lord of horizons is the material of salvation and the adornment of eternal life. What is there improbable in such intimations to the pure hearts of the sincere?

When this happened to the leader, Gūjar Khān drove off the whole force and proceeded against the *altamsh*. As soon as he reached it, it broke. Khānzāda Muḥammad Khān bravely sacrificed his life and went to the eternal land. Then that presumptuous and daring one routed the troops (the *altamsh*) and proceeded to

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[1] *giroh-i-ūqcī*.

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attack the centre. The courage of the latter (the centre) was shaken, and the men received the retribution of their feelings. Mun'īm Khān Khān-Khānān with Lashkar Khān, Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī, Hāshim Khān and some others stood their ground and fought bravely. Though the Khān-Khānān's servants did not behave well, he manfully received wounds. Though he had many wounds on the head, neck and shoulder he did not give way, but took his whip.[1] Lashkar Khān, Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī and Hāshim Khān were also wounded. The Khān-Khānān used always to say that though the wound on the head healed, his eyesight remained injured, and that though the wound on the neck got better, yet he had not the power to look well behind, and that owing to the wound on the shoulder, he could not properly raise his hand to his head. In spite of all these severe wounds, no idea of retreating entered his mind. At this time a number of his well-wishing servants seized his rein and turned him round. Gūjar was just then driving the people before him, till at last he came to the imperial camp. That orderly place was plundered, and this increased his pride and presumption. In his intoxication and haughtiness he in order to encourage his men cried out with a loud voice, "I have inflicted severe wounds on the Khān-Khānan, what is the good of prolonging the fight, make efforts, and **125** bring the thing to an end." But to his confidants he, being frightened at the uncertainties of fortune, was saying, "In spite of the signs of victory my soul does not rejoice, and from time to time my sadness increases. I know not what will appear from the veil of fate, and how the affair will end." When he passed beyond the camp many of his men dispersed in order to plunder. At this time Qīyā Khān and his son turned some of the fugitives and proceeded to fight. Khwājā 'Abdullah, Shīroya Khān, Selīm, Khān, Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān, Shujā' Beg, Jabbār Qulī Dīwāna, Ḥāfiẓ Kosa and others *brought the escaped water back to its channel*, and the Divine favour, which is surety for the hopes of this great

1 Cf. Elliot V. 387 where it is said that Gūjar K. personally wounded the Khān-Khānān and that as the latter had no sword, he returned the cuts with slashes of his whip. The statement that he had no sword is not in the Lucknow ed. of the T.A., p. 325, though it mentions the use of the whip.

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dominion, shone forth. The power of the Shāhinshāh's favour took the upper hand. At this time when the brave and loyal advanced and renewed the battle, an arrow from the quiver of fate conveyed the order of annihilation to Gūjar. When he was destroyed, his comrades became disheartened and fled, and besides those who were killed, there were many who lost their honour. The Khān-Khānān who had hurried off three *kos* beyond the camp, returned and set his face to the battlefield. During the uproar when the heroes of the right and left wings were drawn up and engaged, the right wing of the enemy came in front. Apparently they had heard of Gūjar's success and wished to join him, when what was decreed (his death) occurred. They fled without coming to blows. The state of matters was that Dāūd came in front of the imperial left wing. Rajah Todar Mal by the vigour of his understanding kept his ground and held his troops in readiness. Just then one of the babblers brought bad news of the Khān-Khānān and Khān 'Ālam. He remained steadfast and replied, "The ray of the Shāhinshāh's fortune is shedding light on the heads of the courageous and loyal servants, if the days of one are ended, and if the feet of another have slipped, what injury has happened to fortune's countenance, and why should the strenuous supporters of dominion be dismayed. Don't prate, and don't say such things. The breeze of victory is about to blow, and the light of success is emerging from the horizon of hope." With heartening words he put the seal of silence on the lips of that ill-conditioned one, and hung in the ears of his understanding the jewels of instruction. He himself became the leader of the loyal. Bābāī Kūlābī, Maqṣūd 'Alī, Mīr Yūsuf Ābbārānī (of the river Bārān in Afghanistan), Ḥusain Beg Gūrd, and a number of other active men went forward to
126 fight. Shāham Khān Jalair lost firmness on hearing of the boldness of Gūjar and of the confusion of the army and was turning back. Saiyid Shamsu-d-dīn Bokhārī, and a number of brave and devoted men who were in unison with him, spoke bitter-sweet words to comfort his soul and increase his activity, and so remedied matters. By the November-clouds of these ocean-hearted men of war and lovers of honour the dust of apprehension was laid, and the brave men of the right wing became of one heart and soul, and turned towards the left wing of the enemy. A battle ensued

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and in a short space of time the enemy was driven off, and the victors proceeded against the centre. At this time, when the battle hung in the balance between the Rajah and Dāūd, the right wing of the imperial army appeared, and the enemy became disconcerted. Though Dāūd had heard of the defeat of the vanguard, *altamsh* and centre of the imperialists, the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune made him regard this as a trick of experienced soldiers, and so he abode in the stony place of cowardice till this army (the imperial right wing) arrived. The ingrate became shameless and fled to the desert of destruction. Just then news came of the fall of Gūjar, and there was hastiness in flight. The victorious soldiers followed with drawn swords. Many of the wretches slept the sleep of annihilation, and the plain became a tulip-garden from the blood of the slain.

Verse.

In every corner there fell a drunkard,
Such a drunkard as ne'r became sober.
You'd say 'twas a banquet, not a battle—
A banquet in which the brave were the wine-drinkers.

Abundant plunder was obtained, and there was physical and spiritual good fortune. Visible and invisible felicity was attained. The imperial servants had their wishes gratified, and offered up their thanksgivings.

Oh seeker after enlightenment, open the eye of edification and regard with an instructed eye the marvels of the Divine aid! Advance from denial to confession, from confession to trust, and from trust to the lofty stage of devotion, and rejoice in the truth!

Verse.

Wisdom keeps not pace with his lofty fortune.
Hail, O power of fortune, Allah Akbar.

After such an unexpected victory, obtained by the Divine aid, the Khān-Khānān's bodily wounds, and inward lacerations, were healed by the balm of conquest. Though before this, Bengal had come into possession, yet in the estimation of acute observers this day was the day of the conquest of that wide territory. A great

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boon came from the abodes of secrecy to the bright halls of manifestation. The pillar of fortune was upreared. The Khān-
127 Khānān chose a camping-ground near the battlefield, and expanded in thanksgivings. Next day, owing to the abundant wickedness of the crew of ingrates, and to the o'ermastering power of wrath, he exerted himself in gathering together the prisoners. Their souls and bodies were separated, and eight sky-high minarets were made of their brainless heads, as a warning to spectators. When the news of this great victory reached the august hearing, there was an increase of awakening, and thanksgivings were made. Rescripts of great graciousness were issued, and the honours of the loyal and serviceable were increased. Their outward rank was exalted, and so also was their spiritual dignity.

One of the occurrences of these days was that the cup of life of Lashkar Khān became brimful. He was recovering from the severe wound which had disabled him on the day of the battle, but he died from carelessness and disregard during the days of convalescence.

One of the occurrences was the death of Yār Muḥammad Arghūn. He was one of the royal hunters, and was a prominent servant. His good service in Bengal carried him into the thornbrake of presumption. By searching and striving he gathered secret treasures[1] and he behaved presumptuously as if he were chief of the army. Although Mun'īm K. sent for the elephant Apār, which had come into his possession, he did not forward it. Advice did him no good. In this battle too he had a dispute with some of his servants about the plunder. When they demanded justice, the old enmity blazed forth. Without inquiring fully into the matter, or looking closely into it, he (Mun'im) opened the hand of wrath and condemned him to capital punishment. They beat him so severely that the woof and warp of his existence came to pieces. Though he was tyrannously dealt with, yet many evil-minded and presumptuous persons were guided to the happy land of obedience.

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1 *Asbāb-i-Mukannat* apparently means "hidden properties." Balashkar begī dam-i-istikbār zad. "He breathed the breath of pride as if he were Commander-in-Chief." But it may also mean that he behaved presumptuously to the head of the army. He was a scout (qārawal) as well as a hunter.

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CHAPTER XXIV.[1]

BEGINNING OF THE 20TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this time of the increase of justice, and of world-adornment, the harbingers of good tidings arrived, bringing the news of Spring, and conferred world-wide joy.

Verse.

This day is the day of joy, and this year the year of the rose;
Good is the heart's state, for good is that of the rose.
What is the rose? 'Tis a messenger from the garden of joy.
What is the rose? 'Tis a letter telling of universal[2] glory.

On the day of Friday 27 Zīl-'qaada 982 (11 March 1575), after the passing of 7 hours, 35 minutes, the world-adorner (the sun) cast **128** his rays on the mansion of Aries.

Verse.

They tied a picture on the arm of morning,
They gave it the embellishment of early spring.
Time gave colour and fragrance to spring,
It put a nosegay in the hand of wish.

The twentieth year, which belonged to the second cycle, began. There were rejoicings, and universal joy. Just as the physical Spring year by year increases the beauty of young growths of vegetation and augments the joy of the spectators of material flashes so does the springtide of the fortune of the enthroned one adorn the parterre of sovereignty with the development of the virgins of the spirit, and increase the glory of the veiled ones who fashion existence and Divinity? There is joy to those who delight in the mystic garden such as does not come to the lovers of physical flowers in the material spring. In this book of Divine praise, although the foundation of the work is laid on a description

1 This chapter is much shortened in the Lucknow edition.
2 Text has *gul* at the end of the fourth line, but I think it should be *kull*.

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of the wondrous workings of external fortune, and it is this which colours its words and makes them picturesque, yet as a comprehensive, much-knowing soul even with hundreds of torches of Divine aid cannot compound the collyrium for fully perceiving the limitless, spiritual ruler, how can the hand, the pen, the paper, the ink have the brightness to succeed in the mighty task? But inasmuch as genius helps, fortune is auspicious, and disposition consonant therewith, I let a little trickle out from the abounding river and so water the adust souls of the desert of inquiry, and light up a part of that hall of brilliance with the rays of the lamp of vision, and so illuminate the darkened ones of Use and Wont. O thou of somnolent fortune, if thou feelest that the opening of thy inward eye is a task beyond thy capacity, yet the opening of thy external eye is a thing dependent on thy will, why dost thou not open thy vision and cast a glance at the journal of the deeds of the Khedive of the world? If thou hast not power to contemplate the spectacle of that Manifester of holiness, why dost thou abandon the perusal of the ways of those attached to the sublime court? If from evil fortune and from wisdom's being overlaid with self-interest thou hast not the felicity to do this, contemplate to-day this work of fortune (iqbālnāma, *i.e.*, the A. N.) so that the holy blessings of the Unique and Incomparable One may vouchsafe an illuminating ray. If inward darkness let fall a veil over thy outer eye, take instruction from the condition of those attached to this Fortune, and from the wondrous marks therein acknowledge the sublime state of the world's lord! Deeds which in former times were with difficulty executed by magnanimous princes, are now easily exhibited by H.M.'s servants. Then turning from the
129 external to the internal infer what is the felicity of the holy spirit (of Akbar), and prostrate the forehead of the heart as well as the outward brow before the celestial threshold, so that, like those who are auspicious, thou mayest first bring thy external state into proper condition, and also enter upon the ever-verdant rose-garden of the inner life!

A fresh instance of fortune which adorned the opening of this year was that Dāūd, who wore upon his head the tiara of rule, made it a foot-rest in the court of the Shāhinshāh's fortune and became a servant of the threshold of fortune.

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CHAPTER XXV.

Dāūd's coming to see Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, and the Adorning of the Feast of Concord.

When by the help of the heavenly armies, which are ever engaged in heightening the fortune of the world's lord and in elevating the standards of his fortune, Dāūd had cast the dust of disgrace on his fortune's head, and had taken to flight, and when Gūjar and many of the proud had gone down to the pit of annihilation, as has already been briefly related, the Khān-Khānān, acting in accordance with the advice of experienced men, sent Shāham Khān Jalāīr, and Rajah Todar Mal to pursue the wretch. Qabūl Khān, Muḥammad Qulī Khān Toqbāī, S'aīd Badakhshī, Qamar Khān, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Khalīl, Ṭālib Bakhshī and many other active men had impressed upon their minds the canons of warfare and went forward on this duty. The infatuated Dāūd hastened to the corner of contempt. When the imperial troops reached the town of Bhadrak, it was ascertained that Jahān Khān had quickly joined him, and given him encouragement and taken him towards the fort of Katak (Cuttack) which is one of the strong forts of the province. The vagabonds of the country had gathered round him, and the sole thought of the presumptuous ones was that if the victorious army should come there, they might give battle, as the sudden defeat (*i.e.*, the battle of Tukaroi) had been the result of want of caution. If there was delay in their coming, they would make arrangements for a contest, and on a proper opportunity obtain their revenge. On hearing this news the old servants, whose fortunes were somnolent, were dismayed. The sedition-mongers became active in their machinations. Though Rajah Todar Mal brought his wisdom and fidelity to bear, and addressed himself to the soothing and quieting this crew, he was not successful. He was obliged to ask for the presence of the Khān-Khānān, and plainly wrote that a difficult business had been made easy by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh. If reliance were placed on con-

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ceited[1] men who were inefficient and heedless of the day of reckoning, things would again become difficult. It was fitting that the Khān-Khānān should take the matter into his own hands, and
130 come hither without delay. Though the Khān-Khānān's wounds were not yet healed he set off in a litter[2] and speedily arrived at the spot. He soothed the empty-headed and reproved the self-conceited, and so brought them back from their evil thoughts, and then pushed forward. He came near to that strong fort which the foolish Afghans had thought to be their refuge. Their confidence began to abate. They had no equipment for the defence of the fort, no means of fighting, and no way of fleeing, and the victorious army was numerous. Dāūd at the advice of tricksters adopted feline stratagems. He turned to entreaties and abjectness and knocked at the door of peace. He sent Fattū, Shaikh Niẓām and some other officers, and these tricksters by gold and words induced the leaders of the army to come to terms. The old servants whose fortune was somnolent exerted[3] themselves to magnify by finesses the enemy's position, and regarding this a means of increasing their reputation considered the proposition of a settlement as an advantage. Though Rajah Todar Mal, who knew the real state of the case, exerted himself hand and foot, it was of no use. In that abode of darkness the torch of his monition could not give light! The Khān-Khānān sent Hāshim Khān and Qutluq Qadam Khān, and expounded the conditions of peace. The gist of the compact was that in the first place Dāūd should come and accept the service of the holy court, and send noted elephants and other choice presents. After some time, when he had done good service, he was to convey his ashamed face to the holy threshold of the Shāhinshāh, and have it coloured with

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[1] Perhaps the Rajah was referring especially to Qiyā K. See text, p. 121, l. 7.

[2] *Sūkāsan.* See J. II. 122 for description of this kind of litter.

[3] I presume that the meaning is that the old servants represented the position and resources of the enemy to be more than they were. "They regarded this as a means of increasing their reputation." I suppose this means that they now magnified the enemy's position, thinking that they would thereby make people believe that their former views about the difficulty of the imperialists' enterprise were correct.

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fidelity. At present he was to send one of his confidential relations to court to act there as his representative.

Dāūd, whose affairs were *in extremis*, gladly accepted every thing. On 3 Ardībihisht, Divine month, corresponding to 1 Muḥarram 983 (12 April 1575), there was a celebration. The banquet of reconciliation was prepared. Previous to this a pleasant spot had been chosen outside of the camp, and been adorned to the admiration of beholders. The Khān-Khānān came into the hall of joy on the above-mentioned date, and there was a festival. Ashraf Khān, and Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī hasted and brought Dāūd and his nobles. The Khān-Khānān went to the edge of the carpet to welcome him, and displayed warm affection. Dāūd loosed his sword and left it behind him, implying that he had left off soldiering and had made himself over to the sublime court, and would do whatever the pillars of empire thought it right for him to do. The Khān-Khānān made him over to his servants, and after a time a splendid *Khilât* was given to him on the part of the threshold of the Caliphate, and a sword and embroidered belt were **131** bound upon his waist. Dāūd with the humblest loyalty turned towards the quarter of the capital and made the prostration of service. He presented noted elephants, the rarities of the country, and abundant money, and made over Shaikh Muḥammad, the son of Bāyazīd who was his own nephew, that he might accompany Mun'im Khān to court. Much of that day was devoted to feasting and rejoicing, and when Dāūd received leave to depart, some[1] estates in Orissa were given in fief to him. When Mun'im Khān had dismissed him from the defile of difficulty to the wide expanse of joy he himself returned (to the camp). The generality showed joy, with the exception of Rajah Todar Mal, who from his farseeingness kept his head in the fold of thought, and who was not present in that banqueting hall, nor put his seal to the document of that peace. Inasmuch as the world is a place of retribution, every one of them very quickly had the recompense[2] of his actions.

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[1] According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 390 and Stewart 161, the whole of Orissa was conferred upon Daūd. Perhaps the phrase "*b'aẓī maḥāl*" used in text has the technical sense of miscellaneous revenues.

[2] Alluding apparently to the deaths of the officers shortly afterwards in the pestilence at Gaur.

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One of the occurrences was the disturbance in Ghorāghāt. The brief account of this is that when the Khān-Khānān with most of the troops proceeded to Katak; Kālā Pahār, and Bābūī Mankalī and a number of Afghans raised a commotion and fell upon the Qāqshāls. The latter made a little resistance and then covered their honour with the dust of disgrace! The Afghans took possession of Ghorāghāt, and pursued the Qāqshāls. The latter could find no place in which to plant the foot of firmness and came to Tānda. The Khān-Khānān swiftly returned, and without entering into the city of Tānda hastened off from its neighbourhood to encounter the enemy. The enemy was indulging in confidence on the other side of the Ganges. The able leaders of the imperial army proceeded up stream to a place where the Ganges forms two branches, and had bridged one, and were preparing to bridge the other when the enemy lost courage. They stained themselves with the dust of defeat and took to flight. The Khān-Khānān hastened with his army to the borders of Tānda and from there despatched a force under Majnūn Khān to Ghorāghāt. The strenuous fighters reconquered that country and the sedition-mongers descended to the corner of contempt. The Khān-Khānān returned thanks to God and to the Shāhinshāh's fortune and returned (to Tānda).

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CHAPTER XXVI.

Affairs of the Province of Bihar, increasing Performances of Mozaffar Khān, and his Return to Favour.

The benefactions[1] which the Shāhinshāh bestows on mankind in general are beyond the region of computation, and the public are obliged to confess their inability to requite them. How then can those who are attached to the court, and are prominent sitters in the assemblage of justice, discharge the burden of their gratitude? In truth who has the courage, and where is the capacity that can 132
indulge in the thought of recompense? Devotion throughout long lives by single-hearted, efficient men cannot make requital for one of a hundred thousand favours! But the first stage of making up the account is, after perceiving the degrees of favour, not to forget to make a list of the register of reverence, and to attach the cincture of strenuous effort to one's service and to reckon whatever of good deeds has been done as one of a thousand acts of thanksgiving. So that one may always be abashed and ashamed, nor loose the thread of calculation, nor allow the contemplation of the imperfect service of all and of one's own good deeds to become the material of insolence. May one by this life of praise attain to the stage of limpid sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*), and become a fixture at the threshold of obedience! May he pass the stage of selling his service and place the seal of silence on his lips. Hail to the fortunate one in whose journey through the ups and downs of service the dust of shame has not settled on the face of his fortune. Or if, from his inauspicious star, the dust of shame may have touched him, he has washed it away by the clear water of understanding, and he has with an open brow and cheerful countenance carried out what was in his destiny. How shall I write that there can be no change (for the better) in such obedience? On the contrary, even to wearied souls there comes, from long habits of obedience and service, a ray of the Presence,

[1] This introduction is bombastic and obscure and is wanting in the Lucknow edition.

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and from time to time an increase of light. The case of Moẓaffar Khān is a clear illustration of this fact.

It has already been related how H. M. as a means of producing discretion and enlightenment in him, had, without permitting him to do homage, appointed him, at the time of returning from the conquest of Patna, to assist Farḥat Khān, and had sent him to perform the service of taking the fort of Rohtās; so that if he could not recognise the favour and the educating power of the Shāhinshāh in the manner of the truly loyal, he still might not abandon mercantile considerations and the sense of favours received, and might in return for glorious benefactions exhibit the thanksgiving of good service. For some time he was in the thornbrake of failure and was with the hand of presumption poinarding his heart and liver. As felicity was implanted in his nature he emerged from his mental disturbance at the wise words of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī, and applied himself to service. He brought out some of his accumulations of wealth and prepared the equipment of an army. By his courage he took possession of Caund and Shahsarām (Sasseram) which on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of State had not been given in *jāgir* to any one, and then set himself to get things in readiness (for an expedition). He was in a position to do good service when Farḥat Khān and the other officers came to besiege the fort. In the course of a few days he showed his quality. The brief account of this is
133 that one day Bahādur, the son of Haibat Khān, came out of the fort of Rohtās and made a disturbance. Moẓaffar Khān behaved with activity and inflicted suitable punishment on him. His elephants, etc., were captured. Merely in consequence of that happy thought (of Moẓaffar) his wandering waters were brought back into the channel. Immediately the standards of trustworthiness were upreared in that quarter. About the same time the officers arrived for the siege. Moẓaffar frankly took part with Farḥat Khān and assisted in carrying out the plan. In a short time a ray of the royal favour visited him, and an order was issued to the effect that if he and the other officers could fix a time within which the fort would be taken, he should exert himself in that great service. If he could not fix a time and if the capture would be a work of time, he was to suspend operations, and turn his attention

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to the punishment of the turbulent Afghans who were making a commotion in Bihar. If they were willing to submit they would be pardoned. Otherwise he was to inflict chastisement on them in order that it might be a lesson to others.

Moẓaffar Khān performed the prostration on receipt of the order and represented that he had not a siege-train with him, and that a period for the taking of the fort could not be fixed. The first business was to clear the country of the rubbish of rebels. This he proceeded to do in company with the imperial troops. Mīrzāda 'Ali Khān and many of the strenuous workers whom the Shāhinshāh had left in the country went with him. Muḥasan Khān, Āfāq, 'Arab Bahādur and a number of soldiers who were engaged in looking after Mun'im Khān's *jāgīr* also joined him and did good service. Moẓaffar's ability was tested, and the dust of rebellion was laid throughout the whole province. Ādam Khān Batanī fled from Ibrāhīmpūr without fighting and so did Daryā Khān Kāshī from Carkān,[1] and both of them fled to Jhārkhand.

When nothing more remained to do there, the agents of Mun'im Khān grew envious of Moẓaffar Khān's success and in a shameless manner sent him away. As he had no fief assigned to him, he was forced to return to Caund and Sasseram, taking help from Khudādād Barlās and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. On the way he learnt that the insolent garrison of Rohtās had taken possession of those two towns. As his fortune helped him, and his star was favourable, the dust of apprehension did not rest on the skirt of his courage, and he went with a stout heart to that quarter. By the glitter of the sword, and the strength of contrivance he freed those two places. By the help of far-seeing reason he **134** suppressed his own wishes and waited for a mystic revelation. He employed a portion of his accumulations in the work, and took pleasure in attacking and plundering. Suddenly a commotion arose in Bihar. The managers of the country coolly (*ba firāghat-i-tamām*) asked for the assistance of his presence. Moẓaffar Khān disregarded their previous behaviour and hastened to do his master's work. He rendered good service. The brief account of this is that Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had left 'Arab Bahādur

1 Chārgaon in Sarkār Bihar, J. II. 154.

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in Maher[1] which lies between Behar and Jhārkhand. At this time Ḥājī and Ghāzī two brothers came out of Jhārkhand with some turbulent Afghans and gained possession of the fort. Many of the garrison were slain, but 'Arab succeeded in escaping. The officers of the province gathered together and asked for assistance to put down the disturbance. The Afghans went off to the mountain-defiles and swaggered there. The officers went there and then displayed hesitation. They could neither determine to turn back nor to advance. One day about 300 Rajputs from among the servants of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, but without him, entered boldly into the defiles, but as they did not behave rationally they were defeated. Jīā Kor, Kān Kachwāha, Dīdā Cohān and about one hundred brave men gave their lives to be plundered (were killed). When this disastrous affair occurred the officers lost firmness. They were ashamed of their former behaviour and were compelled to send able envoys to ask help from Moẓaffar Khān. He quickly joined them. At this time when the vanguard of victory was rising from the orient of fortune, the officers of the army were slackening in their energy. It seems that the reason of this was a letter from the Khān-Khānān. Its purport was that Junaid was hastening to Behar from Jhārkhand, and that Tengrī Bardī had been appointed with a large force of courageous men. It was not advisable to give battle hastily before the succour arrived. The letter also referred to the catastrophes of the death of Muḥammad K. Gakhar and of Yār Muḥammad Qarāwal's having been plundered, of which events a brief account has already been given.

Muẓaffar Khān stood firm and replied that the rational course was to make this circumstance (the advance of Junaid) a motive for greater courage and alacrity in fighting, so that the audacious rebels might be disposed of before Junaid's arrival. It was not known if that villain would arrive for ten days yet, and there was hope that the rebels would be dispersed in the course of one day. By the daily-increasing good fortune (of Akbar) the spirit which
135 had left the leaders returned to them and they all made promises of acting in harmony, and prepared for battle. By celestial aid a

[1] J. II. 154. In Sarkār Bihar.

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party of men who knew the country pointed out another road, and it was determined that the army should proceed straight against the enemy, but should do so with sufficient slowness to allow the other force to come behind the enemy by the path mentioned. All agreed to this course and the army was arranged as follows. Moẓaffar Khān commanded the centre, Fatḥ Khān Maidānī commanded the right wing, Farḥat Khān commanded the left wing. In the vanguard were Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān, Qarāṭāq Khān, Ḥusain Khān, Ākhta, Āfāq, Bāqī Kūlābī, Sohrāb Turkamān, 'Arab Bahādur, Sher Muhammad Dīwāna, Kūcak Qandūzī and many other brave and strenuous men. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was appointed, along with some brave and experienced men, to go by the other path and take the enemy in the rear. The enemy were full of confidence owing to the strength of their position and their numbers, when suddenly the victorious army arrived in front and at the same time the force in the rear came up. Their firmness of foot gave way, and their courage hid under a veil. There was a grand victory, and a large amount of plunder. The officers took steps to pursue the enemy. The latter drew up their forces in the hilly country of Rāmpūr which belongs to Jhārkhand, and faced their pursuers. The best of the gang were Ādam Batanī the son of Fatḥ Khān, Daryā Khān Kākar, Jalāl Khān Sūr, Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Yūsuf Batanī, 'Umar Khān Kākar and Maḥmūd Kāsū. Moẓaffar Khān made a skilful arrangement of his forces.

Verse.

The drums beat and the battalions deployed,
Swords flashed and dust raged,
The horsemen were intermingled in one place,
The infantry engaged in another.[1]
From the blood of the brave and the dust of the troops
The earth became a ruby, and the atmosphere black.

The combatants were hotly engaged when Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a party of active men took the enemy in the rear as on the former occasion and did valiantly. Ḥusain Khān, Ghāzī Khān, Jalāl Khān Sūr, who were among the brave men of note,

1 *Judā.* Lucknow edition has *hama.*

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fell into the dust of destruction. When the hands of the enemy grew weary of the contest they took to flight, and by the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh a great victory showed her countenance. Thanksgivings were offered up, and from cautious motives the army did not judge it advisable to remain there, and victoriously returned. Every one then went to his own place and sought repose.

When Junaid, who meditated an attack upon Bihar, heard
136 of this dominion-increasing event he ceased to advance and sought for his opportunity. Many days had not elapsed when Junaid thought he had his opportunity and proceeded to stir up a commotion in Bihar. The officers of the province gathered together in Patna and considered how they should remedy matters. They wrote to Moẓaffar Khān and asked for his help. He in reliance on the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh proceeded towards them. As he had shown resolution, good service and loyalty, a sacred rescript reached him before his arrival, and it appeared from it that a silent tongue had enlightened H. M.'s heart about his excellent performances, and that the Sarkār of Ḥajīpūr, which had been assigned in fief to Muḥammad Qulī Khān[1] Birlās, had been conferred upon him. On receiving this good news, he became a flower-gatherer in the garden of devotion, and the shoot of his spirit came to maturity. His heart expanded and his intent spread her wings. With a wide capacity he joined the officers, and exerted himself to uproot the evil and seditious. He bridged the Pun-pun and crossed it.

At this time urgent messages arrived from the Khān-Khānān to the effect that they should not be hasty in engaging Junaid as he himself had decided to come there quickly. The officers gave up their intentions and chose delay. Though Moẓaffar Khān gave them salutary counsels it was of no effect. His heart was troubled by thus coming and then turning back, and his zeal was such that he was prepared to encounter Junaid alone, when there arose a great commotion at Ḥajīpūr. He was compelled to turn aside to that quarter. The brief account of this affair is that Tāj Khān Panwār, Fatḥ Khān Mūsāzai, Shahbāz Khān 'Arabī, Sulaimān Panwār, and Thān Rai came and put to death Mīr

[1] Who had lately died.

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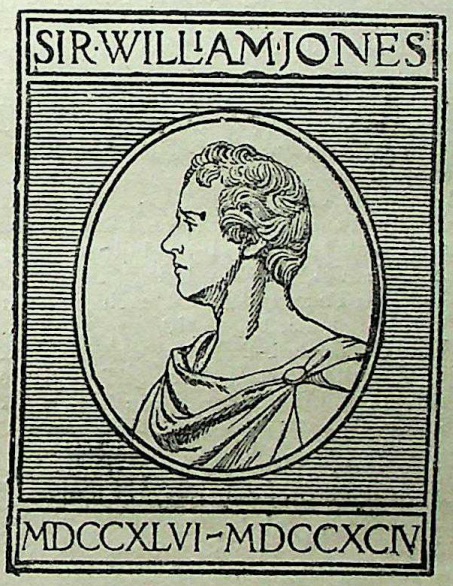

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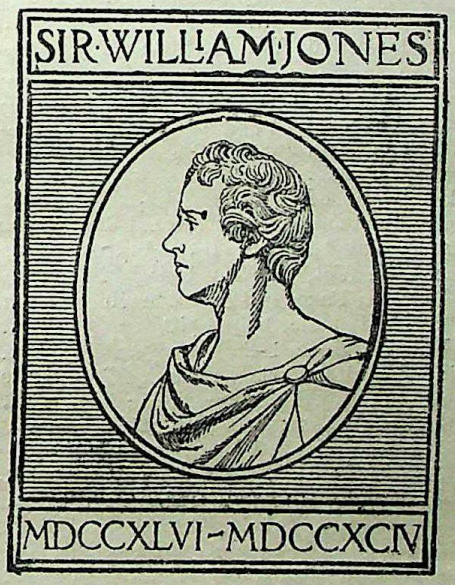

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Maḥmūd Shaukatī, who was in Ḥajīpūr on behalf of Moẓaffar Khān, and killed about a hundred more. Of necessity Moẓaffar withdrew his hand from Junaid and went off to Ḥājīpūr along with Khudādād Barlās, 'Arab, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and a few other lovers of service. In spite of the large number of the enemy he, with the help of the fortune which is conjoined with eternity, addressed himself to battle. As it was difficult to cross over in front of the enemy he crossed the Ganges and came to the town of Siwāna. The river Gandak was running boisterously between him and Ḥājīpūr, and the Afghans were exultant on account of their numbers and the smallness of the imperial forces. As he had with him zeal which is the key of enterprise, and fortune and a right intention, he put into order the means of success. In the first place Udai Karn, the zamindar of Jītāran,[1] became one of the single-minded, and, at a time when there was a crowd of the vagabonds on the other side, while on this side the chosen combatants were on the eve of crossing, and apparently the 137
execution of the design was difficult, the said landholder became the guide of the march and said that it occurred to him that a number of his relations lived up the stream, and that this would be a means of conducting the affair to a successful issue. Also that there were strong boats to be had there. The proper course was for the victorious army to parade itself in front of the enemy and to raise a song of triumph, and that a party of alert and brave men should be nominated whom he would cross over the river during the night. When the latter had nearly arrived the army should cross over in front of the enemy, and while the contest was at its height the detachment should appear and throw the enemy into dismay. In accordance with this choice plan 300 warlike men under the command of Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī and 'Arab Bahādur proceeded by the desert of auspiciousness. Swift-swimming couriers were appointed to convey one after the other the news of the crossing of the detachment and of its near approach. When the world became illuminated by the effulgence of the light of Akbar (*naiyir-i-akbar*) and by the great luminary (*naiyir*-i-a'ẓam, *i.e.*, the sun), and it was known that that band of heroes had crossed

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1 The variant Champaran is probably correct.

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the river and were near at hand, Moẓaffar Khān filled the boats with brave and experienced men and sent them across in front of the enemy under the command of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and Khudādād Barlās. The slumbrous-fated Afghans plyed guns and bows and made a commotion. Just then the sound of the kettle-drums and big drums (kurāka)[1] of the detachment struck upon their ear. They were forced to take to flight. A large number of these were killed, and Ḥājīpūr was delivered. A large amount of booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. The rulers of Patna who from their evil nature had been spectators and not given assistance, felt ashamed. Had this gang regarded the world-adorning beauty of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, or possessed a share of practical wisdom, or picked up a crumb from the banquet of those who are faithful to their salt, they would not have gone counter to the business of their benefactor, nor have been involved in so much shame!

One of the instructive events is as follows. When by the might of eternal fortune Ḥājīpūr had been conquered, and the dignity of Moẓaffar Khān had been exalted, it was reported by trustworthy scouts that Fatḥ Khān Mūsāzai, Jalāl Khān 'Arabī, Selīm Khān Barmīh, Satrī and Catrī and many presumptuous Afghans were assembled on the other side of the Madahā[2] Gandak. Moẓaffar Khān set out to quell them. When he had encamped near the river he went off with a few of his staff to examine the river and to find a place for crossing. Though the breadth of the channel is less than the cast of a dart,[3] it is very deep. While he was looking for a ford, about 200 horse were seen on the other side, and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab Bahādur and a body of brave men were ordered to cross at a distance and to
138 chastise that insolent and negligent troop. They went off, and the enemy becoming aware of this sent off for assistance. When the detachment showed itself the horse turned their reins and retreated to their camp. Moẓaffar Khān swiftly crossed the river

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[1] *Kurka*, P. de Courteille "espece de timbale."

[2] The Lucknow edition has Badh Gandak, and so have the Iqbālnāma and the I. O. MSS. There is also the Little Gandak which is called Marha Gandak. See Beames' map, A. S. B. for 1885, p. 182.

[3] Gazandāz. *Agaz* is a dart or arrow.

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and joined his detachment. His sole thought was that he would not be under obligations to those who made a traffic of their service. Just then, the enemy who were retreating were reinforced and came forward to do battle. From the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of the imperial troops, and from ill-fate and the cowardice of the soldiers, the troops dispersed. Many of them in their confusion fell into the water and were drowned. Moẓaffar Khān was nearly throwing himself into the waves. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn seized his rein and went off towards the hill-country,[1] and he sent a swift messenger to the camp, thinking that perhaps the strenuous heroes might come up. The enemy set themselves to pursue, and made a tumult. Ḥājī Pahlwān, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, 'Arab and some more companions—about fifty in number—continually turned round and used their bows. In this way they made the enemy slacken in their pursuit. When day was far advanced (*lit.* put her head in her skirt) and Moẓaffar Khān's position became more critical, the fortune of the Shāhinshāh shone forth, and victory showed itself.

The detail of this Divine aid is as follows. There was a noise in the camp that Moẓaffar Khān was killed, and every one was about to fly into the country, when the messenger arrived. They plucked up courage and set about remedying the state of things. Khudādād Barlās, Mihr 'Alī and many other brave lovers of battle to the number of about 300 crossed the river and went forward. The same messenger conveyed the news of their approach. They[2] scented the breeze of success, tightened their rein, and raised the dust of battle.

Verse.

Such fight and struggle were waged till night,
There was no hand which did not inflict a wound.
You'd say all the Age had come out (to fight),
That hill and plain had commingled.

At this time of life-shedding when the enemy in spite of victory were becoming feeble on account of the heat of their cuirasses and their great exertions, there was heard the noise of the

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1 *Kohistān.* Perhaps here the word means forest.

2 Moẓaffar and his few companions.

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drums of the victorious army, and this at once robbed them of their courage. They fled together with their evil fortune that night, and by the celestial assistance the breeze of victory blew on the rose-garden of the imperial servants' hopes. Such a victory showed itself after such a defeat! Joy after pain painted the eyes with collyrium. There was fresh life and salvation and abundant booty, and great rejoicing.

One of the instructive occurrences was that Shaikh Jamāl of Parsarūr[1] was one of those who warred against the carnal soul.
139 While the contest was going on he fell on the ground and became insensible. When he fell in with Moẓaffar Khān he performed the prostration towards the Shāhinshāh, and guided men to the recognition of this teacher of horizons. When they inquired what had happened, he explained that when he was in a trance he had a vision of the world's lord (Akbar) being mounted on the steed of fortune and equipped for battle, and bringing the good news of victory. The courage of the enemy had been scattered by the majesty of that cavalier of the field of glory. "With the hand of kindness he raised me from the dust of unconsciousness, and encouraged me, and I came to myself. I became possessed of great power and I flew with the wings of (mystic) assistance and bought as a gift the news of fortune. He turned their rein and made them seized of victory." When had those hirelings[2] of defeat the heart or the ear to listen to this celestial intimation? They regarded this demonstration of truth as a fabrication, or an imagination, and considered that it was impossible for them to escape from their terrible position. What question then could there be of victory? Suddenly the victorious army arrived and gave news of fresh life to the despairing, and the delight of new honour to those who had given way. By the shining of the Divine aid a lamp of vision was kindled for the superficial. Those who by good fortune and farsightedness were, without having seen miracles, acquainted with the majestic qualities of the adorner of truth's assemblage (Akbar), and were worshippers of the wonders of power, returned

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[1] J. II. 320. It is in Siālkot in the Panjab and is the Pasrūr of the I. G. Moẓaffar was once collector of this pargana.

[2] *Rasmīān-i-hazīmatī.* Rasmī, a pensioner or domestic, perhaps "those accustomed to defeat."

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thanksgiving to the Creator on beholding these lights of direction. The faction who were wrapped in the veil of self-conceit and were sitting in darkness on the hill of presumption had a window of illumination opened for them. Next day they went to the Afghans' village and plundered it. They got immense booty, and the tumult of the wicked was at once quelled.

Among the occurrences was that the Afghans aforesaid took refuge with Tāj Khān Panwār and recruited themselves. By his evil-planning the dust of sedition rose again, and abundance of wealth, want of wisdom, and a plethora of scoundrels led to a seeking for battle. Moẓaffar Khān exercised caution and recrossed the Madaha-Gandak. He established himself in a place surrounded on three sides by that river, and on the fourth by a large tank. He engaged in collecting soldiers and munitions of war. The presumptuous gang waxed bolder from this retreat. They pitched their camp (*dāīra*) in front of the imperial camp, but owing to the ruggedness of the ground nothing resulted except impotent longing, and the more they tried, the deeper did the thorn of disappointment pierce the foot of their desire. When for some days the fortune of the Shāhinshāh had sported in this manner, it again put on beauty. Soldiers assembled and many of the landholders set their hearts on rendering assistance. The construction of a bridge was rightly considered to be a means of victory, and so was put in hand. Inasmuch as prudence is the ornament of good fortune it was considered that perhaps something bad might happen when the troops were crossing the river and were not in battle-array. So it was thought that during the night some active men should dig a trench in front of the bridge, and make a bulwark with **140** the excavated earth so that the soldiers might have time to deploy. No one was inclined heartily to engage in this enterprise. When Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī perceived that the Turks were irresolute, and that the commander of the army was at a loss, he in his courage and efficiency took the task upon himself. He carried it through in a short time. The Afghans from feline craftiness left their camp empty and retired to a corner[1] with the idea that when the imperial army

[1] گرنج gurinj, a wrinkle, a corner. There is the variant برعنجد and the Lucknow ed. has in margin بزغ *bazagh* weir. Gurinj seems right, the

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crossed they would think that the enemy had run away and so proceed to plunder the camp. Perhaps at this time of negligence they would be able to prevail. Moẓaffar Khān practised caution and appointed a large number of soldiers and camp-followers (*urdu-bāzāri rā*, men of the camp-bazar) to provide for safety under the circumstances which the black-hearted wretches had arranged for. The Afghans became aware of what he had done and did not put their stratagem into execution. When a large force (of Afghans) attacked those who had crossed, the infantry lost heart and fled. Their cowardice weakened the spirit of the cavalry and they too broke. The rush of the flyers broke the bridge, and they fell into the river. About 300 horse and foot were drowned. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Khudādād Barlās and other brave men who were ambitious of honour shot arrows and twice turned back the enemy. The third time, when the zealous had come to be perturbed, an arrow struck the horse of Ḥusain Khān, the leader of the enemy, and he fell to the ground. His men became confused, and no harm came to the tiger-hearted defenders. After much exertion the bridge was repaired, and the imperial servants crossed the river in a majestic manner. The Afghans gave way and retired to Tāj Khān's strong position. Moẓaffar Khān pursued them, and when the victorious army had nearly arrived, scouts reported that many of the Afghan officers were superintending in the neighbourhood the construction of a moat and did not imagine that the imperial army could march such a distance so quickly. Moẓaffar Khān left Khudādād Barlās and some other strenuous men to protect the camp, and set about capturing those wicked and presumptuous men. Suddenly he fell upon them, and after a brief engagement the breeze of Divine aid arose. The enemy thought it best to fly and many of them were sent to annihilation. Ḥājī Khān Pahlwān cut off the head of Tāj Khān Panwār without knowing who he was, and brought it in. Jamāl Khān
141 Ghilzī, who was one of their noted men, was brought in alive and many were made prisoners[1] of the sword and caught in the noose. A great boon of fortune was vouchsafed. The darkness of night and the density of the forest prevented the commanders from laying

fact being that the Afghans hid themselves in an ambuscade.

1 Perhaps this means that some were beheaded and some hanged.

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hands on the abodes of the enemy. But many brave men reached the spot and obtained much booty. Next morning the army proceeded against the Afghan camp, and before it arrived the enemy fled in confusion and threw themselves into the river. What they thought to be their safety was the cause of their destruction. A number escaped with a hundred pangs from the whirlpool to the shore of safety, and the foundation of the scoundrels was devastated.

One of the occurrences was that when this disturbance was quelled, Satrī and Catrī joined with some of the Afghans and took possession of the country of Tegra.[1] That is a cultivated district thirty *kos* long and twenty *kos* broad, which lies opposite Monghyr from which it is separated by the Ganges. On Moẓaffar Khān's hearing of this commotion he took with him Wazīr Jamīl, Khudā dād Barlās, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, M. Jalālu-d-dīn, Bunyād Beg Khan, Tengri Qulī and many other combative lovers of service and went off to extirpate this gang. When he arrived there, the audacious ones prepared for battle. A great fight took place, and Fatḥ Khān, who was the head of those men, fell bravely together with 79 leading men, and that territory also came into possession.

When the flag of Moẓaffar Khān's fortune was waving high from his devotion and exertions, Mun'im Khān did not desire that he should remain in the province. He sent an urgent message to him to the effect that he should immediately proceed towards the threshold of the Caliphate. This order for leaving that fertile country came to him at a time when the period of labour and unsuccess had been put an end to and that of enjoyment had arrived.

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[1] I am indebted to the Collector of Monghyr, Mr. Adam, for the identification of this name. The text has Magra مگره, but there is the variant Tegra تگره and this occurs also in one I. O. MS. I. O. MS. 235 has نگر without any dots. It is clear then, I think, that the place meant is thāna Tegra on the N. bank of the Ganges and on the N.-W. bank of the Ganges and in the N.-W. part of the Begum Serai Subdivision. In the Āin it is entered as in Sarkār Ḥājīpūr, and under the form of Patkehra, J. II. 155. But there is the variant Tekhra or Tegra, and Mr. Beames has identified Patkehra as "the old pargana of Tegharā lying along the left bank of the Ganges," and which he states is now known as Mulkī, though the town of Tegharā still retains its old name. Tegra is west of Monghyr town, and nearly opposite Sūrajgarh.

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He was embarassed by this letter, for the sacred order was that whenever the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he was to hasten to the imperial court. While he was in this state of inward disturbance, a gracious order arrived to the effect that the sole intention of H.M.'s apparent neglect was to guide him aright. Let him not be troubled in his mind, and let him feel that he was regarded with real favour and be zealous in the performance of his services in that country. If the Khān-Khānān gave him leave he should not come to court till he received an order summoning him. On receipt of this revelation Moẓaffar Khān's devotion rose high and a spiritual window was opened for the superficial. After rendering of thanks publicly and privately, he came to Ḥājīpūr and spread the carpet of enjoyment. The pleasant paths of joy were trod anew. As the jewel of his fidelity sparkled, and as he came from the arid desert of misunderstanding to the garden of appreciation, in a short time the day of his fortune appeared. He became ardent in
142 good service. The farsighted Khedive recognised his services, and his confidence in him increased. He made over to him the guarding of that wide province from the ferry of Causa to Garhī. An order was issued that the soldiers of that province, great and small, should act according to his advice. He from his devotion and wisdom observed the canons of sovereignty and the laws of the Caliphate, and became an adorner of justice.

One of the occurrences was H.M.'s showing graciousness to the officers of Gujrat. The praiseworthy nature of the prince of horizons has flashes which assist those who are deficient members of the court of realm and religion. He also exalts those who strive for sincerity to higher degrees of trust. He continually by the elixir of his glance of favour extracts the gold from the earth, and the pearl from the mud, and regards the commingling of spiritual and material feasts as his duty. Especially does he do so to those whose proper actions are a mirror of their heart's mysteries. In a short space of time the faces of those who sit secluded are unveiled and clothed with beauty. His increasing the dignity of the officers of Gujrat was a new instance of this.

When in the first expedition the standards of fortune had cast the shade of justice over that country, this set of men had by the

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guidance of their good fortune rubbed the foreheads of supplication. But from the downfall of fortune and innate wickedness, as they had not loyalty in the core of their hearts, and their interior and exterior were not knit together and mutually supporting, many of them from short-sightedness ran away, and others were on the point of doing so. The Khedive of the Universe from his abundant graciousness, and his gift of appreciation, made allowance for the common nature of humanity, and for the special circumstance of the education of those darkened intellects, and for some time withheld them from employment. In this august year he perceived in them signs of repentance and cast a special glance upon them. He distinguished 'Itimād Khān, who was conspicuous for prudence and gravity, by special favours and committed to him the charge of the Darbār [1] (*darbār-i-mushkoī*) in order that he might minutely supervise that great place which is an ensample of heavenly things. Especially he had the charge of the jewels and decorated utensils. Ulugh [2] Khān Ḥabshī was caressed and exalted by a suitable fief, and Malik [3] Ashraf was appointed to the governorship of the city of Thānesar, and Wajīh-al-mulk was sent to superintend certain crown-estates in Gujrat.

One of the occurrences was that Ṣādiq Khān came and did homage at court. The Shāhinshāh's kindness accepted his excuses and encompassed him with favours. In the expedition to the eastern provinces he had been punished for bad service and sent into the desert of exile so that he might learn wisdom by punish- 143
ment, and know that in the service of kings no distinction should be made between little and great employments, and that obedience must be paid with one's whole heart and energy. Although the sacred order ostensibly was that he should travel about in the desert of search and seek for a choice elephant, and that if he could not find one which could equal that incomparable one, he should

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1 The epithet *mashkōī* might seem to imply that 'Itimād was put in charge of the female apartments, but this 'Itimād was not 'Itimād the eunuch, and the context as well as the Iqbālnāma show that what 'Itimād was put in charge of was the receptions and the jewels, etc. See also B. 386 and the Maaṣir I. 97.

2 B. 437.

3 Ashraf in text, but the name has occurred before, and is Ashraq, and the variants show this.

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pay the penalty,[1] yet in reality he dismissed him to the school for learning devotion and knowledge of service, so that the pride of skill might depart from him, and that he might always choose supplication. He in that time measured the heights and depths of fortune and then turned the face of discipleship to the holy court. By the prostration of repentance the rust was cleared from the jewel of his sincerity and he produced one hundred elephants as a fine. As he clearly had marks of truthfulness he was received with forgiveness and favour. Who strove and did not obtain! Who made his heart clean, and did not get his heart's desire! He hath opened the door of bounty and given an invitation to all! One of the occurrences was that Ḥusain Khān showed ingratitude and received the recompense thereof. To whomsoever comes a day of destruction and a time of affliction, there comes first a darkening of the reason. His thoughts go to ruin and he thinks his loss his gain, and remains afar off from good actions, and turns aside from the highway of auspiciousness!

Verse.

When a man's fortune is bad
Nothing that he does succeeds.

A fresh proof of this is afforded by the commotion of this simpleton. He was formerly with Bairām K. After that when he became a servant of the court, because the ocean of graciousness was commoved and the market of appreciation was brisk, his rashness was purchased at the rate of courage, and his election of service was taken to be sincerity, and he was encompassed by favours. And though he did not know how to keep numbers[2] in order (had not administrative skill), still, in the hope that he would learn (or perhaps be grateful), he was given the lofty position of an Amir. At the time when the august standards were about to proceed to the eastern provinces, his evil fate withheld him from that service, and when he brought an abashed countenance to

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[1] Jarimāna "Fine." See B. 131.

[2] Intiẓām-i-kaṡrat namī dānist. "Did not know how to arrange multiplicities." Probably the meaning is that he was an ascetic or recluse and not fit for social functions. This Ḥusain K. is Badayūni's friend the Tukriya (Patcher).

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court, the Khedive of the world, in punishment for his offence, refused him the bliss of paying his respects. This was a time when he should have increased the zeal of his service, but from excessive atrabiliousness and inverted fortune, he broke the thread of consideration, and from abundant wilfulness he let the things of the world and the materials of fortune go to wreck and ruin, and took the path of solitude (tajarrad). The wise prince on beholding such lack of wisdom had compassion on his condition and bestowed favours on him, and released his *Jāgīr*, and sent him to arrange about "the branding." When he got further away from the carpet of intimacy he in the darkness of his understanding set about attacking and plundering the country. From madness or from craft he would say that all his activity in this respect was in order to carry out the business of the branding! Plundering as he went, he hastened to Basantpūr, which belongs to Sarkār Kumāon, **144** as the rumour of mines and of abundance in that country had raised a tumult in his mind. Inasmuch as the stewards of creation have so ordained that the evil-doers and evil-devisers against the Calphate should be strenuously active in procuring their own punishment so that they may get their retribution by their own instrumentality, this infatuated man hurried on his own ruin. He lost the thread of plan and made war in that country without system and was defeated. He was wounded by arrow and bullet, and had met with his retribution before the circumstances of his position were made known to the royal hearing. When the news of his commotion arrived, Ṣādiq Khān together with some of the Saiyids of Bārha and Amroha and others were sent to him. Though owing to his severe wound he was somewhat cured of his infatuation and vain thoughts, he became still wiser on hearing of the victorious force (of Akbar). The wicked vagabonds fled away from him, and by the exertions of his well-wishers he saw fit to get into a boat and be conveyed to Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān. Perhaps by the intervention of the Commander-in-Chief his offences would be clothed with the scarf of pardon! He got into a boat in the confines of Garh[1] muktesar and went on quickly. Alert

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1 Gadha muknessar in text. It is an ancient town in the Meerut district and is situated on the Ganges, S. I. G. XII. 162.

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men arrested him in the neighbourhood of the town of Mārhara,[1] and under orders from H.M. brought him to Agra, and left him in his quarters[2] there and then hastened to court. In a short time he from his mortal wound put his face under the veil of concealment (*i.e.*, died). Apparently the Shāhinshāh was aware of his condition and out of respect did not wish him to be ashamed on his last journey.[3]

One of the occurrences was that Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, Ḥakīm Hamām and Ḥakīm Nūru-d-dīn[4] the sons of Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq Gīlanī, who was eminently skilled in the arts of observation (*naẓr*) and of drawing horoscopes, came to court in the middle of Amardād, Divine month, and were exalted by daily-increasing favours. When Gīlān came into the possession[5] of the rulers of Irān and Khān Aḥmad the ruler thereof fell into prison from not understanding matters, Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Razzāq[6] owing to his right thinking and true religion died under the pain of confinement, and these young men took refuge at this court. Their wisdom and felicity increased under the patronage of H.M. Though all three brothers were the distinguished of the age for the customary excellencies, yet Ḥakīm 'Abu-l-fatḥ was specially remarkable for his tact, his knowledge of the world, and for his power to read the lines of the forehead and many other liberal qualities.

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1 In the Etah district, N. W. P., I. G. XVII, 204, where it is called Mārahra.

2 *i.e.*, in Ṣādiq K's house. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 224.

3 See my wife's article in Calcutta Review for January 1894. According to A. F., Ḥusain K. was on his way to Mun'im K. (in Bengal) when he was arrested, but according to Badayūnī he was going to his home in Patiālī which is in the Etah district and not very far from Mārhara. Both statements may be correct. The meaning seems to be that Akbar, who was then at Fatḥpūr Sikrī, did not insist on Ḥusain's being brought there, but allowed him to stay at Agra.

4 He was a poet and wrote under the name of Qarārī. He was killed in the Bengal mutiny about the same time as Moẓaffar.

5 This was in 974 (1567).

6 B. 424.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

VISIT TO THE ḤIJĀZ BY SOME OF THE VEILED LADIES OF THE CALIPHATE. 145

That veil of chastity, etc., Gulbadan Begam the paternal aunt of H.M. the Shāhinshāh had long ago made a vow to visit the holy places, but on account of the insecurity of the ways, and of the affairs of the world, she had not been able to accomplish her intention. At this time when the delightsome country of India was an abode of peace, and the vagabonds' abode of Gujrat had become inhabited by right-thinking lovers of justice, and the masters[1] of the European islands, who were a stumbling-block in the way of travellers to the Ḥijāz, had become submissive and obedient, and the renown of the justice and piety of the world's lord had spread from Qāf to Qāf, and the classes of mankind had, owing to H.M.'s constant care and dispensing of justice, come into the reposeful home of peace, the luminary of longing arose in the orient of the heart of that shining chaste one and broke the repose of her noble mind. As the rays of truth impinged upon the antechamber of the celestial soul (of Akbar), he, in spite of his close union with her, did not prefer his wishes to hers. Moreover all his desire is that every class of mankind may become religious and worship God in accordance with the measure of their faith. He sent with her a large amount of money and goods and gave her permission to depart. In connection with this opportunity a number of inmates of the harem of fortune were also excited by the same longing, and the sovereign poured into the lap of each the money that they wanted and so made the burden of their desires light. The names of the chaste ones who went in attendance upon that unique one of the field of spirituality are as follows: 1st—The veiled one of the curtains of fortune, Selīma Sulṭān Begam; 2nd—and 3rd—Ḥājī Begam and Gul'azār Begam[2] the daughters of M.

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1 *Amīrān-ī-jazāīr-i-firang*. *Jazāīr* perhaps here means peninsulas or countries.

2 Kāmrān had three daughters, and Ferishta after mentioning Kāmrān's death tells us whom they married.

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Kāmrān; 4th—Sulṯān Begam the wife of M. 'Askarī; 5th—Umm Kulṯūm Khānam the grand-daughter of H. H. Gulbadan Begam; 6th—Gulnār Āghā, who was one of the wives of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābar); 7th, 8th and 9th—Bībī Ṣafīya, and Bībī Sarw Sahī, and Shāham Āghā, who were among the servants of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Āshiyānī; 10th—Salīma Khānam, daughter of Khiẓr Khwāja Khān. In the end of Mihr, Divine month, 8 or 9 October 1575, this auspicious party fastened the litters on the camels of joy, and a great number of men who had received food and travelling expenses followed in their wake. Out of respect to the head of the travellers (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.), that nosegay of fortune Prince Sulṯān Murād was directed to attend upon her up to the shore of the southern ocean. The first day they halted at Dābar,[1] and at that place the pearl of the diadem of sovereignty and the heir-apparent of the Caliphate Prince Sulṯān Selim arrived
146 with many nobles and paid his respects. Inasmuch as the far-seeing heart of the leader of the caravan (*i.e.*, Gulbadan B.) considered that harm might possibly happen to the new fruit of the Caliphate (Prince Murād) on such a long journey, on account of his tender age she expressed a wish that he might be kept back. Her suggestion was approved, and by H.M.'s orders Bāqī Khān, Rūmī Khān,[2] 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg[3] and some other vigilant servants of the court were sent along with her, and an order was given that the great Amirs, the officers of every territory, the guardians of the passes, the watchmen of the borders, the river-police, and the harbour-masters should perform good service for the travellers.[4]

One was Gulrukh; she married Ibrāhīm H.M. and was alive in 1614. Another married M. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, who was a brother's son of Ḥaidar M.; and the third married Shāh Fakhīru-d-dīn of Mashhad.

[1] Apparently should be Dāīr, four *kos* from Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 174.

[2] Rūmi K. Ustād Jalabī, B. 441. Perhaps the word is Ḥalabī, *i.e.*, of Aleppo. Or he may be the Jalā of A. N. III. 390, who is called Jalābī in the Iqbālnāma. Jalābī might mean horse-dealer, and A. F. tells us that this was Jalā's original occupation. He may have gone with Gulbadan B. as an interpreter.

[3] Perhaps the nephew of Ḥaidar M. who married one of Kāmrān's daughters.

[4] See my wife's "History of

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One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Ḥājī Ḥabību-llah Kāshī[1] (*i.e.*, of Kashan in Persia) to Goa. At the time when the country of Gujrat became included among the imperial dominions, and when many of the ports of the country came into possession, and the governors of the European ports became submissive (*lit.*, shakers of the chain of supplication), many of the curiosities and rarities of the skilled craftsmen of that country became known to H.M. Accordingly the Ḥāji, who for his skill, right thinking and powers of observation was one of the good servants of the court, was appointed to take with him a large sum of money, and the choice articles of India to Goa, and to bring for H.M.'s delectation the wonderful things of that country. There were sent along with him many clever craftsmen, who to ability and skill added industry, in order that just as the wonderful productions of that country (Goa and Europe) were being brought away, so also might rare crafts be imported (into Akbar's dominions).

One of the occurrences was the establishment of seven watches[2] (*caukīs*). Though the servants of the threshold of fortune were always on guard, and were continually rendering service, and were always awaiting the sacred command and regarded their constant attendance as Divine worship, yet there was no fixed system Those who bound the girdle of devotion on the waist of their hearts and were pure from any thought of profit or loss, and also that body of energetic men of a mercantile disposition who knew their profit to consist in the traffic of service, paid no attention to times and seasons, but regarded all of them as opportunities of attaining their object. They sought to be continually in the

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Humāyūn." O. T. F. 1902 for an account of Gulbadan B. Three of the ladies who accompanied her were her nieces, Salīma being her sister's child (and Akbar's wife) and Ḥājī B. and Gul'aẕār being daughters of her half-brother Kāmrān. Bāqī Khān was apparently the elder brother of Adham Khān. The 10th lady Salīma Khānān was apparently Gulbadan Begam's step-daughter. The fact of her being styled Khānām seems to show that her father was the Khiẓr Khwāja who was said to be a descendant of the kings of Kashghar or of Moghalistan.

[1] One of the things he brought back was an organ. See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 299, and also *infra* 228 of text.

[2] See Ain 8, p. 257 of B., where details are given about the distribution of the watches. See also B. 48, end of Ain 17.

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Presence. But those who did not belong to these two classes did not render hearty service, but from folly and conceit, and lethargy, thought that loss was gain and indulged in vain thoughts. They took the path of sloth and accumulated eternal chastisement. At this time, which was the smiling commencement of the springtide of dominion, the institution of the seven watches shed a ray on the antechamber of the holy soul. All the servants who held office in the court were distributed into seven divisions, each of which was on guard for twenty-four hours. One of the grandees was appointed to command each division so that he might superintend everything during that period, and arrange the diversity of affairs. Also an accomplished courtier was made Mīr 'Arẓī (master of petitions) so that he might during the time of his watch represent
147 the petitions and request of mankind without reference to his own ease, and also the public be freed from the pain of waiting and from various troubles. By this act of graciousness the classes of mankind attained their objects, and the wishes of the people which might have remained unspoken owing to the greatness of the Sultanate were brought before H.M. The rank of the loyal was exalted, the market of the talented became brisk, and there was a day of testing for the servants. The slothful were guided to the domain of activity, and the ignorant and the speakers out of season emerged from their folly. Fresh lustre was given to the court, and things were knit together.

One of the occurrences was the decline[1] of the fortunate star of Mīrzā Koka. Inasmuch as the royal graciousness had raised him from nothingness to the zenith of dignity, and had made him during long service a partaker in the secrets of the holy banquet, he was sommoned from Gujrat, post haste,[2] in order that the business of the branding might be begun with the leaders. Another reason for summoning him was that M. Sulaimān was preparing to come to court, and it was desired that M. Koka should be present at the

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[1] B. 326, top lines; *c.f.* Elliot V. 393.

Bādayūnī says he was punished for speaking the truth about the branding, the *Krorīs*, etc.

[2] The text has *bā aspān* with horses, but the variant *ba aspbām* is probably correct, for Bādāyūnī II. 214 has *bā īlghār*.

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entertainment. He arrived on the day of Ashtād 26 Mihr, Divine month, and was received with boundless favours. As the ebullition of the favour of kings does not agree with every disposition, he from the wine of success, from his distance from the carpet of honour, and the crowd of flatterers, let his foot slip in the path of prudence. In the first place he used language about the affair of the branding—which is the disciplinary ornament of mankind, and the mode of guidance to the right path—which men of ordinary prudence would not use, and was still less becoming in pure loyalists. As the gracious sovereign had educated him like his obedient children he made as if he did not hear what he had said. When good counsel was of no avail, H.M., fearing in his love that he might fall into irreparable mischief, and might also lead others astray, joined the laws of supremacy with kindness and for a time degraded him from the position of an Amīr. From extreme caution he excluded him from his society and assigned him a place in his own [1] garden (*i.e.*, M. Koka's) where he might abide in comfort with all his property, take a warning, and appreciate H.M.'s kindness and teaching.

One of the occurrences was that some persons from lack of understanding, and imitativeness, became senseless from wine drinking. The royal clemency cured them. When the institution of the branding became current the petty shop of fraud lost its custom. The opportunity of service fell into the hands of the energetic whilst the slothful were depressed. Those who had a warlike spirit and who from being honourable and fond of reputation looked after their servants had an opportunity of showing their talents. From keen-sightedness they performed the branding and so heightened their own fortune. The worthless who were slaves to pelf and collected gold instead of troops fell into evil 148
case. Among them, Shujāāt Khān, M. 'Abdu-l-lah, Mīr M'uizzu-l-Mulk, Qāsim Khān Kohbar, Dost Muḥammad Bābā Dost, Muḥammad Amīn the accountant (*ṣāḥib taujī*), were excluded from the Presence and sent to Bengal to Mun'im Khān Khānān in order that they might get fiefs there suitable to their condition. For the sublime nature deals thus with criminals, and clothes with the scarf of

1 He was sent from Fatḥpūr to Agra and there kept under surveillance in his own garden.

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beneficence the torn honour of such people. Though superficialists thought this to be favour and a mark [1] of grace, yet those who had inward vision knew this to be great disfavour and a heavy punishment inflicted by displeasure. For the pure-hearted and devoted know no more excruciating torment than that of being excluded from the visible Presence, when this is the result of wrath. Though the far-seeing ones of the spiritual world regarded this treatment of a faction who had not reached the high rank of pure devotion as a kind of graciousness, yet in the eyes of the masters of investigation, who are the special of the special in the symposium of wisdom, it is certain that to leave a mistaken crew to their own devices and to treat them as cured and so not administer medicine to them, but to abandon them to their own ideas, is one of the greatest methods of displeasure.

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[1] Perhaps this is allegorical. The wine was the wine of infatuation. The word *canīn* (this kind of) seems to refer to M. Koka's obstinacy.

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CHAPTER XXVIII.

M. Sulaimān's proceeding towards the Shāhinshāh's Court.

(This chapter begins with some reflections upon the final prosperity of the good, and the final ruin of the wicked which marked Akbar's reign. The author then proceeds to state that the adventures of M. Sulaimān are an instance of these things. It is noteworthy that these reflections do not occur in the Lucknow edition. They occupy over eleven lines).

From the time that H.M. Firdūs Makānī conferred upon M. Sulaimān the government of Badakhshān, he used to be obedient and did good service, but inasmuch as outward prosperity, evil company and the friendship of flat erers lower the lamp of wisdom **149** and dim the eye of counsel, wholesome truth-speakers had no honour in his presence, and empty, evil-disposed encomiasts were in great request. He did not understand his own good, nor did he allow another to show it to him. If any one from intensity of goodwill became his own enemy and uttered words of truth, he was obliged, on account of the prince's unwillingness to listen, to place his head in the collar of grief. Accordingly as the Mīrzā found the defiles of the hill-country of Badakhshān too straitened for his desires, he dropped from his hand the thread of obedience. From darkness of intellect and perversity of fortune he in the beginning of this reign raised the head of presumption, and gave himself the name of majesty (called himself king?) and formed the design of taking Kabul, as has already been briefly narrated. Though the Khedive of the universe, owing to his being behind the veil, paid no attention to this, and the imperial servants, on account of the multiplicity of the affairs of the extensive country of India, did not regard it, yet the stewards of fate were there and, according to the measure of his deeds, gave him to drink of the wine of misfortune. In order to complete retribution, and to illustrate the sublime graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, they caused him to visit as a pilgrim and a supplicant the gate of princes. Inasmuch as I desire to water the garden of speech, I proceed to give some account of these calamities according as one after the other emerged

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from the privy-chamber of destiny. The first was the arrival of the Khānim.[1] The dust of contention between her and Ḥaram Begam rose high, and the seed of savagery was sown in the land. Ḥaram Begam was the daughter of Sulṭan Wais of Kūlāb of the Qibcāq tribe and who rose[2] high by the patronage of Sulṭān Maḥmūd M. When they married her to M. Sulaimān she showed dexterity and skill in the administration of the country, and the management of the army, and her influence came to such a height that the Mīrzā made over to her even the infliction of punishments (sīāsathā), from the obligation of which he could not free himself.[3] Khānim Muḥtarima had the name of Khānim and was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad Sultan Kāshgharī. She was married to M. Kāmrāñ, and from Kabul was proceeding to Kāshghar. On the way she passed through Badakhshān. M. Sulaimān's passions became roused and he sought her in marriage. Ḥaram Begam became jealous of her, and anticipated matters by giving her in marriage to her own son M. Ibrāhīm. From this time evil thoughts took possession of them (both). A brief account of these will be given. Another thing which disorganized Badakhshān was that this faction (the Khānim's) stained the skirt of Ḥaram Begam's chastity by insinuations about her and Ḥaidar 'Alī Beg who was her beloved brother. The Begam's great attention and kindness to him emboldened them to make such frivolous remarks. M. Ibrāhīm from the intoxication of youth put that innocent man (Ḥaidar) to death merely on account of those scandal-mongers, and became subjected to eternal contri-
150 tion. Another cause of injury to the Badakhshīs was the Begam's predominance. She acted without consideration or appreciativeness, and quitting altogether the path of policy—which is the foundation of social matters—paid no attention in her punishments to time and place, or to propriety. When the dust of the

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[1] The Khānim was the daughter of Shāh Muḥammad by Khadīja Sulṭān Khānim the fourth daughter of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān, Bābar's uncle (Mrs. Beveridge's History of Humāyūn, p. 247, and T. R., Ross, 330). Her father was killed (T. R., Ross, p. 452) and her mother had to leave Kāshghar. She died on the way to Badakhshān, and her children went on to Kabul where by Ḥaidar's influence Muḥtarima was married to Kāmrān. (T. R., 451.)

[2] I think this clause refers to the father and not the daughter.

[3] Apparently the meaning is that he could not or should not have delegated such duty.

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fabricators of lies had been laid, the Begam mingled revenge with stratagem and exerted herself to destroy the officers of the kingdom who had spread the calumnious reports. Among the things which caused loss to the inhabitants of the country was the fatal calamity of M. Ibrāhīm, of which a short account has already been given. When she heard of this heart-breaking sorrow the Begam became indignant with all the Badakhshians who were in the expedition, She abused the Khānim, and treated her advent as a bad omen. and often said to her in private and public conversations, "You were a traveller, I picked you up, intending to do you good, and I cherished you. I did not know your qualities." Such was the language she used, and which only the foolish indulge in. Her sole idea was that the Khānim would be disgusted by such treatment and would go to Kāshghar, and that she herself would bring up Shāhrukh. The Khānim from apprehensions of being separated from Shāhrukh cast aside all other considerations and treated those cutting reproaches as if she heard them not. But she always indulged in the luxury of the thoughts of revenge. Another thing which increased the internal dissensions (*nifāq*) of the people of Badakhshān was the arrival of Cūcak Khānim the wife of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar with her two sons Ṣūfī Sulṭān[1] and Abū S'aīd Sulṭān for the purpose of mourning for M. Ibrāhīm. After her condolences and sympathy were offered, Ḥaram Begam's mourning was taken off, but when the ceremony was over she from excessive grief resumed it. Cūcak Khānim was displeased at this, and set herself to blaming her, and being nearly related to the Khānim she espoused her cause. She often said that Ḥaram Begam should not abandon ancestral customs (tora), and should not abate one tittle of the respect due to the Khānim, and should take[2] a lower seat in assemblies.

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1 This chapter adds something to the information given in T. R., Ross and Elias, p. 120. Ṣūfī Sulṭān's proper name according to Mr. Elias was Adham Sultan, and he was the fifth son of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd. Cūcak must have come to Badakhshān during her husband's life if she came to condole with M. Sulaimān and Ḥaram for their son's death, for he was killed in 967 and according to Mr. Elias 'Abdu-r-Rashīd did not die till 973. The name of Abu S'aīd as a son is not mentioned by Mr. Elias, but Raḥīm is.

2 Pustī-batalabad. The I. O. MSS. have peshī naṭalabad, "should not demand the chief place."

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Another thing which rekindled the fire of dissension among the Badakhshians was that Mīr Niẓāmī[1] Atālīq of M. Shāhrukh, and a large number of the nobles of Badakhshān, and Shaikh Bābāī Wālī—who craftily made the garb of a dervish the tongue of his mendacity—raised up Ṣūfī Sulṭān the son of Cūcak B. the wife of 'Abdu-r-Rashīd Khān of Kāshghar, and in the abode of trickery of the said dervish, which they called a hospice (*khānqāh*), took an oath together that they would erase the entry of Ḥaram Begam's life from the book of the world (would kill her) and would consign M. Sulaimān to the corner of contempt. At this time one of the conspirators disclosed the plot to the Mīrzā (Sulaimān). Immediate-
151 ly the latter hastened off to Farkhār[2] along with Waqqāṣ Sulṭān who was an excellent hostage, and Ḥaram Begam went off to Kūlāb in order that she might prepare for war and obtain a remedy against the intrigues of the Kāshgharians. When the Khānim (Cūcak apparently) heard of this crime (the conspiracy) she felt ashamed and sent for the presumptuous intriguer (Ṣūfī Sulṭān) and reproached him. The misguided young man answered that his foot had slipped on account of the evil imaginations of Mīr Niẓāmī and some of the evil-disposed Badakhshīs and of that fair-seeming but inwardly bad dervish. Cūcak Khānim was ashamed and went off with her sons to Kāshghar. She wrote a letter of excuse in which she narrated her own innocence and the evil thoughts of that stirrer up of strife (Mīr Niẓāmī ?). When M. Sulaimān learnt the real facts he sent prudent men and made his apologies (for suspecting Cūcak B.) and asked for an interview. Cūcak Khānim sent Ṣūfī Sulṭān and her people to Kāshghar, and for purposes of union halted with 'Abu S'aīd Sulṭān and Raḥīm Khān. The Mīrzā and Ḥaram Begam came there and held a friendly banquet. In order to strengthen the foundations of concord the Khānim[3] married her eldest daughter to Abu S'aīd

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[1] Called Mir N'ẓā ıī at A. N. III. 267, and described as husband of Muḥtarima's daughter Mihmān B.

[2] Described in the Ghīāṣ-al-loghāt as a town in Turkestan celebrated for the beauty of its inhabitants.

[3] Sic in text, but clearly Khānim is a mistake here for Ḥaram. The Khānim (Muṭḥarima) had not Rustāq in her gift. However, it would appear from the sequel that the term Khānim is also applied to Ḥaram.

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Sulṭān and gave Rustāq as her dowry. When the friendship had been cemented, Cūcak Khānim made over her son (Abu S'aīd) to the Mirzā and went off to Kāshghār. The Mīrzā set himself to punish the sedition-mongers. He sent many to the pit of annihilation and imprisoned others. The dervish and his crew he pilloried (tashhīr) and expelled from the country. A number fled with great quickness out of the country.

Another thing that increased the distress of the Badakhshīāns was Ḥaram Begam's bestowing the government of Kūlāb on Nadīm Qabbūzī. This caused a disturbance in that country, and was disagreeable to the army of Kūlāb. From the want of true affection and respect they raised up 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr the son of Jahāngīr 'Ali Beg the brother's[1] son of the Begam, who was in Qarātagīn, and put Nadīm to death. Ḥaram Begam took M. Shāhrukh from Qandūz, and Ābū S'aīd Sulṭān from Rustāq, with her, and marched against Kūlāb. The rebels fortified themselves in Qarātagīn, and the Begam set herself to besiege it. Mīr Aflāṭūn, who was her general, crossed the river and blockaded the country. 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr and some of the garrison fell upon him, and he was killed. Just then the Kūlābīs in the Begam's army cast the dust of faithlessness on their heads by deserting to the enemy. The Begam was compelled to make a rapid retreat, and 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was wicked enough to pursue her. He came up with the Khānim (*i.e.*, Ḥaram) and M. Shahrukh, but as there was some good in his disposition he only plundered her property and honourably released her. She was in consternation at her misfortunes when suddenly M. Shahrukh appeared and drove away her grief. She said to him, "My husband left your father among the enemy and hurried off, and I left you among the rebel-crew and ignorantly **152** fled in haste. May God forgive me for it!" In a short space of time she joined M. Sulaimān and his army and proceeded against Kūlāb. 'Abdu-l-lah took refuge in Qīrghīz, but his goods and chattels fell into the hands of his enemies.

Another cause of mischief in Badakhshān was when by the exertions of M. Ḥakīm and the leaders of that country the servants of M. Sulaimān were turned out in a wretched condition from

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[1] The meaning is apparently that 'Abdu-l-Ghaffūr was the Begam's nephew.

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Afghanistan, as has already been described. M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and when he did not succeed, he turned back. He imprisoned Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī and some others who had shown slackness in their service. Some of them he caused to be beaten, and some he censured, and he took away from Muḥammad Qulī the governorship of Qunduz and gave it to Ḥājī Taman Beg. Qanghar Bāī, Yūsuf Qulī, Bīr Kacī Khāksār, S'aīd Beg his son, Ḥājī Fakhrgī, Bāqī Beg and a number of others fled to Ḥājī Taman Beg, and that wretch joined in with those ungrateful and evil servants. They also in collusion with the Khānim put forward the seven years old M. Shāhrukh, and raised the dust of sedition. Their sole thought was to obtain for M. Shāhrukh the country which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm, so that another shop (of intrigue) might be established, and that there might be a splendid asylum for the ill-conditioned. When M. Sulaimān heard of the sedition-mongering of this crew he proceeded against them. They shut the door of the fort and took steps to defend themselves. The siege (of Qunduz) lasted for about forty days. By the strenuous exertions of M. Sulaimān, and the efforts of some right-thinking persons, M. Shāhrukh waited upon the Mīrzā, and the whole of that iniquitous crew were seized. The Mīrzā bound these wicked, fly-like men and sent them to Qarātagīn. There they colluded with the garrison and brought Mihr 'Alī, who was governor of Qarātagīn, to disgrace. No one had yet been appointed as chief when the officers of Qarātagīn said to those presumptuous and evil-disposed men, "Neither we nor you have any one who is fit to be chief; one of two things must be done; either do you bring M. Shahrukh in order that we may elect our service in his presence, or you must depart from this country and manage your affairs yourselves." The matter came so far that they sought to seize the faction. They became helpless and hurried off to Balkh as supplicants. Ḥaram Begam sent presents to the governor there and requested him to punish them. The gang escaped by the intervention of Shaikh Ḥusain of Khwārizm and came to Kabul. Owing to discord, and vacillation of opinions Ḥājī Taman Beg and some others turned back and hastened to Badakhshān. S'aīd Badakhshī, Tengrī Bardī Qūshbegī, Ḥājī Beg, Bāqī Beg and some others turned towards the world-protecting court. When this commotion subsided,

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Muḥammad Qulī's favour was increased, and Qundūz was given to him. Shāh Ṭayīb, who was nearly related to Ḥaram Begam, was made atālīq (guardian) to the Mīrzā (Shāhrukh).

One of the occurrences which might prove the retribution of M. 153
Sulaimān for his ingratitude was this that the sedition-mongers again made M. Shāhrukh a pretext for commotion. The brief account of this is that 'Abdullah Khān the ruler of part of Tūrān set about seizing Ḥiṣār. The people of Ḥiṣār asked help from M. Sulaimān. The Mīrzā, in order to keep up the tie of relationship which he had recently formed, and also from consideration of the opinions of farsighted persons who thought that if the country were absorbed by 'Abdullah Khān, the war would reach him, determined to collect the Badakhshān army and proceed thither. He was engaged in the work of administration and in putting his army into order and had made over the Passes to experienced men, when owing to the quarrelsomeness and evil nature of Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī, who was the prime minister, words were uttered by him which were unfitted for the occasion. At such a time when Muḥammad Qūlī should have supported him, he in his wickedness preferred all sorts of demands, as is the way of the empty headed. When the Mīrzā saw this bad behaviour, he was at first amazed and then reproached him for his improper language. In the same assembly he sent trustworthy men to summon Ḥaram Begam in order that he might make him over to her for punishment. Muḥammad Qūlī became confused and came away from the meeting, pretending that he had a pain in his belly. He went off to Qundūz in order that he might fortify it and engage in strife. He sent his younger brother Khwāja Beg to Ṭālīqān in order that he might renew the old compact with the Khānim and get hold of M. Shahrukh, and stir up the dust of strife. That strife-monger combined with Mullā 'Alī and Mast 'Alī, who were in the Khānim's service, and plotted evil things. The Khānim and M. Shahrukh, who was now fifteen years of age, left Ṭālīqān on the pretext of going for an excursion. Shāh Ṭayīb became suspicious at this departure, and quickly arrived and kept a look-out. Mullā 'Alī, Mast 'Ali, Jahāngīr Beg, Muḥarram Beg, Pīr Qulī, Khākī Khānazād and some other wicked men represented to the Khānim that Shāh Ṭayīb was alone and that they ought to finish him. But from fear

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of Ḥaram Begam no one had the courage to do this. At last, after much talk, M. Shahrukh at the instigation of those perverted ones shot an arrow at him and the persons above mentioned killed him[1] with their knives. The Mīrzā did this improper act from simplicity and from the infatuation produced by the bad teaching of those darkened intellects!

When the Mīrzā heard of the flight of Muḥammad Qūlī he came quickly to Qundūz. As Muḥammad Qūlī had not had time to strengthen the fort he fled, and the Mīrzā came into possession of
154 Qundūz. When the catastrophe of Shāh Ṭayīb and the rebellion of Shahrukh became known, he went off to put down the rebels. At the same time the Khānim, when such errors were being committed, took M. Shahrukh and went off with him to the Hindu Koh in order that if she could get help from the Aimāqs, and Muḥammad Qūlī joined her, she might return to Badakhshān. Otherwise she would go to the sublime court and rub her forehead on the threshold of glory. For the Khānim had from old times the connection of service and devotion with H. M. the Shāhinshāh, and his kindness was a great support to her. When they came to the Hindu Koh the Aimāqs collected in crowds. Muḥammad Qūlī also joined them. M. Shahrukh returned and with little trouble took possession of Andarāb. From there they went to Kahmard. Sabz Tūlakcī the governor of that place came and paid his respects. The Khānim left M. Shahrukh there and went on to Ghorī. Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who was related to M. Sulaimān, fortified Ghorī. Though they brought forward his son and threatened that if he did not surrender the fort they would slaughter his darling (his liver-lobe), he replied, "It is better that whoever spills his honour and fidelity should have his blood spilled." And like a faithful servant he was firm in holding the fort. When M. Sulaimān heard of this commotion, and was meditating marching thither, Ḥaram Begam yielded up her life. He went off to Kishm for the mourning. From there he proceeded towards Ghorī. M. Shahrukh was unsuccessful and hurried to Andarāb. The Mīrzā resolved to go to the Hindu Koh in order to get hold of the families and property of the Aimāqs, and that he might scatter M. Shahrukh's forces. Just then M. Shāhrukh, at the instigation of evil-disposed persons petitioned

[1] The Lucknow ed. has *tezdoz* but probably this should be *tīrdoz*.

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that the estates which had belonged to M. Ibrāhīm might be surrendered to him, and represented that in this way commotion might cease, and unity and concord result. M. Sulaimān made no reply. When the Aimāqs' property came into his hands and M. Shāhrukh's position became insecure, the latter was obliged to go to Sirāb. From there he hastened to Khost in order that he might make the defiles of Badakhshān his protection. M. Sulaimān proceeded towards that country by the way of the plain, and when M. Shāhrukh came to the parting of the ways for Ghorī and Qundūz and was in doubt as to which route he should take, there suddenly arrived the vanguard of M. Sulaimān's army under the command of Mihr 'Alī. The Mirza's (Shāhrukh) troops broke. He himself, Muḥammad Qūlī, Nūr Beg his brother, Sabz Tūlakcī and Qulīj turned against their evil fortune, and fighting bravely drove off the enemy. They went off to the mountains towards the district of Anjuman.[1] M. Sulaimān plundered M. Shāhrukh's camp and went off to Ḥarm. M. Shāhrukh after traversing mountains, and much unsuccess, got possession of Qundūz owing to the negligence of the watchmen. As many of the Badakhshān families were there, M. Sulaimān's men left him and 155
took to coming in (to Shāhrukh). Many of them behaved in an unmanly manner and incurred eternal disgrace. Muḥammad Qūlī Shighālī and many other officers of Badakhshān were of opinion that the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) should be pursued and put to death. M. Shahrukh, from innate goodness and reverence, did not, in that strong blast of indiscretion and stony ways of unloveliness, listen to the words of those wretches, and trod the rose-garden of rectitude. He fixed himself in Qundūz. M. Sulaimān sent him a friendly letter and made over to him Ibrāhīm's territories. Many days had not elapsed when the evil-disposed of that country suggested that Kulāb was a nursery of soldiers and also an inaccessible place, and that M. Sulaimān wished to fortify it. It would be well to extirpate him by taking possession of it. M. Shāhrukh was confused by the preambles of those black-hearted,

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[1] See T. R. 189. It is entered as a place in the Index to Bib. Ind. Anjuman is marked in Govt. map of Afghanistan. It lies S. E. Badakhshān.

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fly-like men and went off to Ṭālīqān. When he came there every one who was with M. Sulaimān wickedly took the path of faithlessness and went over to M. Shāhrukh. Those wicked men got their opportunity and exerted themselves to utter gold-incrusted words and to lead that simple-minded one astray. In spite of their urgency the Mīrzā did not drop the thread of righteousness, and begged permission to wait upon M. Sulaimān. He replied, "Let the Khānim come first and solace my heart. After that come you and be the light of my eyes." M. Shāhrukh agreed to the wish. He hastened to pay his respects, and waited upon M. Sulaimān. While they were in Ṭālīqān, M. Sulaimān, from excessive suspicion, would not for some time allow the Khānim to depart from his presence. Muḥammad Qūlī and his brethren out of wickedness behaved harshly to the Mīrzā's (Sulaimān's) men, and M. Shāhrukh suitably rebuked some of them. He also gave a great banquet, and in the banqueting-hall promises and oaths were interchanged. It was determined that Shāhrukh M. would never leave the highway of doing what was well-pleasing to M. Sulaimān.

When solemn oaths had been taken, M. Sulaimān said that during the lifetime of M. Ibrāhīm he had a desire to visit the Ḥijāz and to circumambulate the holy places, and that now the same desire was disturbing his soul. His wish was that they should part on good terms, and that the division (of territory) which had been made should be adhered to. M. Shāhrukh from goodness and reverence hesitated to grant this request. And as imagination—the sovereign—had great predominance, every supplication which M. Shāhrukh made was regarded by M. Sulaimān as something different and sinister. When nothing could pacify M. Sulaimān, M. Shāhrukh was compelled to take leave of him with all reverence and to
156 allow him to depart with his property. From there M. Sulaimān came to Kabul, and his whole idea was to form some alliance and so take revenge on M. Shāhrukh. If Ḥakīm M. would help him, he would return and exact vengeance, and if he could stir up strife in Kabul, he would attempt to do so, and make this a help towards his recovering Badakhshān. Otherwise he would go to the Shāhinshāh's court and there try to carry out the secret objects of his heart. When M. Ḥakīm perceived the

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notes of commotion on his brow he sent him to India along with trusty[1] men. From Bikram the Mīrzā sent a petition to the court, which contained thousands of regrets and apologies. The broad-minded and tolerant sovereign accepted his excuses and sent an order to the Punjab officers to go out to meet the Mīrzā and to show him all respect. He also sent off Khwāja 'Āqā Jān with the rarities of India that he might hasten forward to gladden the exile's heart. He met the Mīrzā on the banks of the Indus, and comforted him, and made his sorrow-laden soul embrace joy. The stewards of fate in this old caravanserai of the world, which is a place for the retribution of actions, brought him, on account of his old trespasses, into the dust-bin of adversity and marked him with the dust of catastrophe. As his fortune had something of auspiciousness in it, he carried the countenance of supplication to the sacred court. Inasmuch as the threshold of the fortune of the world's lord is a fount of benevolence and respect, he was encompassed with favours. The envoys met the Mīrzā, some in the borders of Scinde, and some in Bhīra, and showed him respect. The officers went out to welcome him near their fiefs and paid him reverence. When he arrived near the capital, the high dignitaries and the great officers assembled in crowds, in accordance with the orders of H.M., and received him with ceremony. When the procession came within three kos of the capital the appreciative world's-lord mounted his horse and rode thither. The superintendents of the palace decked out the hall of audience and the whole of the city, and made them resemble the picture-gallery of China. From the front of the palace to the end of the stage, mountain-like elephants wearing chains of gold and silver, and golden and bejewelled housings, were drawn up in two rows. The foot of the glance moved from its place, and the eye of the heart was amazed. Between every two elephants there was a *cīta* attired in costly clothing. The conspicuous places on the route and the city-streets were also adorned. H.M. mounted his horse on the 157

[1] The T. A. and Badāyūnī give a different account. They say that M. Ḥakīm supplied worthless guides who ran away at the first stage, and that Sulaimān, who had his daughter with him, had great difficulty in making his way to the Indus. A. F.'s account reads as if it had been inspired by Shāhrukh.

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day of Amardād 7 Ābān, Divine month (middle of October 1575), and all the insignia of royalty appeared before the Mīrzā. He dismounted and came hastily forward. The illustrious Shāhinshāh who made the increase of worldly dignities a motive for increased humility and friendliness dismounted and performed the *kornish*. The Mīrzā performed the prostration (*sijda*), and was exalted by favours. All at once, the grief of former wanderings, the sorrows caused by the recalcitrance of Shāhrukh M., the bad behaviour of Ḥakīm M. and the distracting influences of exile were erased from his heart. From that place he returned with a heart full of thankfulness, and a tongue full of praise. The Mīrzā had the bliss of being nearly associated with H.M., and became enrolled among his followers. The sovereign returned to his palace, and there was a great banquet.

Verse.

They prepared a wondrous banquet-hall
In it was an abundant feast
In every corner were the beauties of China and Chigal[1]
They robbed the senses and seduced the soul.

(*six lines of rhetoric*).

In that feast the Shāhinshāh opened the hand of liberality and conferred boundless favours on the Mīrzā and on all the visitors. Inasmuch as the whole idea of the Mīrzā was to get the government of that hilly country—Badakhshān—he was gladdened by the news that this desire of his would be gratified. He was informed that the armies of the Panjab would shortly be despatched under the command of Khān Jahān, and that they would soon bring Badakhshān into the Mīrzā's possession. The Mīrzā performed the prostration and became partaker of perpetual joy.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal came and performed the prostration on the day of Debādīn 23 Ābān, Divine month. He brought as a present fifty-four noted elephants, and rarities from Bengal, which had been obtained in the battle of
158 Takaroī and at the time of the peace. He described the events of the country in accordance with what has already been related. He

[1] A town in Turkestan famous for the beauty of its youth.

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was the recipient of various favours. Financial and territorial matters were entrusted to him, and he was made Mashrif-i-dīwān.[1] He served with honesty and the absence of avarice. There was no cupidity in his administration. Would that he had not been spiteful and revengeful so that a little opposition [2] would cause dislike to spring up in the field of his heart and acquire strength and substance. Such a quality is considered by the wise to be one of the worst qualities in a man, especially in an administrator to whom men's affairs are entrusted, and who has been selected as the vakil of such a world-lord. If bigotry in religion had not coloured his nature he would not have had so many bad qualities. But in spite of these defects, if we look to the nature of men in general, in fulness of courage (*serdilī*), absence of avarice—that market was always flat with him—in the performance of service, in diligence and skill he was a man such as is seldom seen, or rather he was incomparable.[3]

One of the occurrences was that the territory of Gaḍha was taken from Rai Sarjan [4] and given in fief to Ṣādiq Khān who was sent there to take charge of it. To Rai Sarjan was given the fief of Cunār.

Another occurrence was that M'aṣūm Khān [5] came from Afghanistan and entered into service. He was given high rank and sent to Bihār. He belonged to the Saiyids of Turbat in Khurāsān. His paternal uncle Mīr 'Azīz [6] had been in the service of H.M Jahānbānī and had attained to the rank of vizier. He stood to M. Ḥakīm in the relation of *Kokaltāsh* (foster-brother). He was renowned for bravery and thoroughness. Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, from a

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[1] B. VII.

[2] Bayāzīd Bīyat M. S. I. O. 132a mentions an instance of Todar Mal's religious feelings when he punished Bayāzīd, with justice apparently, for breaking down a temple at Benares and converting it into a Madrasa. Afterwards when Bayazīd on his return from Mecca got a pargana, Todar Mal rack-rented him. Perhaps A. F. was thinking of Todar Mal's conduct to Shāh Manṣūr. He put him in prison and in chains, and afterwards reported him to Akbar. He also perhaps had to do with his murder.

[3] See B. 431, n. 1.

A. F. also represents Todar Mal as prejudiced against Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdadī.

[4] B. 409. Gaḍha is Gaḍha-Katanga, *i.e.*, Jabalpūr.

[5] B. 143, n. 1.

[6] The Mīr 'Azīz-Ullah Turbatī of B. 527.

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cloud on his mind which happens to worldlings, on a slight suspicion endeavoured to destroy him. From far-sightedness he came to court, and was received with the glance of favour.

In the same year Mīr Saiyid[1] Muḥammad Mir ʻĀdil was given the government of Bhakar.

One of the occurrences was that Jalāl Khan[2] quaffed his last draught. It has already been mentioned that he was sent to assist the army of Siwāna. When he came to Mīrtha, Sulṭān Singh and Rām Singh the brothers of Rai Rai Singh, and ʻAli Qulī the relation of Shāh Qūlī Khan Maḥram, sent a message that they had in accordance with H.M.'s orders addressed themselves to the uprooting of Candar Sen, but that owing to the hilliness of the country, the difficulties of the roads, and the crowd of audacious men, he was making great resistance, and that it was time for help to arrive. Jalāl Khān marched quickly to that quarter. Candar Sen took to vulpine tricks on the arrival of this army, and had recourse to stratagem. The imperialists saw through his design and marched against him, and he took refuge in the mountain of Kanūja (?)[3] and came forward to fight. A large number were killed, and when his glory was discomfited, he of necessity retreated to the folds of the hills.
159 The officers entered victoriously into the fort of Rāmgarh.[4] At this time one of the crafty spirits represented that he was Debī Dās. Vagabonds gathered round him. Many were certain that Debī Dās was killed at Mīrtha in the battle with M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain. At this time the claimant gave out that he was wounded in that engagement, and had lain on the ground nearly dead. A benevolent hermit had taken him on his shoulders and conveyed him to his cell, and had there applied plasters to his wounds and had healed them. He had then gone in attendance on the hermit to visit holy shrines. Now the hermit had given him leave, and he had again put upon his shoulders the scarf of social life. Some believed his story and some repudiated it. He joined Jalāl Khān in order that he might do good service and his name be reported to the Shāhinshāh. Suddenly fortune, the juggler, played another trick.

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1 B. 438.
2 B. 475.
3 In some MSS. it is Kanūca. Qu. Is it the hill near Gūndoj mentioned in Rajputana Gazetteer II. 223?
4 In Jaipūr 100 m. N. W. Jaipūr.

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The short account of this is as follows: When they were in hot pursuit of Candar Sen, that fabricator represented that the ruined wanderer (Candar Sen) was in the fief of Kalā the son of Rām Rai, his (Candar's) own brother's son, and that his face was turned towards the wall of contempt (*i.e.*, was in a wretched condition). The victorious army hastened to the spot. Kalā from ill-fatedness maintained that Candar Sen was not there; and by fraud and deception won over Shimāl Khān to his side and set about ruining Debī Dās. Shimāl one day brought him to his house and was about to seize him, but he bravely got out of that whirlpool. As he had come to despair of the imperial troops, he craftily went to Kalā and became his companion. On the day of Shahriyūr 4 Āzar, Divine month, November 1575, when the imperial soldiers had gone off in various directions, the lamp of the vision of Debī Dās and some other daring and presumptuous ones was extinguished while they were seeking to glut their vengeance. They took Jalāl Khān's quarters to be Shimāl Khan's and attacked them. He fought bravely but without arrangement, and yielded up the coin of his life. The evil-doers went from there to Shimāl Khān's tent, and just then Jaimal came up with many combatants and quelled the disturbance. When this catastrophe was reported to H.M., he appointed Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hāshim and a number more of the Saiyids of Bārha to chastise the presumptuous men of that region. They did good service, and put down the rebels.[1]

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[1] This chapter is chiefly takeu up with the affairs of Badakhshān, and it gives many interesting details about the history of that country. There is an amount of feminine gossip in it which makes one think that A. F. is here copying from some lady's memoirs. Perhaps it represents a missing part of Gulbadan Begam's memoirs! Presumably Muḥtarima did not marry Ibrāhīm M. till after the death of her first husband M. Kāmrān. This occurred in the end of 964 (1557). Two periods are referred to in the chapter, one when Shāhrukh was 7 years old, and the other when he was fifteen. Ibrāhīm his father was killed in 967, and apparently Shāhrukh was born in that or the following year. The character given of him by A. F. corresponds with that given him by Jahāngīr in his memoirs. He married Shukranisa, a daughter of Akbar. His mother died in 993.

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CHAPTER XXIX.

The Entrusting of the Government of Bengal to Khān Jahān.

On the day of Mārisfand 29 Ābān, Divine month, reports came
160 from Bengal to the effect that Mun'im Khān had died on the day of Khūr 15 Ābān, Divine month (23 October 1575),[1] and that Dāūd had wickedly broken his oath and taken to rebellion, and that the officers from want of wisdom and envy had not stood their ground, but had abandoned that fine country without a battle. They were now, it was said, at the parting of the ways, and in confusion in the desert of bewilderment. They neither thought of staying where they were, nor had the courage to proceed to the holy threshold.

The brief account of this instructive occurrence is that when Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān had made peace he hastened to Ghorāghāt, and quelled the disturbance there. From there he returned, and made habitable the city of Gaur which formerly was the capital. This he did both that the army might be near Ghorāghāt, which was a fountain of sedition, and might entirely put down commotion there, and also that he might restore this delightful place, which had a noble fort, and magnificent buildings. He did not notice that the atmosphere of the place had acquired poisonous[2] qualities in consequence of the vicissitudes of time and of the decay of the buildings, especially at the time of the end of the rains, when there is a change of climate (*ābgardish*) in most of the districts of Bengal. Though those acquainted with the character of the country stated the facts, their remarks were not listened to. He adopted the ordinary kind of resignation and so kept a world in the whirlpool of annihilation. The resignation which is practised by the elect of the palace of inquiry consists in observing the dictates of deliberation, and the glory of wisdom—which are the sentinels of the mate-

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[1] The date given in Bayāzīd Biyāt's Memoirs is the night of Monday, 18 Rajab, 983, which is equal to 23 October, 1575; 15 Ābān should be 25 or 26 October. The M'aaṣir I. 644 does not give the full date.

[2] Cf. Jarrett II, 120.

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rial world—and then leaving the result of their skill to the incomparable Deity, and not to reason and outward causes. On this account[1] Ashraf Khān, Ḥaidar Khān, M'ūinu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān Farankhūdī, Lāl Khān, Ḥājī Khān Sīstānī, Hāshim Khān, Muḥsin Khān, Ḥājī Yūsuf Khān, Qandūz Khān, Mīrzā Qulī Khān, Abu-l-hasan, Shāh Ṭāhir, Shāh Khalīl, and many other officers, each of whom was a proper soldier and a world-conqueror, fell asleep on the bed of annihilation; and the thought of death took hold of everyone. Though in that year there was a strong wind of destruction in all the eastern provinces, which shook the pillars of life, in that city it amounted to a typhoon.

As the Khān-Khānān had acted contrary to the opinion of many, he stuck to what he had said and did not take warning. But when the mortality exceeded calculation, and he perceived the wretched state of affairs, he applied himself to remedy matters. At this time the news came that Junaid was beginning to raise a disturbance in Bihār, so that a motive of coming away from that valley of annihilation presented itself. He left that city of calamities with the intention of crossing over to Bihār. It was a still more extraordinary thing that he did not suffer in that typhoon of plague which was fraught with evil to the generality, but as soon as he came to Tānda he died after a little illness.[2] On account of this there was great

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[1] See list in B. 376. Ashraf Khān was a noted calligrapher and is mentioned in A. F.'s Inshā; cf. B. 101 and n. 6 and p. 389.

[2] Mun'im Khān was over eighty when he died (Badayūnī 221). It will be seen that he died at Tānda and not, as commonly stated, at Gaur. There is some account of the plague at Gaur in Bāyazīd Bīyat, p. 147*a*. He says the pestilence was aggravated by the intemperance of the army.

There is a long and good account of Mun'im Khān in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 229 *et seq.* His son died before him, and according to Badayūnī all his wealth went into the exchequer. The Maaṣir I. 635 has a long account of Mun'im and says, p. 645, that the enduring offspring of Mun'im is the bridge he built at Jaunpūr over the Gūmtī in 981 (1573). The bridge is still standing. Stewart in his history of Bengal, 162 note, mentions the interesting fact that in 1773 a brigade of British troops sailed over the bridge which suffered no damage from the violence of the current. See also an account of the building of the bridge, etc., in the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 250, etc.

The exact date of Mun'im's death seems uncertain. A. F. only gives

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uneasiness in the army. Although the officers appointed Shāham Khān as commander, and the eunuch I'timād Khān, who was dis-
161 tinguished for sense and judgment, put upon his shoulder the scarf of dexterity, yet on account of the want of harmony among the leaders, and the imaginations of the generality, and the small capacity of most of the advisers, and the flames of the dissentients, there was no unity in the deliberations. Dāūd's evil spirit was aroused by hearing of these quarrels, and he snatched the veil of honour from his face and broke his engagements. He besieged Naẓr Bahādur in the town of Bhadrak, and after inducing him by promises to surrender, he put him to death. Murād Khān let the foot of his courage slip from the city of Jalesar (Jellasor) and came to Tānda without fighting a battle. At this time of confusion 'Īsā Zamīndār fell upon Shāh Bardī, who had charge of the boats and the artillery of the province. Though he put forth the foot of courage and raised the standard of victory, yet out of excessive apprehension he left that country and joined the officers with the artillery and the flotilla. The chiefs of the victorious army on account of their being disgusted with the country, and the want of right-thinking, dropped from their hands the thread of work. They crossed the Ganges and came towards Gaur. The whole soul of those paltry-minded men was engaged in carrying their acquisitions out of that country (Bengal), while outwardly they said, "When we have put the river between us and the enemy, we shall give our minds to fighting, and then the Qāqshāls from Ghorāghāt will join us." When they had crossed the river, Qutlaq Qadam produced a lying[1] letter (*muzauwir nāma*) and spread unpleasing reports about the world's lord. Those friends of pelf, foes of fame (āzdostān, nāmūs dushman) used this false statement as their credentials and went off towards Bihār by

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the date according to the Persian Calendar. Elliot V. 395 wrongly has Ṣafar instead of Rajab. The T. A. and also apparently Badayūnī (who copies the T. A.) only gives the month, for the ten days are those of the illness and not of the month. Bayāzīd has the night of Monday 18 Rajab (983).

The Iqbālnāma says distinctly that he was ill for ten days and died on the eleventh day. It also gives Tānda as the place of death.

[1] The Iqbālnāma calls it *Kitāb j'ālī*, a forged book or letter.

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way of Purniya and Tirhut. They gave up such a fine country without regarding it. Still stranger! Adam Tājband, who at this time had brought firmāns from H.M. to the Khān-Khānān and the Bengal officers, from wickedness and the instigation of evil men appropriated to himself the elephants and other property of Mun'im Khān. He opened a thousand doors of plundering and gave out that he was by orders of the Shāhinshāh taking measures for the preservation of the goods. In reality he was sunk in cupidity and was enriching his house for his own harm and by his own efforts arranging for himself the materials of eternal ruin.[1]

When these occurrences came to the royal hearing he thought that he might entrust Bengal to M. Sulaimān, so that he might in that fine country amend his misfortunes, and accumulate happiness of life. Should he, under those circumstances, wish for the headship (*sirdārī*) of Badakhshān, and if the being in that Highland country had taken possession of his mind, that desire would be easily gratified. The high wind of M. Sulaimān's passion for revenging himself on M. Shāhrukh, and of his overweening affection for the stony land of his birth, extinguished the lamp of plan and deliberation. The notes of joy did not appear on his forehead when **162** he heard of this great boon. The world's lord pardoned the simpleton and gave him the glad tidings of the gratification of his petty wishes. But inasmuch as it is inscribed on the portico of world-rule that urgent enterprises should be preferred to ordinary ones, and that the principles of sovereignty must not be abandoned, H.M. directed Khān Jahān, who was prepared with a victorious army to proceed to the conquest of Badakhshān, to march to Bengal and to conquer and clear that country. He imparted to him instructions which were calculated to soothe mankind and to be well pleasing to God. On the night of Isfandarmaz 5 Āzar,[2] Divine month, about 15 November, 1575, he was dismissed to that country after his dignity had been increased by great favours. Rajah Todar Mal, who was an able and experienced man, was appointed to accompany him,

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[1] Bayāzīd Biyāt, Mem. 147*a*, describes how he went to Gaur after Mun'im's death, and the difficulty he had in securing the property.

[2] This must be the date of issuing the order of appointment. The news of Mun'im's death only came on the 29th of the previous month (Ābān), and Akbar's first thought was to appoint Sulaimān.

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and an order was given that all the Bengal officers and land-holders should regard Khān Jahān as the executor of the orders of the Caliphate and should consider his will and pleasure as those of the sovereign, and should properly exert themselves for the conquest and civilisation of the country. The government of the Panjab was taken from him and given to Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram who was renowned among the brave and right-thinking.

Khān Jahān addressed himself to service according to the rules of the loyal and fortunate. The Bengal officers had reached the neighbourhood of Bhagalpur when the victorious army arrived there. The bewilderment of those self-interested men increased. They were not inclined to turn back and co-operate (with Khān Jahān) and they could not venture to proceed to court. Most of them threw off the veil of shame, and eloquently discoursed upon the refractoriness of the people, the pestilential atmosphere of the country, and the large mortality, and objected to go back. Some from evil disposition and strife-mongering brought forward the affair of religion,[1] and began to chatter foolishly about the headship of Khān Jahān. By the halo of the Shāhinshāh's majesty, the politic conduct of Rajah Todar Mal, and the wide capacity and toleration of Khān Jahān, the seal of silence was impressed on the lips of every one, and they elected to accompany him. Ismʿaīl Qulī Khān took his place in the army with a band of active and courageous men, and by the Divine aid, and their skill and loyality, Garhī, which is the gate of Bengal, was recovered with little difficulty. Ayāz Khāṣa Khail, who had charge of that place, fell alive into their hands and was put to death. Dāūd in his pride never imagined that the imperial army would come so soon. On hearing the reverberation of its approach he suddenly proceeded to take defensive measures. By alertness and dexterity Khān Jahān chose for his camp Āk Maḥal[2] which is fortified on one side by the river,

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[1] Khān Jahān was Bairām's sister's son and a Persian and a Shʿia. The Bengal officers were, many of them, Turks and Sunnīs.

[2] Rājmaḥal. Perhaps Āk is Turkish and the name means White House. B. however reads Ag Maḥall. See his Errata. But see Jarrett II. 129. The name Rajmaḥal was given to it in consequence of Rajah Mān Singh's choosing it for his residence. The Turkish word for white is properly اق *āq*. The text is wrongly punctuated, and makes it appear as

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while on the other side access is impeded by lofty mountains, while in front the tracks were effaced by a large marsh. Apart from its being a strong refuge, Āk Maḥal is in the forefront of Bengal. Accordingly the occupants of this strong position were saved from the effects of accidents, and the inhabitants of the country remained **163** in security as soon as the armies of fortune had come there. Khān Jahān drew up in battle-array, but owing to the difficulties of the country and the time there was no engagement. The gallant warriors came out on every side and displayed devotion, and there was abundant testing of men's mettle.

One of the occurrences was that Mīr Muḥammad Khān Khān Kilān died in Pattan Gujarat on the day of Farwardīn 19 Dai, Divine month (December, 1575). The appreciative sovereign begged[1] forgiveness of his sins and assuaged the grief of those he had left behind by princely favours.

Among the occurrences was that M. Sulaimān obtained leave to travel to Ḥijāz. From the time that the Mīrzā obtained the bliss of doing homage, he was continually encompassed by the favours of the Shāhinshāh, and was distinguished by great honours in the holy assemblies. As his whole soul was intent upon chastising M. Shāhrukh, and upon obtaining the government of the mountains of Badakhshān, the knot on his heart was not loosed. When Khān Jahān went off to the province of Bengal, and there became a little delay in the fulfilment of his wishes, he from his ill-fortune and haste did not understand the real state of affairs and applied for leave to go to the Ḥijāz. He thought that perhaps by this route he might reach that country (Badakhshān), and obtain his ends by feline tricks. H.M. acceded to his wishes and bade him adieu, and sent Qulīj Khān and Rūpsī to accompany him and to wait upon him, and to see him through the difficult parts up to the Gujarat ports. Subsistence for several years and a well-found ship were bestowed on him. The above-mentioned officers conveyed him peacefully and with comfort to the port of Surat and sent him off to the Ḥijāz.

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if it was Dāūd who encamped at Āk Maḥall.

[1] *i.e.*, repeated the *fātiḥa*.

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CHAPTER XXX.

The Royal Cortège proceeds to Ajmere.

The parterre-adorner of the Caliphate in his plenitude of Divine worship and his keen quest of truth conducts himself with a regard to the feelings of the superficial majority. In consequence of his vast comprehensiveness, and his thorough knowledge of the pulse of the age, he seldom promulgates the luminous conceptions which cast rays on his heart from the sky of genius. For the food of forest-lions is not adapted to sparrows of the house-gable, nor are the rations of mountain-like elephants expended upon feeble gnats! Nor is the diet of the spiritually strong beneficial to the mentally sick. Accordingly the enthroned one of the Sultanate allows for the condition of the classes of humanity and regulates his effulgence in accordance therewith. From his observing this course, there arises no dust of
164 unsoundness in the inner chamber of his spirit. Though he sit upon the throne of the spiritual kingdom and of a world illuminated by the rays of true light, he regards the worship of the True God to be also accomplished by external forms, and worships the very God as superficialists do, and is a spiritual worshipper according to the formulas of ordinary followers of the world's customs. From this idea, the circumambulation of the sepulchres of the leaders of the caravan of existence (*i.e.*, saints, or perhaps it only means those who have gone before)—which is regarded by some as the essence of the worship of the Creator, and of the acknowledgment of Divinity, while others look upon it as a pious act and a contemplation of the Divine mercy—was rigorously practised by him, just as if he were a mere formalist. By this excellent plan he introduced worshippers of externals to the feast of practical wisdom and guided them to the highway of Truth. And when he who understood the pulse of the age, devised such a cure for those sick persons, there came no dust

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[1] This exordium does not occur in the Lucknow ed., nor do Akbar's remarks occur in the collection of his sayings at the end of the Ain.

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from such earth-questing (*khākparsī*) to sully the skirt of his grandeur. Many a time there rose to his lips, in his sacred privy-chamber, the words, "Seeing that the note of man's greatness, which consists of knowing the truth and the performance of good actions, is not visible in the elemental house—which is an abode of lust and affections and is in the world's language called Body—how can it be sought for in an earthly prison (the grave)? Moreover, when the cavalier of Purpose (*maqsūd*) gets lost in the equable mansions of Time, that is, the bodily frames, what hope is there that he will be found after the web and woof of the constitution have been dissolved in the prison-house of death, which is a boisterous ferry (or perhaps bleaching-ground, *i.e.*, graveyard) of the Divine wrath? When he cannot be found in his own house, why drive a mine into the house of the dust? If the matter were rightly considered, men would not conserve the house of a ruined home, which they call the grave. But this language may not enter into every ear, nor can impress itself on every heart. Hence it follows that those who understand institutions and are widely tolerant do not on beholding this springless autumm surrender the flower-garden of their soul to the winds of disturbance, but contemplate the ideas of those who regard the practice (of pilgrimages) as Divine worship, and enjoy an autumnless Spring."

On account of such views H.M. left the capital of Fatḥpūr on the night of Zamīyād [1] 28 Bahman, Divine month, and proceeded towards Ajmere. He passed along, stage by stage, dispensing justice and increasing joy, and by the guidance of the Divine aid he encamped on the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month (18 March 1576), in the bounteous district of Ajmere. In accordance with prescribed customs he performed the last stage to the shrine on foot, and making external things a means of increase to internal light, he came as the flower-gatherer of the garden of truth. He divided a large sum of money among those who sate at the threshold of the shrine, and fixed splendid salaries for the expectants. He made strong the souls of the wishful, and caused the depressed of heart to be chief sitters in the hall of acceptation. By the blessed influence of the setting up of the sublime standards, the country acquired fresh prosperity. At once, outward customs were observed, and likewise was 165

[1] T.A. says 7 Zul q'ada, *i.e.*, 9 March, 1576.

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the spiritual world decked out. The dignity of the clay was exalted, and illumination was bestowed on the heart. In this dust-bin of externalities (the world) it is an approved principle to honour saints and to ask inspiration from them, and to magnify those who are connected with this chosen class, especially when this is done by majestic Kings. God be praised! This noble temper as well as other grand qualities have been implanted in the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh. And inasmuch as this laudable quality holds high rank among the outwardly great, how can the majesty thereof be reckoned when it occurs in the highflyers of the spiritual world, and the high-thoughted and wide of capacity who have combined the leadership of both conditions—as is the case revealed by the lustrous brow of the world's lord!

Verse.

My words have risen high; me fears
A portion[1] of them may leap from my mouth.
The roadster of discourse is grown impetuous;
Me fears, the reins may spring from my hand.

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[1] Possibly, instead of *jazūī* we should read *jazda*, a cricket, and also a whisper.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 21ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, *viz.*, THE YEAR ĀZAR OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

In this spring-time of increasing justice the equable vernal breeze began to blow. The outer world acquired freshness just as did the city of the soul of the Khusrū of horizons.

Verse.

The zephyr adorned the garden of the world with verdure,
The earth appeared a model of the meadows of the other world.
Where is Majnūn that he may petition and see
The beauteous hall, and the loveliness of Laila?

On the night of Sunday 9 Ẕīlḥajja (11 March 1576), after passing of one hour and nineteen minutes, the physical and spiritual illuminator cast his glance on the Sign of Aries, and the 21st year of the second cycle began. At the banquet of sovereignty a spring-time without autumn showed its face from the picture-gallery of truth.

Verse.

God be praised for this movement of the zephyr.
What limits are there to His gracious works?
They send gifts to eye and heart,
They are protagonists of life and growth.

In the beginning of this year H.M. gave his attention to the augmentation of the repose of the inhabitants of Gujarat. From the time when M. Koka had from inauspicious fortune gone astray, and the physician of the horizons (Akbar) had restrained him from office and sent him to the school for learning wisdom, it had been in the secret chambers of his heart that if the Mīrzā awoke from his somnolence and took the path of bliss he would send him away to protect that country. As the time for that had not arrived, M. Khān, Wazīr

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166 Khān, Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daula, Saiyid Moẓaffar, and Bipāk[1] Dās, each of whom was distinguished in his own line, were sent to protect property, life, honour and religion—which sum up the possessions of mortals—and to compose the distractions of the country. Their external rank was exalted by glorious favours, and they were also the recipients of precious jewels of instruction. The government of the province was entrusted to Mīrzā Khān, while the administration was committed to the weighty judgment of Wazīr Khān. Mīr 'Alā'u-d-daula was made Amīn, and Bipāk Dās was appointed Dīwān. Mīr Moẓaffar was made Bakhshī of the armies. The above-mentioned officers went there, and in a short space of time the country became peaceful.

Among the occurrences was the despatch of an army against the Rānā.

The choicest worship for the social state, from which the lamp of recluses gets light—is when majestic rulers obliterate the darkness of the desert of presumption by the effulgence of farseeing wisdom and the flashes of the world-adorning sword, and cause the stiff-necked wayfarers of the lanes of pride to journey to the city of supplication. And if the ill-fate of men of this class have been confirmed, great rulers cleanse the earth from the rubbish of their existence, for most evil-doers are of a wicked nature, though some are only foolish, so that they may obtain their deserts, and mortals their repose, and that every one may, under the shade of peace, make his own fashion of Divine worship, and his customs a means of thanksgiving; thus may the outer world acquire repose and adornment, and the spiritual world set its face towards increase and development.

In accordance with these views, as the disobedience and presumption of the Rānā, as well as his deceit and dissimulation had exceeded all bounds, H.M. addressed himself to his overthrow. Kuar Mān Singh, who was among the first in the court for wisdom, loyalty and bravery, and who, among other favours, had been granted the lofty title of *farzand* (child), was nominated for this service. On the day

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[1] The Lucknow edition has Pīyāg Dās. The Iqbālnāma has Pāk Dās, and it appears that this is the real name and that the 'b' is the preposition.

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of Dībādīn 23 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to 2 Muḥarram 984 (3 April 1576), he left Ajmere. Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, 'Aṣaf Khān, Saiyid Aḥmad, Saiyid Hāshim Bārha, Jagannāth, Saiyid Rājū, Mihtar Khān, Mādhū Singh, Mujāhid Beg, Khankār, Rai Lonkarn, and many other brave officers went with him. From abundant graciousness H.M. briefly 167
and comprehensively reduced into writing instructions as to what was proper with respect to temporal and spiritual matters.

Among the occurrences was that at this time M. Yūsuf Khān, Masnad 'Ālī Fath Khān, Saiyid Umr Bokhārī, Shaikh Muḥammad Ghaznavī, and Saiyid Qāsim were sent to the Panjab so that that province might become a place of increasing peace and tranquillity.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Siwāna,[1] one of the forts of Ajmere, and which was in possession of Candar Sen, and was held for him by Patā Rāthor. As Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Rai Rai Singh did not conduct the army properly, the horses became weak, and the want of barley and forage distressed the soldiers. In the first place Saiyid Aḥmad Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Jalāl Khān, Shimāl Khān, and many other distinguished combatants were appointed to endeavour to take the fort, while the former were to hasten to court. The officers proceeded to their fiefs and set about collecting equipments. Meanwhile the catastrophe of Jalāl Khān occurred, and the stubborn ones of the country raised the head of commotion. Especially did Kalā, the son of Rām Rai and grandson of Rai Māldeo, and many of the disaffected assemble in the fort of Deokūr.[2] The Saiyids of Bārha and other leaders exerted themselves to put down those wicked men, and so the business of Siwāna dragged on. Accordingly Shahbāz[3] Khān was appointed from the court to bring the thing to an end, and then to return to court. When he came near the spot he learnt that the army were perplexed about the siege of the fort, and that the affair was difficult on account of a succession of troubles and great fights. Shahbāz Khān arrived, and immediately set about taking the fort. By the celestial help which befriends the strenuous and the pure of

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[1] J. II, 276. It is there entered as in Sarkār Jodhpūr.

[2] B. 399, n. 1. Perhaps the Deogāon of J. II, 273.

[3] His real name was Shāh Ullah. See Badāyūni II, 171. Lowe 174. This explains the pun at p. 333 of Lowe.

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heart, victory showed herself, and a large number of the enemy were annihilated, and the fort was taken. The rebels were caught, and Shahbāz Khān having left some of the Saiyids of Bārha in the place (*thāna*), addressed himself to the conquest of Siwāna. Seven kos from that fort there was a stone fort called Dūnāra.[1] When the army was crossing (the Lūnī) near it, the Rajputs of the Rāthor clan assembled and displayed haughtiness. Though the highway of obedience was indicated to them, it was of no avail, and it was necessary to take the fort. *Sābāṭs* were made, and in a short time that strong fort was taken. The blood of many of the audacious ones was spilt on the dust of disgrace, and this great success was a preamble to the conquest of Siwāna, and was a cause of increasing the dismay of the wicked. From there Shāhbāz Khān proceeded to take Sīwāna, while
168 he sent the former army (lashkar-pesh, *i.e.*, the army that had failed) to court. In making *sābāṭs* and in the disposition of materials for the untying of this apparently difficult knot hand and heart were combined, and skill joined with valour. In a short space of time the garrison sought protection and made over the fort to the loyal and hastened to prostrate themselves at the threshold of fortune. They did this while the imperial standards were at Ajmere, and were received with royal favours. When the affairs of this province had been completed H. M. proceeded on the day of Khūr 15 Ardībihisht from Ajmere to the capital, and on the day of Bād 22 Ardībihisht he reached Fatḥpūr. He applied himself more than ever to affairs which brightened the world, and the rose-garden of the world attained fresh verdure.

One of the events was the appointment of the army of Bihar to the province of Bengal. It has already been mentioned that the world-subduing armies had, after the taking of Garhī, confronted the enemy at Ākmaḥal. From that time news was continually conveyed backwards and forwards by relays of mounted couriers. At this time news was brought that the rainy season, which is tempestuous in that province, had arrived, and that if a fresh army were appointed, the conquest of Bengal would be easily effected. Accordingly an order was issued to Moẓaffar Khān and the other officers of Bihar that they should put their army in order and proceed to Bengal.

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[1] The text has Dūbāna, but there is the variant Dunār. It lies on the right bank Lūnī, S.W. Jodhpūr.

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Also at this time, as the privations and the shortness of supplies for the army had impressed themselves on H.M.'s mind, boats laden with money and goods were despatched, and the anxiety of the timid was remedied, while the hearts of the enemy were filled with trepidation. Also during this time, the news came from the army that one day Khwāja 'Abdullah[1] Naqshbandī, who was full of the light of loyalty, was in his entrenchment and had gone with some of his men and sought battle. A large number of the enemy came forward, and the Khwāja's companions became stained with the dust of disgrace and took to flight. The Khwāja stood firm and slew many of the enemy. At last he played away the coin of his life and ascended to the sky of fame. H.M. the Shāhinshāh was grieved at this occurrence and bound up the hearts of his children and dependants by various acts of kindness.

One of the events was the sending of Shahbāz Khān against Gājpatī.[2] The brief account of this affair is that Gajpatī was one of

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[1] Badāyūni II, 240, says he was a descendant of Khwāja Aḥrār.

[2] Called Kajī in Lucknow ed. See B. 399, n. 2. Bayāzīd, I.O. MS. 135*a*, says Gajpatī held Bhojpūr and Bihiya, and he calls him the Ujjainiya Rajah. The word is badly written in the MS., but I am convinced that my friend Mr. Irvine is right in suggesting that Ujjainiya is what is meant. See B. 513, n. 1. Blochmann adds that the Bhojpūr Rajahs called themselves Ujjainiahs because they claimed descent from the Rajahs of Ujjain in Malwa. Maulwi Abdul Haq Abid has favoured me with a genealogical tree, procured from the office of the Rān[1] of Dumrāon, showing that Rajah Gajpatī, commonly known as Rajah Gujun Shah, of the village of Dawa, Pargana Bihiya, Zillah Shahabad, was the 73rd in succession from Rajah Vikramāditya of Ujjain. He was the son of Badal Shāh. The Dalpat Ujjainiah of B. 513, n. 1, and his successor Pratāp, were also members of the Dumrāon family, but it appears from the genealogical tree that Dalpat, called there Dulīp Shāh and Dalpatī Shāh, was not Gajpatī's son, but his uncle (?). He is said to have reigned from 1577-1601 and to have been succeeded by Muluk Mān Shāh of Bihta. Pratāp is called in the tree Rudra Pratāb Narain Singh and is said to be the 77th in succession from the Rajah Vikramāditya. I have also received an official letter from the Shahābad Collectorate to the effect that Gajpatī is commonly known as Gujunsāhī, and that his palace was at Jagdīspūr. The account of the jungles near Gajpatī's palace recalls the events of the mutiny and of the fights with Koer Singh who was also connected with the Dumrāon family.

Badayūnī calls Gajpatī, II. 227, zamindar of the country about Ḥājipūr

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the noted landholders of the province of Bihar. He used always to be associated with the warriors of the threshold of the Caliphate, and
169 he had rendered good services in the conquest of Bengal. For some insufficient reasons he took a sort of leave and went off to his own country. At the time of the Bengal rebellion he sought help from (*panāh āward*) Khān Jahān, but when the latter passed with his army through his premises (*yūrat*), Gajpatī, from an inverted fate and evil nature, went aside and had not the felicity of accompanying him. As the army of fortune was for a long time stationary in front of the enemy, the ill-conditioned strifemonger became increasingly addicted to highway robberies and to oppressing the weak. Evil-disposed and self-interested men gathered round him, and his seditiousness became more and more pronounced. In his folly and shortsightedness he extended his robberies to towns [1] and cities. When he raised the dust of predominance in the vicinity of the town of Arrah, Farhat Khān, the jāgīrdār thereof, did not deem it expedient to engage in battle with him and shut himself up in the fort. In his wickedness Gajpatī entered into negotiations with Dāūd and exerted himself to close the lines of march. He also seized and imprisoned Peshrau Khān who was proceeding [2] post-haste by boat from the capital towards Bengal. In his blindness and ill-fatedness he stretched his foot beyond the measure of his blanket, and, as it is a rule of the organizers of fate to draw up some ingrates and evil-doers so that they may have the heavier fall, and be broken to pieces, they let this black-hearted man blaze forth for some days like a fire of straw, on the heights of error. Farhat Khān, his son, and Qarāṭāq fell in battle against him. The brief account of this is that Farhang Khān,[3] the son of Farhat Khān, on hearing of the siege of

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and Patna. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Gajpatī rebelled when Moẓaffar K. went off towards Rajmahal to help the Khān Jahān, and so left Bihar without troops. Perhaps the variant Kajatī is really Gajanī. The Iqbālnāma has Kajanī or Kajatī.

Jahāngīr in his Memoirs, Elliot VI. 321, speaks of the territory of Ujjainiya as lying near Patna. Evidently he means the Bhojpūr Rajah's country.

[1] The Lucknow ed. has *banahīb* "for plundering" here.

[2] *ba ṭarz īlghār*. Lucknow ed. has *ba ṭarz ashkzār*, *lit.*, like a quantity of tears, and has a note explaining the idiom.

[3] Apparently Farhang's fief lay east of the Sone. He crossed it in

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Arrah, came there from his fief and was joined by Qarāṭāq Khān who was in the neighbourhood. Near the fort they engaged the fleet of that devastator of the general weal and defeated it, and then gallantly crossed the Sone. The presumptuous and brainless man was emboldened by the number of his reckless bravoes to give them battle. At first Farhang Khān distinguished himself in hand-to-hand encounters, and twice brought his sword to bear upon Gajpatī, and that spark of sedition was nearly put out, when his swordsmen hamstrung Farhang's horse. He fought valiantly on foot and journeyed to the desert of annihilation. After that Qarāṭāq also gallantly tied up the chattel of existence. When Farhat Khān heard of the fatal catastrophe he came out of the fort from his abundant paternal affection and, after the manner of life-sacrificing lovers, chose the route of the blessed land.

When the news of the rebellion of this evil-doer reached the august hearing, H.M., on the day of Rām 21 Khurdād (beginning of June 1576), Divine month, sent off Shahbāz Khān, who was distinguished for fidelity and good service, to punish the wretch. An order was also issued that S'aīd Khān, Makhṣūṣ Khān, and other servants who were in that part of the country, should join him with a suitable equipment and should unite in putting an end to him. Shahbāz K. on receiving the order hastened to the spot, and the officers above mentioned joined him with all celerity. Gajpatī was heedless of the end of things, and thinking that what was the depth of down- 170
fall was the height of exaltation, he increased in arrogance and brought many towns and villages into his possession. He was about to proceed against Ghāzīpūr where the family and dependants of Khān Jahān were. Just then the victorious army arrived, and he in his pride turned back and drew up for battle. By the blessing of the Shāhinshāh's fortune he soon received fitting punishment as shall briefly be described.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān to Malwa. The lofty genius which was always attending to

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order to relieve Arrah. Badayūnī calls him, II. 227, Mīrak Radāī, but perhaps Radāī is a mistake for Raẓayi. See B. 381 and 438. Niẓāmu-d-dīn calls him Mīrak Rawānī; according to the Lucknow lithograph, Elliot V. 399 has Mīrak Rāwī.

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the civilization of countries, the cultivation of hearts and the distribution of justice to the oppressed, took care of the bringing into repose of the inhabitants of that country, which is an extensive and delightful region. He increased the rank of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, who was distinguished for ability and cherishing of the peasantry, and conferred on him a *manṣab* of 5000 and despatched him to the province on the day of Dībādīn the 23rd Khurdād, Divine month. He loaded the ears of his fortune with the weighty jewels of admonition, and so increased his wisdom.

[Here follows 2½ pages—from the middle of p. 170 to the bottom of p. 172—of a dissertation about the different (six) classes of men, and about the duties of an administrator. It may be compared with the chapter at p. 37 of Jarrett II, and that on the currency of the means of subsistence at p. 50 *id.* The dissertation does not exist in the Lucknow edition, and there is nothing informing or characteristic of Akbar in it except a remark at the end about the expediency of increasing the numbers of elephants, and caring for horses, oxen, asses, etc. I have not thought it necessary to translate the dissertation. The dissertation purports to be an abstract of Akbar's instructions to Shihabu-d-dīn on his being sent to govern Malwa.]

173 One of the occurrences was the death of Mīr Sharīf Qazwīnī. Inasmuch as in the game of *Caugān,* which strengthens onsets and hand-to-hand encounters, there is education for the strenuous, and improvement for horses—which is the most choice part of soldiering—H.M. regards the pastime as worship under the guise of sport. From this view a game was held on the day of Ārād the 25th Khurdād, Divine month. Mir Ghīāṣu-d-dīn Naqīb-Khān and Mīr Sharīf, the sons of Mīr 'Abdu-l-laṭīf Qazwīnī, in consequence of the favour of the Shāhinshāh, took a distinguished part in the play. In the heat of the onsets the horses of the two brothers collided. The young novice was thrown to the ground, and became senseless, and blood flowed from his ear. H.M. dismounted in that plain, which was a world-spectacle, and cast the shadow of compassion (on Sharif). The spectators, when they did not see the world's lord on horseback, became confused and uttered cries and lamentations. Evil-minded strife-mongers took advantage of the opportunity. A moment had not elapsed when that composer of the world's distractions mounted his

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horse at the entreaty of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and rode over the plain. The consternation ceased. In a short space of time the combination of the elements in the fallen man was dissolved. H.M. distributed at the tomb large sums to the family of the deceased, so that their heart-shoulders were lightened of the load of debt, and there came a time of good fortune. May the satisfaction of the heart (at his debts being paid) support him in his awful journey!

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CHAPTER XXXII.

THE BRIGHTENING OF THE LAMP OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S FORTUNE, AND THE SINKING OF THE RĀNĀ INTO THE DARKNESS OF FLIGHT.

It has already been mentioned that the Rānā's arrogance was swollen by the fact of the glory of his line of ancestors who were in ancient times rulers of India. The strength of his position, the extent of his territory, and the large number of his Rajputs who would sacrifice life for honour, cast a veil over his vision. He did not perceive the marvels of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and abandoned obedience and went astray. The parterre-adorner of the world ordered Kuar Mān Singh to go with a number of loyal men and arouse him from his infatuated slumbers and guide him to the school of auspiciousness. But to him who is unfortunate (*lit.* has a black blanket) the motives of awakening only bring increase of somnolence. The imperial forces remained for some time in the town of Mandalgarh, waiting for their officers and the gathering of the camp. The Rānā during this time of awakening ignorantly increased his obstinacy and came forth to make commotion. He paid no heed to the fortune which was conjoined with eternity, and regarded the leader[2] of the victorious army as a landholder subordinate to himself. His whole idea was that he should come to the town above mentioned and fight a battle. But his well-wishers did not suffer him to increase his loss (*khasārat*) by this act of daring (*jasārat*).

174 When the imperial army had been collected, Kuar Mān Singh, relying upon daily-increasing fortune, drew up his forces and marched towards Goganda,[3] which was the native country of him of somnolent fortune (the Rānā). He himself was in the centre, the Saiyids of Bārha were on the right wing; Ghāzī Khān Badakhshī, Rai Lonkarn, were on the left; Jagannath and Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī, Āṣaf Khān were in the van; Mādhū Singh and other distinguished men were in the *altamsh*; Mihtar Khān and others were in the rear. On the side of the enemy the Rānā was in the centre; Rām

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[1] About 100 m. N. E. Udaipur. I. G. It is described by Tod.

[2] *i.e.*, Mān Singh. The Iqbālnāma says this had been the position of the Amber family.

[3] B. 418, n. 2, Tod calls it Gogoonda.

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Shāh[1] Rajah of Gwaliar had the right wing; the left was commanded by Bedāmāta of the Jhāla tribe; Rām Dās, son of Jaimal, was in the van. The Rānā, owing to the darkness of his presumption, had not the head for arranging his forces in battle-array, but by the efforts of far-sighted men various arrangements were made, and he displayed alacrity. On the day of Amardād 7 Tīr, Divine month[2] (18th? June 1576), when a watch of the day had passed, the two armies met in the village of Khamnūr,[3] which is the mouth of the Haldī defile and is a dependency of Goganda. They strove together valiantly. The price of life was low, that of honour high.

Verse.

When army commingled with army
They stirred up the resurrection-day upon earth.
Two oceans of blood shocked together:
The soil became tulip-coloured from the burning waves.

The enemy's right wing drove off the left wing of the imperialists, and their vanguard also prevailed. Many of the imperialists gave way. Jagannāth behaved bravely, and was about to sacrifice his life when the *altamsh* arrived, and Kuar Mān Singh in person joined in the fight. The enemy's left wing also prevailed over the imperial right. Sāiyid Hāshim fell from his horse, but Saiyid Rājū rehorsed him. Ghāzī Khān Badakhshi advanced and joined the van. There was a market of life-taking and life-surrendering. The warriors on either side yielded their lives and preserved their honour. And as the men did wonders, so did the elephants perform marvels. On the side of the enemy was the rank-breaking Lonā. Jamāl Khān Faujdār brought the elephant Gajmukta[4] to encounter him. The 175

1 B. Ram Sāh.

2 21 Rabi, I. B. 418 n. Badayūnī has the beginning of Rabi I.

3 Tod's map shows a village Kamnor to the north of Goganda. The battle is usually called that of Haldīghāt. Elliot V. 398. Badayūnī says it was 7 kos from Goganda. The text has the word *berūn* instead of Haldī, but the reading of the Cawnpur ed. Hardī, *i.e.*, Haldī is preferable and is supported by the Iqbālnāma. The best account of the battle is that given by Badayūnī, Lowe 236, etc. See also Noer's Akbar translation I. 247, etc. Kavīrāj Shymal Dās says the place is called Haldī because the soil there is yellow, like turmeric.

4 B. 121.

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shock of these two mountain-like forms threw the soldiers into trepidation, and the imperial elephant was wounded and about to fly when by the help of daily-increasing fortune a bullet struck the driver of the enemy's elephant, and he turned back. Just then Pertāb,[1] a relation of the Rānā, brought forward Rām Pershād which was the head of their elephants, and threw down many gallant men. At the time of wavering Kamāl Khān brought up the elephant Gajrāj and took part in the fight. Panjū brought the elephant Ran Madār opposite Rām Pershād and did excellently well. This elephant too was nearly letting the foot of his courage slip. By the might of fortune the driver of Rām Pershād was killed by an arrow, and that noted elephant—which had often been a subject of conversation in the sacred assemblies—became entered among the spoils. Up to midday the contest continued.

Verse.

Many a one engaged with another,
Much blood was poured out on the battle-field,
Livers grew hot, cries resounded,
Necks were throttled by nooses.

Rām Dās, son of Jaimal, went to the sorry abode of annihilation from a stroke by the hand of Jagannāth. Rajah Rām Shāh with his three sons Sālbahān, Bhān Singh and Pertāb Singh fell, fighting bravely. During these blazing sparks of commotion and contest, and the heat of the fires of fortune, Kuar Mān Singh and the Rānā approached one another; and did valiant deeds. In the opinion of the superficial the foe was prevailing, when all at once the lightning of the Divine aid—which supports the eternal fortune—flashed out victory. One of the external causes of this was that during the tumult the vanguard arrived equipped for battle. A report circulated that the world's lord had come on his steed swift as the wind and had cast the shadow of his might on the battle-field. A cry went up from the combatants, and the enemy who were continually becoming more and more predominant, lost heart. The breeze of victory began to blow upon the rose-bush of the hopes of the devoted

[1] The Rajah is also called Pertāb though generally spoken of as Rānā Kīkā.

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from the quarter of celestial help, and the rose-bud of success of those loyal expenders of their lives bloomed forth. Vanity and conceit were changed into disgrace. There was a new testing of the fortune conjoined with eternity. The devotion of the sincere was increased, and sincerity was imparted to the simple. The auspicious morning-breeze of confession and belief blew for the sceptics; to the enemy came the thick darkness of the night of destruction. About 150 *ghāzīs* died on the field, and of the enemy more than 500 distinguished men were stained with the dust of annihilation. On account of the excessive heat and the fatigue of the battle the imperialists did not set their hearts on pursuing the enemy, and the Kuar proceeded next day to Goganda after offering thanksgivings. The wretch fled **176** and hastened to the defiles of the hill-country. The imperial army encamped in that city, and a report of the battle mentioning the services of the heroes and the bravery of the enemy was sent to court along with splendid articles of booty, especially the elephant Rām Pershād, in company with Maulānā 'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūnī, who had obtained leave from among the group of learned men (*ahl-sa'ādat*) for this expedition. On the day of Māh the 12th Tīr, Divine month, the news of victory reached the august hearing. He returned thanks to God, and raised the rank of the loyal and devoted. On the same day Saiyid 'Abdullah Khān[1] was sent to the eastern provinces by post-horses to convey to the officers the news of the approach of the world-conquering standards. He was both to convey the news of the glorious victory and also, if the soldiers of the province of Bihar had not marched to assist Khān Jahān, he was to insist upon their doing so.[2] At the time of sending him off H.M. said that a ray of inspiration had fallen on the portico of his heart which announced to him that, as he was taking to that country the news of this celestial victory, so would he in a similar manner bring to court the news of the conquest of Bengal.

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1 B. 465.

2 *Sazāwalī namāīd*, lit. "*display sazāwalī.*" A. F. does not explain in the Ain the word *sazāwal*. Here it seems to be used in the sense of dunning or urging, and may be compared with the *tākīdgīr* which used to denote in Bengal a man employed by zamindars and indigo-planters to urge on the peasants to pay their rents and sow indigo. *Cf.* text 178, 11 lines from foot, and p. 177, l. 14.

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CHAPTER XXXIII.

EXPEDITION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH TO BENGAL AND HIS RETURNING FROM THE FIRST STAGE.

(The chapter begins with some unmeaning praises of Akbar, which do not occur in the Lucknow edition.)

The account of this is briefly as follows: Some trustworthy
177 people arrived from the eastern provinces and announced that the light of daily-increasing fortune was continually shining in the victorious camp, and that Ism'āīl by name, an Afghan, to whom Dāūd had given the title of Khān Jahān, had been killed at the entrenchments of the Qāqshāls. They also reported that the leaders of the army were of opinion that without the arrival of the standards of world-conquest the lights of victory would not fully shine forth, but that out of respect they could not freely state this. H.M. ordered that preparations for an expedition should be made, and that the army should go thither by land and water. Qāsim Khān was sent to Agra to arrange for the stations on the river. In a short time the managers of the business accomplished the work of several years.

As the pillars of knowledge and the Sultans of wisdom never approve of the work of to-day's being postponed to the morrow, and think this especially bad in the matters of administration, the Shāhinshāh, in reliance upon the Divine bounty, left Fatḥpūr in the height of the rains,—a season when many energetic men refrain from exertion,—starting on the day of Ābān 10 Amardād, Divine month—corresponding to Sunday 25 Rabī'-al-akhir (22 July 1576).

Verse.

The Shāh rode off from the abode of glory,
Bakhtiyār (his elephant ?) became the abode of glory (?).
The standards (*Kaukaba*) were of heavenly splendour,
The moon of his ensign rose to heaven,
The forms of the elephants bent the earth,
There was a shaking in the universe.

His sublime intention was that he should proceed by the river with a few of his courtiers, while the army should go by land.

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Though the season was not suitable for the movements of an army, yet as the world's Khedive was looking to the settlement of a country, he considered that the repose of the soldiers would consist in the quelling of the enemy. On the way he said to some of his intimates, "Last night a window opened into the mystic world while I was in a state of dream, and I learnt that in a short space of time news would come of the conquest of the eastern provinces, and that the inhabitants thereof would enjoy repose and daily-increasing justice." On that day, when he had reached the village of Birār, which is a dependency of the district of Agra, at the beginning of night, Saiyid 'Abdullah Khān, having accomplished a long journey in eleven[1] days, brought news of the victory of the imperial servants, the discomfiture of the haughty rebels, and the conquest of the country of Bengal. And in order to teach mankind he threw down in the *jilaukhāna* 178
(shed) of the courtyard the head of Dāūd. A cry arose from the spectators, and mankind rejoiced. Though in the eyes of the superficial, a great victory had occurred in the outer world, yet in the eyes of those of profound vision it was the spiritual world which had been conquered. Guidance was furnished to the weary of foot in the wilderness of search. Seekers who had lost their way and who used to search for the night-illuminating lamp (of direction) in the dark abode of covetous wearers of rags (*i.e.*, from the ascetics and beggars) obtained the prince of the horizons for their guide, and commenced work anew, and had the candle of their vision lighted by two great marvels—to which intelligence had no access, and for which conjecture and reasoning had no capacity. The blind of the rose-garden of existence were made joyful by the fountain of vision and the acquisition of thousands of eyes of awakening and partook of the feast of witnessing (*shuhūd*). The lame of the field of recognition had the foot of knowledge restored. The blear-eyed obtained the antimony of vision. Those who were tottering on the highway of search received into their hands a staff[2] of firmness. The first (of the two marvels) was that at the time of giving Saiyid

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[1] The battle was fought on Thursday, 12 July, 1576, and 'Abdullah arrived on the night of Sunday, the 22nd id. From the T. A. Elliot V. 400 it appears that Birār is 10 m. from Fatḥpūr.

[2] The text has 'aẓā "members," but the variant 'aṣā "staff" seems preferable.

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'Abdullah his dismission there had come from the lips of that cream of creation (Akbar) the words "You will bring news of victory and conquest." The second was that on that same day H.M. had while *en route* given the interpretation of his dream and conveyed the tidings of victory and conquest.

H.M. the Shāhinshāh returned thanks to God for the two glorious victories. Though the untying of this hard knot (the conquest of Bengal) was in reality the result of the blessing of the holy influence of the world's lord, yet the external cause was the wide capacity, skill, and continuous efforts of Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal, and the exertions of the irrepressible (be ru?) *sazāwals*.[1] When the heaven-aided army was in Ākmaḥal opposed to Dāūd there could be no pitched battle on account of the rugged nature of the ground, and the brave men on both sides were continually coming out and making trial of their courage. The whole idea of the presumptuous wretches was that when the rainy season set in, the camp would be broken up. The officers of the victorious army were for the most part Caghatāīs, and did not wish that so great an enterprise should be headed by the Khān Jahān, who was a Qizilbāsh. They had not such fidelity as to disregard, on account of their master's work, differences in religion and custom, and to endeavour for carrying out his objects. Necessarily such unrighteous thoughts were an obstacle in the path of the auspiciousness of this faction. Also the Bengal army had their hearts turned against the country on account of the prevalence of the plague, and their whole energy was devoted to prevent the prosecution of the work. Where is that splendour of wisdom which can comprehend that time and place do neither good nor ill towards filling the measure of life? That amount will appear which is in the Divine knowledge, whether one spends one's days in a tiger-
179 jungle or on the verges of the fountain of life! And where is that

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[1] *Sazāwalān.* This word is used here as in pp. 176 and 178 to signify special messengers or officers who were deputed by Akbar to urge on and quicken the movements of his generals. They are called *be rū*, lit. without face, because their business was to be importunate and troublesome and to have no respect of persons. Cf. English word effrontery.

A. F. dwells with some justice on Akbar's and the sazāwals' exertions, for apparently Khān Jahān would not otherwise have fought during the rains.

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loyalty which asks for the sacrifice of life in the service of his lord? And also they were disinclined to combat, because in the eyes of the superficial the enemy was increasing in quality and quantity. They did not possess the far-sightedness which could see the armies of the daily-increasing fortune of the Shahinshah. Also they did not like the prospect of fighting on account of the strength of the enemy's position. They had not the magnanimity to find the equivalent of the strength of position in the might of H.M.'s fortune. Also the vehemence of the rains and the violence of the rivers withheld them from engaging. From total irrecognition of the Truth, they did not weigh spiritual aids against the calamities of the skies, and also the difficulty about grain and the high rates of articles caused weakness in their ardour. From want of trust, and from self-conceit they did not regard the Causer of Causes, and occupied themselves with secondary matters.

Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal from their loyalty and knowledge of the world did not listen to men's idle talk, but exerted themselves greatly to hearten and encourage them. They bought over at a high price the disaffection of their companions, and submitted the jewel of service to exquisite tests. As they could not read the letters of the word of conquest in the forehead of these men's dispositions they set themselves to the bringing down the army of Bihar, and wrote letters to this effect. They besought the help of the sublime court in this matter. Moẓaffar Khān was spending his time in the petty anxieties of men of small minds, but when the strenuous and irrepressible (*be rūī*) sazāwals[1] came from the court, he was obliged to act, and together with Shujāát Khān, Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, M'āṣūm Khān Kabulī, Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk, Samānjī Khān, Mīrzāda 'Ali Khān, Tarkhān Dīwāna, he put the army in order and set his face to service. In the territory of Bhagalpur[2] Moẓaffar Khān returned to his first opinion, and after eloquent discussions with his officers he decided that "The rains were a season of commotion, and that to go at this time to Bengal and fail was to ruin oneself. The proper thing to do was to remain where he was till the end of the rains. Khān Jahān, who was distressed from his long facing of the enemy, and

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1 *Sazāwalān be rūī* shameless importuners. Apparently the principal person referred to is Muḥibb 'Alī Khān Rohtāsī; cf. p. 179, 15 from foot.

2 Kākalpūr in text, but the variant Bhāgalpūr is probably correct.

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excessive hardships, must return; when the star Canopus arises, the rivers begin to fall, and the air to be pleasant, the imperial servants shall proceed with unanimity to the conquest of Bengal and the extirpation of the Afghans." At this time Muḥibb 'Ali Khān[1] arrived, and replied to this commotion by saying, "This idea cannot be weighed in the balance of loyalty or even of practical wisdom. When the wise ruler has sent a decisive order that we should hasten to Bengal and deliver battle, it is improper to think of any other plan or to indulge in delay. Let us hold fast to the command and go forward with our heart and soul to perform our service, and let us bring this long business to an end by the help of God and the fortune of
180 the Shāhinshāh." Inasmuch as this encouraging idea came from the fount of devotion and loyalty, it appealed to every one. Willingly or unwillingly, the crew of slingers of stones of delay assented to the proposition and suggested that before they joined the army (of Khān Jahān) trustworthy messengers should be sent to assure it that when the two forces were amalgamated the battle would not be delayed, and that they would bring the great work to a termination; for they feared lest the officers of the advanced force (K. Jahān's) should not be inclined to fight and would wish to wait for the arrival of the Shāhinshāh's cortégé, and that their camp might in such a season become broken up. Accordingly Mīr Mu'izzu-d-dīn and Wazīr Jamīl were sent to reassure them.

When the writing of delay had been thus erased they were obliged to move towards the province. On the day of Mārisfand 29 Tīr, Divine month (10 July), the armies of Bihar and Bengal joined. The Khān Jahān met the chief officers (of the Bihar force) and treated them with honour. He brought them into his quarters and gave them a great feast. Next day he went to the quarters of Moẓaffar Khān and had a private interview with him. After much talk of little moment he (Moẓaffar) set his heart on fighting and they proceeded to draw up their forces. Khān Jahān commanded in the centre; the Bihar army had the right wing; in the left wing were Rajah Todar Mal, Jabbāri, Bābā Khān Qāqshāl, I'tmād Khān Khwājasarā, Rajah Gopāl, and others. In the van were Shāham Khān, Murād Khān, Jān Muḥammad Bahsūdī, Isma'īl Beg Uzbeg, and

[1] This is Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsī and not Muḥibb 'Alī, the Mīr Khalīfa's son. See B. 422.

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others. In the *altamsh* were Ism'aīl Qulī Khān, Qiyā Khān, and others. The enemy's forces were arranged as follows: in the centre was Dāūd; Kālā Pahār had the right wing, Junaid the left; in the van were Khān Jahān the ruler of Orissa, and Qatlū. On the 31st Tīr, Divine month, corresponding to Thursday 15 Rabī-'aṣ-ṣānī (12 July) the battle took place. Though the whole country was under water and there was no way of crossing it by a bridge, the gallant men of the victorious army kept the slope of the hill before them and made, by the help of daily-increasing fortune, efforts to gain fame and jeopardised their lives. A suitable path was found, and when the news of this success arrived they raised the pæan of joy. They arranged themselves in order and sought for victory. When they had gone some distance there appeared before them a deep, black stream. There was no way of crossing it, and they could not think of turning back. A flood of apprehension seized the superficial and shortsighted whilst the profound of vision opened the eye of instruction and waited for some wonderful effect of Fortune. In a short space of time the mystic rays lighted up their faces with joy and that difficult stream became fordable. The able and intelligent took this as a pre- 181
sage of victory. When the enemy perceived what had happened they prepared for battle. Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and all the heroes of the left wing crossed the stream and behaved with activity. Kālā Pahār and the other brave men among the enemy stood firm and brought the jewel of courage to the bazaar of battle. The battle-field became glorious.

Verse.

Spears (*sinān*) smote upon breasts (*sīnahā*),
The world became like the day of the resurrection.
So much blood flowed stream on stream
That it carried away heads like polo-balls.

Owing to his ill-fatedness Bābā Khān turned his rein. Just then Jabbārī and some other brave men came up and attacked. Severe fightings polished the jewel of courage. The strenuous were nearly wavering when Rajah Todar Mal came bravely forward. The devoted renewed the attack, and making skill the ornament of energy they engaged in wondrous hand-to-hand encounters and drove off the foe. Kālā Pahār was wounded and saw that his safety was in flight. The courageous heroes did not think it advisable to pursue him as

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there were great marshes in front, and also they had no news about the rest of the troops. They were obliged to draw rein and to behold the wonders of fortune. The holy warriors of the right wing were about to prove their courage when the enemy became stained with the dust of ruin, and no engagement worthy of description took place. Junaid, who was the sword of the Afghans, and who had military skill, measured the ground of baseness (was killed). The cause of this was that on the night which was pregnant with the morn of victory, a cannon-ball reached Junaid, who was sleeping on a *cār-pai* (bed), and broke his leg. Murād Khān and others of the van crossed the stream and advanced. The enemy gave proof of courage and drove them off. Just then other *ghāzīs* of the van and the *altamsh* came up and turned back those who had been defeated. They stood firm and gave proof of devotion.

Maṣnavī.

Two armies came together seeking for vengeance
The brave came to the battle-field
The day of battle rose and fell
The dew of blood (descended) to the Fish, the dust (rose) to the moon
The swords of the heroes were red with blood
One gave his life, and another fled
Armour was broken, and loins unloosed
There was neither strength of hand nor of head.

Khān Jahān, who was at the head of the enemy, went to annihilation, and disorder took possession of the foe. The battle had not
182 yet reached the centre when the light of the crescent of Divine favour illuminated the world, and the luminary of the Shāhinshāh's fortune increased in brilliancy. The victorious soldiers pursued the fugitives on every side, and the hostile troops gave their honour to be consumed by the sparks from the fiery swords and went in confusion to the desert of bewilderment. Many of them in their confusion entered the rivers and streams, and so lost their lives. Khān Jahān had gone off in search of the foe when the battle-field became full of the noise of victory. His ears were delighted by the sound of rejoicing. On every side were heard the notes of the drums of joy. In the midst of this joyous confusion they brought in as a prisoner the

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foolish Dāūd. It seems that his horse stuck in a quagmire. Ṭālib Badakhshī, a son of the Khwāja Ibrāhīm, who had been a confidential servant of M. Hindāl, had wickedly given him a horse and allowed him to depart. Suddenly an unknown person (*īkī az nā shināsān*) reported the facts to Murād Sīstānī and Ḥusain Beg Gurd, and they seized him and brought him in. At this time too that ill-intentioned one (Ṭalib) came with them and claimed a share (in the capture). On seeing what had occurred he went off ashamed. Khān Jahān asked the strife-monger (Dāūd) what had become of his compact and oaths. He removed the veil of shame from his face and said, "That engagement was with the Khān-Khānān. The time has now come to make friends and to enter into a new treaty." [1] Inasmuch as elegance of speech does not light up the darkness of the ruin of action, the Khān-Khānān wisely stopped the wiles and story-weaving of the wicked one and ordered [2] that he should be relieved of the burden of his head of contentious brains. Immediately afterwards he sent the head along with Saiyid 'Abdullah, and reported the fortunate facts. The body of the treaty-breaker was affixed to a gibbet at Tānda, which is the capital of that country.

Verse.

Great God! who has such fortune
That he takes a world with little trouble.
Hail to his lofty jewelled umbrella
The shadow of God shades his throne.
As yet his sharp sword is hidden.
As yet one rose of a hundred has not bloomed,
As yet mystic victories are in store,
As yet there are good news beyond thought.

When the facts of this great victory became known, fresh thanks were offered to God, the Giver of kingdoms. The market of giving and of increase of dignities became active. Saiyid 'Abdullah was distinguished by liberal gifts of money, etc., and so much red and white coin was poured into the skirt of his hopes that he could not carry it away. Bulletins of victory were sent to rulers and 183

[1] This refers to Khān Jahān's making no answer to Dāūd.

[2] Badayūnī says K. J. did not want to kill Dāūd as he was very beautiful, but the officers persuaded him to do so.

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governors. Hail to the Fortune which in the course of 25 days displayed two great victories, such as have seldom appeared to mighty princes of old times. The first was the dispersal of the Rānā's pride, the second the conquest of Bengal, and the execution of Dāūd. Although the superficial were astonished at these results, yet those who know the glorious qualities and actions of the sovereign—his wisdom, his recognition of truth, and his purity—considered them but as one out of thousands of blessings, and bowed the forehead of adoration!

As the general public were troubled by so distant an expedition at such an unpropitious season H.M. recognised the fact that a speedy return was the forerunner of thanksgiving, and turned back on the morn of victory, and spread the shade of justice over Fatḥpūr the capital. Great feasts were given, and there was much rejoicing. The spiritual market acquired fresh activity, and waves of largesse quenched the thirst of the needy.

Verse.

Like an ocean which casts up waves,
Pours out pearls and then retires,
The subject-cherisher in his universal bounty
Was like a rain that rains in due season.

By the glory of the justice of the world's lord, and the splendid exertions of Khān Jahān and Rajah Todar Mal, that wide country came anew into possession, and became an abode of peace. A people of opposed nations and habits arrived at repose and the holy heart became entirely at rest about a country which from old times was called a house of contention (*bulghāk-khāna*).[1] That is to say, the dust of commotion was always being stirred up in that country by wicked men. Whilst the wise throne-occupant on beholding the tokens of right-thinking and right-acting implored the Divine aid and prayed for increased energy, mankind in general returned thanks for their lucky stars, in having bestowed on them such a wise, loving, pious and subject-guarding ruler. They bound the knot of obligation (*'aqd-i-luzūm*) on their mental skirt and made auspiciousness the face-brightener of their lives.

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[1] B. 331, where the epithet is especially applied to Sātgāon.

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Verse.

May his reign endure as long as Time.
May the cachet of cycles appear on his decrees!

One of the occurrences was the election of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān **184**
to the rank of a commander of 5000. What day was there when that appreciator of the temporal and spiritual kingdoms did not raise officers, wherever stationed, to high rank? Inasmuch as the arrangement of the outer world is implicated with the increase of degrees of rank he made the canons of justice and equity the blazon of the portico of intelligence and used to augment the grades of the servants of the court. At once men's qualities were tested, and the world's market was kept alive. If an account of these measures were written, this sublime volume would not contain it. I am constrained to attend to great matters and to refrain from touching details. No, No! every detail of the sublime court is the totality of the upper world. But the complete description of the events of ever-adorned dominion is beyond the capacity of the human intelligence, then what can be done by one a bewildered soul of the fraternity of contingent existence (*anjuman-i-imkān*). Especially when I have taken on the shoulder of objective the burdens of the social state, would the attempt at real asceticism, and at sitting in the ravine of obscurity, and at breaking the connection of materiality, with a weak heart and a distracted soul, be destructive of peace of mind. In writing the tale of enlightenment I have, contrary to followers of the commonplace, made Divine worship and thanksgivings for favours received my guide in truth's wilderness, and have in spite of the distraction of conflicting motives applied myself with an honest intent and truth-choosing disposition to the accomplishment of this great task. The holy order which bears the signature of Wisdom is that if the hand does not reach the body of the skirt, one should not try to seize its hem by a corner, and if there is no path to the garden-alley one should not contort the face by trying to smell the flowers. Consequently by mentioning some leading articles of the court of fortune I in the first place collect materials for my own bliss, and secondly I prepare a fresh gift for inquirers both present and future. Perhaps by means of this I may have a place in their hearts and may become one of the front-sitters of acceptance.

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One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to punish Daudā,[1] the son of Rai Sarjan, the ruler of Ranthambor. That evil-disposed one went off without leave to his native country of Būndī, and opened the hand of oppression. The just sovereign appointed Ṣafdar Khān, Bahādur Khān, Muḥammad Ḥusain Shaikh, Kāndar Rai, Jāndūn Sultan, Jaimal and other warriors to make that infatuated one who did not see the end of things, crapulous with failure and to give protection to the inhabitants, and the shadiness of repose.

[1] B. 410.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

EXPEDITION TO AJMERE, ETC.

The pious sovereign proceeded to the shrine of Khwāja M'uīnu- **185**
d-dīn Sanjarī on the day of Isfandārmaẓ 5 Mihr, Divine month, 15 September 1576. He went on horseback and was accompanied by some of his servants and a number of loyal amīrs. At the first stage Mīrzā K. met him, having come by order from Gujarāt, and had the glory of doing homage. The wise king made plurality [1] the veil of unity and alighted at Ajmere on the night of Mihr 16 [2] Mihr, Divine month, 26 September, and performed the ceremonies of visiting the shrine of the holy sepulchre. The troops of men who had gathered from the various parts of the earth to offer up their vows, became possessed of joy. Mankind in general carried off abundant store from the table of bounty. Masters of joy dispelled grief by dancing and clapping of hands.

Verse.

The vocalist ministered wine, but 'twas by the way of the ear.

Outwardly, the city of custom was in fête, inwardly, fresh verdure was given to the rose-garden of Truth by irrigation.

One of the occurrences was that Kūār Mān Singh and the other officers of the province came out and did homage. This faithful band had, on the rising of the light of H.M.'s fortune and the setting of the Rānā's star behind the hills of defeat, encamped in Goganda. The outcast from the Divine precincts (*daryāh*) had carried the face of disgrace to these mountain-defiles. The officers from prudential motives did not go in quest of him, and on account of the difficulty in

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1 That is, made society, or perhaps business, a veil for solitary contemplation.

2 The T. A. says Akbar arrived at Ajmere on Thursday 5 Rajab, and Badayūnī says he arrived on 6 Rajab, which was the anniversary of the saint (29 September 1576). The anniversary (*'urs*) nearly coincided with the date of Akbar's birthday. Indeed it may have completely done so, for the Rajputana Gazetteer, p. 63, says that the day of the saint's death is uncertain, and so the festival lasts from 1 to 6 Rajab.

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transporting provisions they came out of that stony land and reared the standards of victory in the open plain. Tricksters [1] and time-servers suggested to the royal ear that there had been slackness in extirpating the wretch, and the officers were nearly incurring the king's displeasure. But by the might and profundity of examination, which are the glorious characteristics of the world's lord, the veil was removed from the painted countenance of those evil-inclined word-spinners. One of the joyous occurrences was that on the day of Bād 22 Mihr, 2 October 1576, which contained the auspiciousness of time and displayed the rays of the glory of the age, the coin of Creation's Treasury (Akbar's body) was weighed [2] according to fixed rule against glorious objects, and there was an assayment of gifts.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Peshrau K.[3] and his bringing the good news of the last victory, *viz.*, of the defeat of Gajpatī and of his having met with his deserts. The brief account of this is that he from topsy-turviness of fortune and from the inaccessibility of his country transgressed the path of obedience and became presumptuous, as has already been briefly narrated. He was meditating the plundering of Ghāzīpūr, when Shahbāz K. arrived with the army of fortune, and his confidence was shaken. He saw it was best to seek safety in flight and hastened off to the ferry of Causa. He crossed the Ganges and stood ready for the battle. The heroes by exertions collected boats and proceeded to cross. By

[1] It is stated by B. 340 that Akbar was displeased because Mān Singh did not follow up his victory and so he recalled him. In this B. is supported by Badayūnī. Another thing which annoyed Akbar was that Mān Singh let his army suffer want in Goganda rather than plunder the country of the Rānā, who was a Rajput like himself. Badayūnī, Lowe 247, says Mān Singh and Āṣaf K. were for a time not allowed to pay their respects.

[2] The weighing took place twice a year. This was the lunar weighment, and it took place on this occasion on the 8th or 9th Rajab 984. But it nearly coincided with the solar anniversary. Perhaps the two weighments were amalgamated.

[3] B. 498, but Peshrau seems to have been sent in the 21st year, and not the 19th. See supra 169. Peshrau lived to be 90 years of age and died in the 3rd year of Jahangir, Tūzuk 71. For his biography see the Maaṣir, and B. 497. He was called Peshrau (forerunner) because he was in charge of the *peshraukhāna* and so had to go with the Advance Camp, Tūzuk J. 23.

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their vigorous action the enemy was driven into the desert of defeat. 186
They got possession of guns and boats and other goods of his. On the march they came to the fort of[1] Mahad and set themselves to besiege it. Sangrām[2] the governor of the fort made the delivery of the keys the proof of his own success. Shahbāz K. made over the fort to skilful men and pressed forward to punish Gajpatī. The wretch sought shelter in the forests of Bhojpūr, where there are many heights and hollows. Though the devoted warriors trod the soil of effort, they were not successful, for the slumbrous-fated one, on account of the majestic "Avaunt" (*dūrbāsh*) of Prestige (*ipbāl*), did not see it good to give battle. The victorious army returned and took another route. Next day the tyrant[3] who was looking for his opportunity came to the bank of the river in order that he might at night stir up the dust of battle. On account of the broken nature of the ground, and the ravines, prudence did not permit the courageous heroes to cross over in front of the enemy. By the guidance of Sangrām they marched rapidly to devastate his home. In several places there were great contests, and glorious victories were gained. As the inwardly darkened one was made hopeless by the orb[4] of day he made a night-attack, and by his own efforts fell headlong into the gloomy abode of destruction. Covered with the dust of shame he hastened to Jagdispūr, which was the strongest of his places. The strenuous soldiers were for nearly two months engaged in cutting down the trees round the dwelling, but by the might of the Shāhinshāh's prestige the fort was (at last) taken, and the evil-doer's family and belongings were imprisoned in the noose of the Divine wrath, while he himself was stained with the dust of dishonour and brought into contempt.

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1 Variant Mahda, as in B. 446 n. 1. In J. II. 154 it appears as Masodha in Sarkar Bihar, and he gives the variant Modha which Gladwin and Tiefenthaler have.

2 B. 446 n. 1 and his Erratum to p. 340, l. 19. He was Rajah of Kharakpūr, id. 446.

3 *qābūcī*, a Turkish word literally meaning gate-keeper or door-keeper. The epithet is used apparently because Gajpatī ensconced himself in his forests and would not admit the imperialists. The word is properly *qāpūcī*, from *qāpū* a gate. Meninski s.v. *qāpūcī*, ed. 1780, has a long note.

4 *nūristan-i-roz*. Gajpatī is represented by A.F. as a sort of night bird who could not endure the light. There is an allusion to Akbar who was the orb of day.

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Peshrau Khān also related how on that night, which was big with a great victory, the Divine protection became his fortress owing to his turning himself towards the Shāhinshāh, so that he was delivered from his deadly peril. The story of that great deliverance is briefly as follows: "From the time[1] that I fell into the custody of that insolent and presumptuous one there was not a day which I did not expect to be my last. But by the blessing of my remembrance of the world-lord, I was kept scatheless. Especially was this so when there was a fight with the army of fortune. And the worst time of all was the night when that slumberer in misfortune trod the desert of defeat. About seventy prisoners showed (me) the path to annihilation (*i.e.*, they were killed). Among them were four of my companions. Every one was made over to a scoundrel that he might be slain in the forest, and he who was told off to take the life of this hopeless one (himself) took me apart, and set himself to cut the woof and warp of my existence. I made the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh the medium for drawing nigh to God, and turned the face of supplication to the Source of bounties. Sinking my head into my collar I became absorbed in meditating that if this osseous tower (*kākhh-i-istakhwānī*, *i.e.*, his body) did not protect me I might obtain a
187 lofty chamber in the blessed abode of joy. When a long time elapsed, and there was no sign of the iron-livered executioner, I raised my head, and he came forward with supplications and entreaties, and said, "Art thou one of the guests of the banquet of vision, or a chosen one of the workshop of mystery, for however much I tried, my arm refused to act?" In reply I expounded to him fidelity and the wonders of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and became his teacher (guide of the path). This discourse concerning the truth had not ended when Gajpatī passed by us. As he was in the slumber of failure, and his evil destiny hung down a veil over the eye of enlightenment, he regarded this warning exposition as trickery and made me over to another murderer. He too made great efforts to throw down my elemental structure, and I meditated as before on the holy personality of the spiritual and temporal Khedive, and making him my fortress I turned towards the Divine[2] Court. Though that strong man used

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[1] See text, p. 169.

[2] Perhaps meaning that he turned his face towards Fatḥpūr as Daniel did towards Jerusalem. Dan. vi. 10 and Tobit 3. 11.

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all his might, his sword would not come out of the sheath. Suddenly that vagabond (Gajpatī) of the desert of destruction again passed us. Seeing what had taken place he grew wrathful and he scowled. As he was in great confusion, for, on the one hand he was in fear of his life, and of being captured, and on the other was the thought of how he could convey his family into safety, he lost the path of auspiciousness. At a signal from him the same executioner took me on an elephant and went off in order that he might dispose of me in a safe place and at his ease. The elephant was newly caught and vicious. The man got hurt and flung himself down, and in so doing he got kicked and swooned away. Just then the elephant made a fearful noise, and ran off, and on hearing the terrible sound all the other elephants stampeded. Soon I came to a desert where there was no sign of man. During this rapid career I flung my arms, which were tied, round the driver's neck in order that I might squeeze his throat, and that when he was done for, I might convey myself to a place of safety. The driver thought "he's trying to make fast to me." At last he perceived my object and contrived to fling himself off. The elephant continued to rush on. At break of day he halted, and I flung myself off and fell on my face and became insensible. I recovered my senses at midday. In a very weak state I managed to come to the road. A horseman came in sight, and hurried on, thinking me a stranger. I thought he was a person I knew and called out. He recognised me and made the prostration of thanksgiving. He was one of the attendants who were making a keen search for me. I returned thanks for the glorious results of my meditation on the holy personality and for the marvellous Divine aid, and got on the saddle and became joyous and thankful. Just then I heard a kettledrum. I hastened in its direction and saw 'Arab Bahādur and a party of soldiers who were looking for me. I came with him to Shahbāz K. and told him the tale of how I had been succoured by the spiritual and temporal King of Kings. All bowed their heads on witnessing this great miracle.

I magnify the multiplex, sublime influences which yield such **188** rays of guardianship for the protection and guidance of those who may be far away from the precincts of the carpet of honour, and which brighten the eyes of the hearts of the auspicious ones who are

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in the court of the Presence. Accordingly,[1] many a time during this august campaign did he cause the children who had come to despair of him to be filled with joy by the good news of his being alive and of his returning. Some of those who were sunk in the whirlpool of ignorance and who regarded the tricklings of truth as merely conventional comfortings, arose from their negligent somnolence, bedewed with shame.[2]

God be praised for that the throne-occupier of Unity in Multiplicity continually raises by wonderful contrivances the sincere to increased light, and kindles a lamp of guidance for the unfortunate who are in the gloomy abode of ignorance, and makes them acquainted with illumination. What marvel is it if the holy spirits of highly-favoured God-knowers have such wondrous power? Or how is it strange if those who rub their foreheads on the thresholds of holy souls have such joy after agony? But petty-spirited formalists from smallness of understanding imagine real excellence and spiritual eminence to exist among the rag-wearers of the desert of asceticism, and on beholding such miracles as these (in Akbar) bind thousands of loads of astonishment on the heavy-footed porters of their hearts.

Amongst the wonderful things which he (Peshrau K.) related was this: "While I was hastening along I fell in with a man in chains.[3] He took pity on my loneliness[4] and made his servant go with me. In return for his kindness I released him. On that very day just as he[5]

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[1] It is not clear whether this is a general statement or refers only to the children of Peshrau K.

[2] Meaning that when Akbar told friends or relations that some absent one would return, they thought it was merely "vacant chaff well meant for grain." This sentence seems to show that the previous sentence is a general statement and does not refer merely to Peshrau.

[3] Masalsal. Perhaps this was a revenue-defaulter. See the word used with reference to Shāh Manṣūr. A. N. III, 193. Apparently he was accompanied by his servant.

[4] This seems to refer to the time when he was travelling post and by land. If he had been in the boat (see text, p. 169) he would have had his boatmen, and perhaps the four companions whom he alludes to at p. 186. Perhaps the loneliness refers to his being in a foreign country and ignorant of the language. He had been brought up in Tabriz.

[5] The sentence is obscure, but I think the "he" in this place must refer to the servant and not to the man in chains. It looks almost as if the latter had been chained up in some place in the jungle, but allowed

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by being separated from the unfortunate one emerged from the defile of the wilds, so did I by the unluckiness of his coming fall into prison. In the beginning of that night which was followed by the dawn which released me from my deadly captivity he, with many other prisoners, was sent to the pit of annihilation. Just as I by the misfortune of his company was seized by evil, so was I by the blessing of his departure made the attainer of happiness."

One of the occurrences was the erasure of the writing of the life of Bīrī Sāl. When the light of the celestial rays, which is the shining lamp of daily-increasing fortune, made Gajpatī a vagabond of the desert of ruin, and when, though Shergarh[1] was a strong refuge, he from confusion and mortal fear and with the thorn of failure in his foot hastened to the hill-country of Rohtās, and put upon his shoulder the mantle of ignominy, his brother Bīrī Sāl and many others of the rebels put their trust in the hills and glades of the forest. Brave and active men followed and suddenly fell upon them, and he and many others were slain. Much booty was obtained.

Another event of increasing fortune was the taking of the fort of Rohtās. Whereas loyalty, laboriousness, and the non-selling[2] of service are the keys of success, and the untiers of the knots of deeds and of glorious enterprises—which worldlings regard as difficult—this fort, the taking of which by physical means was an arduous task, was easily gained and with little effort. When Gajpatī was trodden under foot by misfortune, his son Srī Rām[3] and a number

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to have his servant. He gave his servant to Peshrau and presumably departed to his home. The servant went with Peshrau. Peshrau's coming freed the servant from the necessity of staying on in the jungle, but the ill-luck of his company led to Peshrāu's being seized. Then the servant was led off to execution, and Peshrau says his departure saved him. Peshrau's story does not occur in the Lucknow edition. It is an interesting tale, but A. F. has done his best to spoil it by his turgid and staccato mode of writing. Peshrau was a title, and was apparently given on account of the courier's activity. His real name, or at least another name, was Mihtar Sáādat. See B. 497, and Jahāngīr's Memoirs.

[1] Ruined village in Shahabad district 20 miles S.W. Sāsarām. Sher Shāh built a strong fortress here which is described in the Archæological Survey. I. G. XXII. 272.

[2] *Khidmat nafaroshī.* A. F. reflects on those who, as he expresses it, sell their services, *i.e.*, do not act from loyalty but from greed.

[3] This name does not occur in the

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189 of audacious rebels collected materials of defence and established themselves in Shergarh. Shahbāz K. set himself to besiege it, and commenced to construct *sabāṭ* (covered ways), etc. Most of the rebels in the country took the highway of submission. During this interval, by the wondrous working of prestige, a fresh flower adorned the garden of wishes. The brief account of this is that when the country was without any great officer, Rohtās fell into the hands of Junaid. He made it over to one of his trusted followers named Saiyid Muḥammad. When Junaid was killed, Saiyid Muḥammad for some time guarded the fort with evil intentions. But as he had no proper backing, he thought to himself that he might, by the mediation of some influential person at the imperial court, use the fort as an offering and so become one of the imperial servants. But from abundant shrewdness he did not openly say anything. At this time the bandits of the neighbourhood of the fort, without whose concurrence it was difficult to get near the hill, were influenced by dread of the imperial army and elected to become loyal. Moẓaffar Khān also marched with the army of Bihar to take the fort. The garrison lost endurance, and they opened up a correspondence with Shahbāz K. by sending trusty men to him and making proposals for obtaining quarter. He readily acceded to their wishes, and went there rapidly with some brave men. He made the bewildered garrison joyful and returned thanks to God. Moẓaffar Khān on hearing of this delightsome conquest sorrowfully retraced his steps.

One of the occurrences was the taking of Shergarh. When, owing to daily increasing fortune, Rohtās had come into possession, the inhabitants of this mountainous tract (koh-pāya) lost confidence. Before the veil had been removed from the face of their actions, Srī Rām, their head, wisely recognised the majesty of the imperial fortune, and paid his repects to Shahbāz K. He delivered over the keys of the fort to him and amended his evil fortune.

One of the occurrences was the despatch of victorious troops to the province of Jālor and Sirohī and their being successful. When it came to the august hearing that Tāj Khān Jālorī had twisted his head away from obedience, and that Deora Rai of Sirohī was also, from ignorance, not observing the rules of servitude, Tarson Khān,

genealogical tree which I have received from the office of the Rānī of Dumraon.

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Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Hāshim Bārha, and many skilful fighters were appointed. They were to begin by using soothing and admonitory language in order that they might guide the recalcitrants into the highway of obedience. If the object could be effected by these means, which are approved by the wise, they were not to take the path of battle, but to assure them of the reward of the Divine favour. Otherwise, they were to put down their feet firmly on the field of effort, and to regard the Divine Will as involved in the cutting of the warp and woof of the existence of such turbulent spirits. The warriors soon reached Jālor, and Tāj Khān bound himself to the sad- **190** dle-straps of enduring dominion by proofs of repentance. When this business had been easily disposed of, they addressed themselves to proceed to Sirohi. The Rai of that place also awoke from his somnolent fortune, and came with an ashamed countenance to the servants of dominion. He, together with Tāj Khān, set off to perform the worship of prostration at the holy threshold. By orders from H.M. Tarson K. hastened to the government of Pattan-Gujrāt. Saiyid Hāshim and Rai Rai Singh took up their quarters in the town of Nādot [1] and made the strife-mongers of that country obedient. The roads of ingress and egress from the Rānā's country were closed.

One of the occurrences was the directing of the standards of world-conquest towards Goganda. The holy heart meditated the administration of the country by hunting in that direction, so that the disobedient there might once for all be made wanderers in the desert of failure, and also that by the blessing of the advent of the king of kings the inhabitants might choose the light of auspiciousness. In this way the spectacle of the Divine marvels would increase the enlightenment of the skilful, and the casting down of the evil, and the cherishing of the good—which are the most choice form of Divine worship, and the fountain of spiritual and secular excellences—would be accomplished on a proper scale and without the admixture caused by the courting of sellers of their services, and without the introduction of the artifices of mischief-makers. Also outward matters would be disposed of according to spiritual considerations. What a fine work this is which both bears on its face the colour of devotion, and also is a powerful help to the development of training!

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1 B. 357, J. II, 254. It is in Gujrāt.

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Though at first sight well-wishing has reference to the good, yet on profound inspection it is clear that there may be well-wishing with reference to the evil. And though at first sight it is reproof which is addressed to the disobedient and turbulent, yet in reality it is a source of bliss for such as are pure. For by the vigour of a proper investigation, the testing of the essential substance is brought to the touchstone of the balance, so that the cherishing of the first class (*i.e.*, the good) and the source of exaltation may be impressed on the mind of the superficial followers of custom. And it is clear that the assemblage of the duties of sovereignty reposes primarily on the responsibility of throne-occupiers of wide capacity who belong to the palace of Sultan Wisdom. From this view the pious King of Kings applies his own holy spirit to the disposal of matters which cannot be managed in the most excellent way by his servants. Accordingly at this time, which was the beginning of the radiation of the luminary of prestige, when a ray showed that the Rānā had lifted up his head for sedition in the southern hill country, and that Rai Narayan Dās [1] was rearing the standard of presumption in Īdar, and also that the heads of another faction were itching with pride, he resolved to go hunting [2] in that country. On the day of Mārisfand 29 Mihr, Divine month, the different grades of officers and a number of servants who had the bliss of being at court came forward in troops, adorned with steel, and presented themselves for inspection.

Verse.

The heroes were sunk in iron from head to foot,
Their appearance was like that of a mirror.
A man so encased himself in iron
That his eyelashes took the shape of needles.[3]

191 On that day the royal cavalier chiefly rode upon the elephant Bālsundar, and though the pretext of the ride was a joyous hunting-party, and only some servants of the Presence were in attendance, a

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[1] J. II, 241, where it is said that Narayan Dās was of such austere life that he lived on the grain voided by cattle.

[2] *lit.* to hunt that country as his game.

[3] *Sozan.* It also means the instrument used to clean the touch-hole of a gun.

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great army made its appearance. On 31 Mihr, Divine month (about 11 October 1576), after Divine worship—which consisted in the arrangement of outward affairs—he marched from the pleasant spot of Ajmere towards Goganda. A sublime order was given that the officers of the guard (*umrā-ī-kishik*)[1] should every day after performing their service hasten forward and become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment, and also that they should when entering on their duties of serving in the fore-court of the Presence perform the kornish. When the standards of fortune approached their destination many of the presumptuous ones of that country rubbed the forehead of obedience. The Rānā went into the hill country of contempt before the majesty of the Shāhinshāh. Out of precaution and farsightedness Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and Kūar Mān Singh with sundry of the imperial servants were sent off in order that they might go into the hollows of the hills and lay hands on the villainous dweller in ravines. Qulīj Khān, Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf Khān, Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb Khān, Timūr Badakhshī, Mīr Abulghaiṣ, Nūram Qulīj and many other strenuous men were sent on that day to Īdar in order that they might clear that country of the weeds of the ungrateful.

One of the occurrences was H.M.'s inclination towards the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. But on the petition of the officers of dominion he abandoned his intention. The world's lord in his abundant piety and recognition of the truth is ever strenuous in doing the will of God. And in spite of all his treasures, material and spiritual, he,

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1 *Kishik* is a Turkish word, meaning a baton. This obscure sentence does not occur in the Lucknow ed. Some light is thrown on it by the 9th Ain of the 2nd Book, Blochmann 257. In the Ain text this Ain is called the *Āin-i-Kishik*, and Blochmann has translated that as "Rules about mounting guard." It would seem from this chapter that guards were relieved and inspected in the evening, and the order of Akbar seems to have been that the officers should perform the kornish or the taslīm both when going off duty, and when coming on duty. The kornish and taslīm were ordinary salutes and different from the *sijda* or prostration which was only allowed to the followers of the Divine Faith, and then only in private assemblies. The phrase "become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment" seems to mean that after and before performing their ministerial duties of watching they became by appearing before Akbar guardians of enlightenment or spiritual awakening.

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owing to his wide capacity and ample talents, does not regard what he has attained to as the satisfaction (*lit.* breakfast) of his desires. And because the world-illuminating light has taken possession of his vision, he looks not at his own daily-increasing beauty, and the glance of search is ever beaming from the eastern horizon of his soul. The foot of his genius is ever in quest of the sign of the signless One (God). At this time a set of persons without ties [1] (*lawandān*) who hailed from the land of simplicity perceived the royal cavalier's eagerness for bodily acts of devotion and especially for visiting distant shrines of martyrs,[2] and suggested again to this keen traveller of the wilderness of search the pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. Though from the plenitude of his wisdom it was clear to him that pilgrimage [3] was the first step (only) for truth-seeking ascetics, and that those who had gone upon such journeys, and still more those who had reached the fountain-head of their desires, had gathered up their skirts from such earthly and formal worship and given their energies to other things. There were other tasks for the great ones of the social world, and their worship was of another character. Especially was this so in the case of justice-administering rulers, and most of all was it so in the case of such a world-Adorner who had taken the burden of mankind on his shoulders, and who, by his skilful projects, and flashing scimitar, had converted the territories of so many great princes into an abode of peace. How could such a form of worship be deemed suitable for him? Nevertheless the God-loving sovereign felt constrained to
192 fulfil every condition of solidarity, and so grasped this journey in the skirt of his energies. The Court-favourites and the sages of the holy assemblages described the devotions of the social and the recluse-state—they were already clear to his truthful mind—and represented—in the manner in which the honest and upright make remonstrances—that some of the great geniuses who had garnered truth, and who had held such journeys to be legitimate for his holy class, had made it conditional upon no dust of failure entering thereby the

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[1] Lawand is a name applied to faquirs and other religious devotees.

[2] *Mashāhad* sepulchres of martyrs, but the word martyr does not necessarily mean in Muḥammadan hagiography one who has witnessed with his blood. M'uīnu-d-dīn, for instance, died a natural death.

[3] Perhaps the meaning rather is that the first step for ascetics is the search for truth.

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pleasant abode of the cherishing of their subjects. The just sovereign, in accordance with his own lofty understanding, and for the sake of guarding the hearts of the sincere and single-minded, erased the characters of his desire from his heart-tablet.

As there[1] was a necessity for making some arrangement, his right-judging mind determined that an upright and experienced man should be sent to that country in order that, whilst the precious jewel of truth became polished by the spiritual retractation (of purpose), so also might outward performance be effected by means of this deputation. Sultan Khwāja Naqshbandī—who had an abundant portion of the above qualities—was on the day mentioned[2] appointed "Amīr-i-Ḥāj" and dispatched. He was given six lakhs of rupees and 12,000 khil'ats in order that he might distribute presents in accordance with the rules of propriety, and also might bestow gifts on those who chose to exile themselves for this long journey. An order was also given that inquiries should be undertaken and a clear list made of the recluses of that country, who from being occupied in looking after their souls, had not leisure to follow professions or handicrafts, and of the other patient paupers of the land. The object of his holy thought was that an enlightened person of the court might be sent every year to that country so that abundant provision might be made from the table of the Shāhinshāh's bounty for the needy of that country as for the necessitous of other climes. There were various classes of men in this auspicious caravan, and especially those connected with the family of contemplation and enlightenment, and those associated

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[1] The sentence is obscure, and perhaps the meaning is that as external circumstances prevented Akbar from going in person, a deputy was appointed. The "spiritual retractation" mentioned in the same sentence is in the original *bāzgasht-i-m'ānavī*, and seems to mean the return of Akbar's spirit from the Ḥijāz. Though he did not actually go there, his spirit went, or was going, and then, after the expostulations of his courtiers, his spirit returned.

[2] No day is expressly mentioned. Perhaps the date in question is that on which Akbar left Ajmere, which was 31 Mihr, or 11th October 1576. The Iqbālnāma however gives the date of Sultan Khwāja's departure as Thursday 2 Sh'ābān or 25th October 1576. Perhaps however this is the date on which the caravan and the army parted company. The Iqbālnāma adds that Akbar put on the pilgrim's dress and that he took S. Khwāja by the hand and made him his deputy.

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with demonstration and testimony (*shahūd*). Never before had there been such a coming of seekers of blessing from India to that country.

S'aādat[1] Yār Koka, Shāh Khwāja, Malik Maḥmūd, Qāzi 'Imādu-l-mulk, Maulānā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Wā'iẓ[2] (preacher) Mullā 'Abdullah Wafādār, Khwāja Ashraf, Khwāja Ḥusain 'Alī Farkhārī, Maulānā Faẓlī Naushād, Shāh Mīrzā, Jamāl Khān Bilūc were among the pilgrims. In his great kindness H.M. ordered that the officers who had been dispatched to Goganda and Īdar should act as escort. The large caravan went by the way of the Haldī pass, and proceeded with the victorious army to Goganda. They passed through the defiles and ridges and reached Panwāra. From that place Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān and Rajah Bhagwān Dās and the other soldiers who had been appointed to extirpate the Rānā, turned back and went off to Goganda. When they reached the native country of that ill-fated one, he went off to the pit of contempt and placed the mantle of
193 concealment on his head. The troops which had been sent off to march to Īdar escorted the pilgrims stage by stage aud arrived there on the day of Amardād 7 Abān, Divine month. The haughty ones of that country went off to the defiles of the hill-country, but a number of Rājpūts took post in temples and houses and resolved to die. A number of heroes such as Hīra Bhān, 'Umr[3] Khān Afghan, and Ḥasan Bahādur hastened to extirpate them. The ill-fated ones unsheathed their swords and made ready their spears and came forward to the scene of life-sacrifice. Many of the imperial soldiers turned back, but those above named brought the jewel of firmness to the magnificent market and behaved marvellously. Umr Khān and Ḥasan Bahādur drank the last wholesome draught and went to the paradise of repose. The stiff-necked and ignorant ones fell headlong into the pit of annihilation, and the city together with abundant plunder fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and they occupied themselves in keeping order and in administering justice. From thence

[1] Possibly this is the son or stepson of Gulbadan Begam. See Blochmann 443. Gulbadan B. speaks in her Memoirs of her son S'aādat Yār. If it was he, he died in 1003. A.H. A.N. III. 656. He had a sister Ḥājī Koka and a brother, whose daughter married A. F's son 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, A. N. III 579.

[2] This is the Transoxiana priest mentioned at p. 74 of text.

[3] It seems probable that this is the father of Daulat K. and grandfather of Khān Jahān Lodī. See Abū Turāb's "History of Gujarat," p. 84.

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the pilgrim-caravan moved towards Gujarat, and Timur Badakhshī and a number of officers escorted it. On account of the periods being unseasonable for the sea-journey the caravan halted in Ahmadabad.

One of the occurrences was that the far-seeing prince raised Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr Shīrāzī, who was an adept at the mysteries of accounts, to the high office of Vizier. He had formerly been appointed one of the head-officers[1] of the Perfumery department, but owing to his quickness and zeal (*josh-i-rashd*) he had disputes with Moẓaffar Khān and was dismissed. After much ill-success he joined Mun'im Khān, and when he came to court about the [illegible] his abilities became conspicuous. When Mun'im [illegible] by frighten- Todar Mal on account of questions about accounts. Though their and put chains on him. H.M. from his own words of wisdom, and the sent an order, summoning him to [illegible] the beginning of the smiling o[illegible] Manṣūr glorified the forehead of his [illegible] threshold, and without the recomm[illegible] what helps most men—and witho[illegible] regard as the evidence for pre[illegible] fluence of the Khwāja incroly abounding knowledge of H.jah minister (*Dastūr*), and though [illegible] unique one of creation puts the ordinar[illegible] into the straits of inactivity, yet from his appreciative [illegible] from his shutting his eyes to the shining of his own God-given beauty, he is ever searching for a good man (*sara-i-adam*) and continually expresses by words and acts his wish for such a choice man, and assigns to him the office of a living second soul and a third eye (to Akbar's own). But it is apparent that the incomparable Deity wills that the holy personality of the Shahinshah should come forth from retirement and seclusion, and that the disciplinary laws of mortals—which are fitted to be universal regulations, should come forth from him whom He himself hath made great, and that the world-illuminating beauty of the lord of the earth should be

Gujarat. This would give time for the caravan to come up with them. According to Badayūnī, text II. 213, Gulbadan B. and her party left Agra in 982, and he also seems to say that they reached Mecca in Sh'abān, 983. But what I think he means is that they sailed from Surat in Sh'abān, and also I think there must be a mistake in his dates and that 982 and 983 [illegible]ld be 983 and 984, unless indeed

[1] *I'shrāf-i-iṭrīyāt.* Apparently his appointment was that of accountant to the department (Mushrif). See Blochmann 430.

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impressed on the hearts of small and great. If such a wise man of wide capacity and the unique of the unequalled court—such as H.M. is looking for—were found, a number of short-sighted persons belonging to the world of formalism would adopt the injurious idea that those great laws emanated from this man's wisdom! Though the wise of the age do not see the propriety of the Unique one of God's having a Vizier, yet as H.M. observes the connection between spiritual and temporal things and preserves both of these high matters, he on the day of Gosh 14 Abān, Divine month, appointed the Khwāja to this high office. Although he possessed no share of the [illegible]nt sci[illegible]s, yet he was at the head of the first-rate men of the and ridg[illegible] and [illegible]s, Khān and Rajah B[illegible] in speech and in action, and together with these appointed to extirpate [illegible]ide capacity.

Goganda. When they reach[illegible] was that when he encamped at the town one, he went off to the pit of [illegible]Khān, Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Mashhadī,
193 concealment on his head. The tr[illegible]n and the officers of the province of march to Īdar escorted the pilgrims Each of them was the recipient on the day of Amardād 7 Abān, [illegible]he degree of his loyalty. For some of that country went off to the defi[illegible]s by the Shāhinshāh, and the con- of Rājpūts took post in temples and h[illegible] supervised. Bahādurs such as number of heroes such as Hīra Bhān, 'Umr[illegible]a, Mujāhid K. and Subḥān Bahādur hastened to extirpate them. Th[illegible]-Raḥmān son of Muyīd Beg, their swords and made ready their spe[illegible]-d-dīn Beg, and others were left scene of life-sacrifice. Many of the[illegible] were appointed to other places in but those above named brought[illegible]ked strife-monger (Rānā Partāb) should come out of the ravines of disgrace he might suffer retribution. When the holy mind had disposed of the affairs of that region, he on the day of Mihr 16 Āzār, Divine month, proceeded by way of Bānswāla (Bānswāra) towards Mālwa. His whole wish was that the country might obtain justice by the blessing of his advent, and that the general community might, under the shadow of his graciousness, obtain rest and repose.

195 One of the occurrences was that Quṭbu-d-dīn K. and Rajah Bhagwant Dās were censured. The brief account of this is that the leaders of the army of fortune had reached the abode of the Rānā. As no trace could be found of that turbulent one, they hastily, and

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[1] Mohanī of Badayūnī. [2] J. II. 274. It was in Sarkār Citor.

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without orders, came to court on hearing of the approach of the royal standards. As the observance of the orders of the Sultanate rests, in the first place, on great commanders, and in the second on the inferior servants, they were excluded from the bliss of doing homage and were reproved. When they showed signs of penitence (lit. when the characters of repentance were clear in the lines of their foreheads to correct readers of such marks), and had made confession of their shortcomings, they were permitted to present themselves.

One of the occurrences was that while the sublime cortège was passing through Udaipūr, reports came from Gujarat to the effect that a set of ignorant persons had vexed the pilgrims by frightening them about the officers of the Feringhi ports. Though their pure highnesses [1] were addressing them with words of wisdom, and the

[1] *Ḥaẓrāt Qadsī*, lit. holy Presences: cf. Ḥaẓrāt Begamān A.N. 66, l. 5. I think this expression must refer to Gulbadan Begam and the ladies who accompanied her on pilgrimage. If it does not refer to them it must mean either the holy persons such as Sulṭān Khwājah and the Maulvis who were with the pilgrims, or some other noble ladies who were in the caravan. But I am doubtful if the phrase "holy Presences" would be applied to Sultan K. and the Maulvis, and we do not hear that any ladies of high rank, except Gulbadan B. and her party, went on pilgrimage at this time. Then also there were two ships engaged, and one, the Selīmī, was only for the ladies. Surely only ladies of Gulbadan B. and other Begams' rank would be allowed the privilege of a separate ship. The difficulty is that Gulbadan and her party left Fatḥpūr long before the caravan, but then Badayūnī tells us that they were detained for a year in Gujarat. This would give time for the caravan to come up with them. According to Badayūnī, text II. 213, Gulbadan B. and her party left Agra in 982, and he also seems to say that they reached Mecca in Sh'abān, 983. But what I think he means is that they sailed from Surat in Sh'abān, and also I think there must be a mistake in his dates and that 982 and 983 should be 983 and 984, unless indeed his 982 only refers to the end of that year and to the journey from Agra to Faṭhpūr. Certainly A. F. says, III. 145, that Gulbadan B. and her party left Fatḥpūr in the end of Mihr of the 20th year, *i.e.*, about the middle of October 1575 or Sh'abān 983. Niẕāmu-d-dīn also, Elliot V. 391, puts the departure into the 20th year, and he seems to connect it with the appointment of a Mīr Ḥāj. If then, as Badayūnī says, Gulbadan B. and her party had to wait a year in Gujarat, they would not sail till October 1576 or Sh'ahān 984. Badayūnī says that they performed four

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imperial officers were encouraging them, the generality refused to be comforted. In his great kindness H.M.[1] could not allow this company of voluntary exiles to be left in distress. Accordingly he summoned Qulīj Khān, who held several of the parts of Gujarat, to come to him by relays[2] of horses from the camp at Īdar, and then he sent him off to Gujarat in order that he might go as far as the seashore and soothe and assist the pilgrims.

[The Iqbālnāma seems to clear up the difficulty about the ladies having started long before the caravan, for it says expressly that Qulīj K. arranged for the departure in the ship Selīmī of "the chaste ladies of the harem who had started before" (the caravan).]

By the might of the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh he in a short space of time performed that excellent service. The secluded ladies[3] of the court of chastity sailed in the ship Selīmī, and Sultan

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ḥajas or pilgrimages, and that they spent a year at Aden on account of their having been shipwrecked, and returned in 992 (1584). A. F. says, III. 385, that they spent 3½ years in the Ḥijāz and were detained for seven months, on the return voyage, at Aden. If they left Surat in Sha'hān 984 they probably would be in time for the Ḥaj which took place in the last month of that year. The other three ḥajas would be those of 985-87. 988 began in February 1580, and this might bring them to Aden in April of that year where Bayāzīd found them. (A. S. B. J., vol. 66, Part I, for 1898).

[1] Possibly the meaning is that the ladies could not leave the other pilgrims behind.

[2] *basp-yām.* The text wrongly has bām. See P. de Courteille's Dict. Seeing that Qulīj K. was at Īdar in Ahmadabad Sarkār, J. II. 252, and only 40 kos from Aḥmadabad (Badayūnī II. 241), and that Akbar was at Udaipūr, one might have expected that the order would have directed Qulīj K. to proceed direct from Īdar to Surāt. But it appears from Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 403 and 404, that Qulīj was brought to Akbar by the messenger, who was 'Alī Murad Uzbeg (Badayūnī II. 243), and that the meeting took place in Banswāra. From there Qulīj K. went to Surat and with the assistance of a Cambay merchant named Kalyān Rai got passes for the ships and had them dispatched.

[3] I think this must be Gulbadan and the other ladies. It appears, Elliot V. 402, that the vessels sailed from Surat. According to Niẓāmu-d-dīn 336 and Badāyūnī II. 242 the difficulty was about getting passports (qaul) from the Portuguese. Qulīj K. with the help of Kalyān Rai arranged matters. Badāyūnī says, II. 242, that Kalyān Rai was a *baqāl* (shop-keeper) of Cambay.

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Khwāja and the other officers made the voyage in the ship Ilāhī. The Christian rulers and the chiefs of every country regarded the advent (of the pilgrims) as an honour and gathered the materials of eternal bliss.

One of the occurrences was that while the splendour of the august standards was casting glorious rays on the territory of Bānswāra, Rāūl Pertāp the head of that district—who was always stubborn—and Rāūl Askaran ruler of Dūngarpūr and other turbulent spirits of that country came and paid the prostration of repentance. Inasmuch as H.M'.s nature is to accept excuses, and to cherish the humble, he accepted the shame of their having rendered little service, at the rate of good service, and took the life, the honour and the country of this faction under the protection of his justice and kindness. They were exalted by special favours.

One of the occurrences was that the Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān[1] came and did homage. He brought 65 elephants out of the spoils of the 196
eastern provinces, and gave wonderful accounts of those regions and of the good services of the devotees of their lives. There was cause for thanksgiving to the unequalled Creator.

One of the occurrence was that troops were appointed to Goganda. At this time it came to the august hearing that the Rānā had again made the hills and defiles means for turbulence and was engaged in evil thoughts. On the day of Dībmihr 15 Dai, Divine month, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kūār Mān Singh, M. Khān the son of Bairām K., Qāsim K. Mīrbahar, and a number of experienced men went off to that country. By the great attention of the Shāhinshāh that country was cleared from the thorn-brake of rebellion, and adorned by just subjects.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal and 'Itmād K. Khwājasarā arrived in Bānswāra from Bengal and did homage. They presented glorious spoils of that county– among them were 304 noted elephants—and praised the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune as shown in the success of the imperial servants, the failure of foes, the cleansing of the country from ingrates, and the repose of the inhabitants.

1 B. 443.

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One of the occurrences was that in Dīpālpūr, Raḥmān Qulī K. Qūshbegī (falconer) arrived from the Ḥijāz and did homage. He produced before H.M. the petitions of the *Sharīfs* and other officers of that country. H.M. stayed some days in that neighbourhood for disposing of various matters of administration.

One of the occurrences was the mission of Rajah Bīrbar and Rai Lankaran to Dūngarpūr. The brief account of this is that the Rajah of that place had from his good fortune petitioned through some intimates of the court that his daughter—who was one of the distinguished of the age for chastity and wisdom—might be included among the palatial servants (*i.e.*, might be married to Akbar). In this way a rare jewel would find its proper place, and also a great help would be given to his (the Rajah's) relations. H.M. had regard to his loyalty and granted his request. Those two confidential servants were given leave in order that they might convey in a choice manner the secluded one to the harem of fortune.

One of the occurrences was that on the day of Farwardīn 19 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a report came from Rai Rai Singh, announcing the conquest of Sirohī and the taking of Abūgarh.[1] The brief account of this is that the Rai of Sirohī Sultan Deorah from his ill-fate, and native savagery, came to his own country with
197 an evil intention. At a signal from H.M., Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Hāshim and other servants went to conquer that country, and to punish that evil-disposed person. They began by entering the country and by besieging him. As the fort was strong, and he was without calculating reason, he thought that the lofty hills would protect him, and his arrogance increased. The warriors took up their abode there and proceeded to act leisurely instead of rapidly. Rai Rai Singh sent for his family from his home. He whose fortune was slumbrous (the Rai of Sirohī) attacked the caravan on the road with a number of determined men. Many Rajputs who were with the convoy and under the leadership of Raimal fought bravely and there was a great fight. Many fell on both sides, but by the blessing of daily-increasing fortune that audacious highlander was defeated and became a vagabond in the desert of failure. He abandoned Sirōhī and went off to Abūgarh. That country (Sirōhī) came, by the excellent conduct of the servants, to be in-

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cluded in the imperial dominions, and they hastened towards Abūgarh.[1] The real name of this place is Arbūdā Acal (here A. F. spells the words), and it had been converted by men's tongues and by time into Abūgarh. They say that Arbuda is the name of a spirit who comes in a female form to guide those who have gone astray in the desert of search. Acal means a hill, and the idea is that that pure form is specially associated with the place. Abūgarh is near Sirōhī, and on the borders of Ajmere towards Gujarat. Its extent is about seven kos. On the top of the hill the Rānā built in former times a sky-high fortress. The road to it is very difficult. There are springs of good water, and sweet-water wells, and there is sufficient cultivation to support the garrison. There are various flowers and odoriferous plants, and the air is very pleasant. Wealthy people have for the sake of spiritual welfare erected temples and shrines there. The victorious bands came to the fort by the aid of daily-increasing fortune, and so strong a fortress, such as great princes would have found it difficult to conquer, came into the hands of this party of loyalists with little effort. S. Deorah was bewildered by the majesty of the Sultanate of the Shāhinshāh and fell to supplications. He took refuge with the auspicious servants, and made the key of the fort the means of opening the knot of his fortune, by delivering it to them. Rai Rai Singh left the fort in charge of able men, and proceeded to court along with the Rai of Sirohī.

One of the occurrences was the sending the army of fortune to Khāndesh. Rajah 'Alī Khān, the ruler of that country, being backed up by the other rulers of the Deccan, was remiss in his obedience and service. The world's lord, in his abundant graciousness which shows itself to high and low, appointed on the day of 198
Bahrām 20 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a suitable army under the charge of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, to proceed to that province. Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān, Shuj'aāt, Bāqī K., Naurang K., M. Nijāt K., 'Alī Dost K. and many others were appointed to this service. The order given was that they were in the first instance to address awakening words to the slumbrous in the desert of folly and to bring them to the city of truth, and make them flower-

[1] B. 358, n. 1, and J. II. 251. It is Mount Abu.

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gatherers in the garden of good service. If from an evil star they remained in slumber, the troops were to exert themselves to clear off the rust from those darkened ones by the flashings of Indian swords. They were to make over the country to just and disinterested men, and to protect the subjects generally, who are a trust from God.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal was dispatched to the province of Gujarat. When it came to the august hearing that that territory was in a disturbed state owing to the carelessness of Wazīr K., he bade skilful and trusty men to go there quickly and endeavour to put it into order with the aid of the officers of the country. He hastened there and showed the jewel of his abilities to mankind. The inhabitants and the visitors to the province enjoyed prosperity.

One of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K. came to Dīpālpūr from the eastern provinces with the success due to his good services, and did homage. When the capture of Rohtās, his victory over Gajpatī and his other good services became known to H.M., an order was issued that he should make over Rohtās to Muḥibb 'Alī K., and come to court. On the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, he rubbed the forehead of devotion on the threshold of fortune, and was exalted and encompassed by royal favours. As H.M. was desirous that the world-conquering armies should proceed with all expedition to the Deccan, and make that land a station of peace and a centre of justice, he signified to him that he should see to the equipment of the army and put it on a proper footing. He performed this service in accordance with the order and made the kornish when H.M. was at the capital.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Īdar. It has already been mentioned that when the star of the Rai of that country sank into the horizon of ruin, H.M., by constraint of the principle that just princes are the physicians of the world, and the *ḥakīms* of horizons, sent thither an army of strenuous men. If conciliatory language had no effect they were to erase the picture of his existence from the page of creation. The ignorant man in his baseness and wickedness made the admonitions a cause of obstinacy. When Qulīj Khān was called away to the ports of Gujrat, he (the Rai of Īdar) indulged in worse thoughts, and by his own efforts became stained with the dust of dishonour. The brief account of

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this heavenly aid is as follows. The Rai made those two things 199
(the admonitions and departure of Qulīj K.) a cause of increased presumption, and let a veil fall over his vision. In a short time his senselessness became intoxication, and from his not seeing the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar), Āsā Rāwal collected some daring men, and came out of the defiles to deliver battle. The imperial servants went to meet him. On the night of Gosh 14 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, they left Sher K. with a body of troops to guard the camp and proceeded to the field of battle. Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Aṣaf K. commanded in the centre. Timur Badakhshī commanded the right wing, and Mīr Abu-l-laiṣ the left wing. M. Muqīm Naqshbandī, Nūr Qulīj, Dhīra Parmān, Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn and others were in the van. Shimāl K., Gadā Ālī and others formed an ambush (kamīn-gāh). The enemy formed two bands and came on quickly. M. Muqīm and some of the *āzīs* of the van displayed activity, and Moẓaffar advanced from the centre. The brave men of the victorious army loosed their rein and rushed to do battle. The daring Rajpūts made ready their spears and encountered them. There were wondrous hand-to-hand combats. The jewel of courage was brought to the test and acquired fresh brilliancy.

Verse.

Drums thundered, the battle began,
Swords were drawn, heroes strove.
Blood flowed like wine, their cries were the orchestra,
Daggerhilts were the cups, arrows the dessert (naql).

In spite of being wounded in the arm Nūr Qulīj did not restrain his hand from battle. Moẓaffar fell to the ground from the onset of the Rajpūts, but was rehorsed by brave men. Dhīra Parmān behaved courageously. During this contest the van was put into disorder, but the abovenamed preserved their honour and stood, sacrificing their lives. M. Muqīm drank the wholesome sherbet of death, and Quṭb K. one of his companions also played away the coin of his life. At the time when the van was discomfited the victorious troops pressed forward. The foe did what they could, but had to fly. The imperial servants, by the blessing of daily-increasing aids, 200
became successful in the midday of despair, and exulted joyfully.

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When the news of victory reached the august ear he returned thanks to God. The courageous servants were distinguished by royal favours.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

Beginning of the 22nd Divine year, viz. the year Dai of the second cycle.

The justice-loving sovereign performed the devotions of the solitary and the social state in the vicinity of Dīpālpūr under the veil of hunting, and produced harmony between the material and the spiritual life. He gave inward rank to what was external. The joyousness of the equable spring disclosed the face of delight, and the courts of bliss were thrown open. The time of largesses received new lustre. On the night of Monday 20 Ẕī-l-ḥaja (11 March 1577) after seven hours, twelve minutes, the sun cast his rays upon Aries .....

Verse.

By the writing of power the world became like the picture gallery of Mānī,[1]
The garden by wisdom's light became like the thought of Avicenna,
You'd say the earth from joy was like the sky,
You'd say the sky bloomed like a garden.

One of the occurrences was the departure of Māhī[2] Begam to the spiritual world. That nursling of the rose-garden of the Caliphate was the grand-child of Rāwal Harrāj the ruler of Jaisalmīr. Regarding the dust-bin of the earth as a granary of grief, she on 18 Farwardīn, Divine month (28 March 1577), turned her face from the outer world, and did not gather flowers in a fading garden for a 201
longer space than a year.

[1] The painter and heretic. There is an account of him, taken from Khwandamīr, in Meninski pref., p. 57, ed. 1780.

[2] This was a daughter of Akbar. There is no mention of her in the T. A. Nor is the name of her mother known.

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Verse.

Deep is the ocean round this isle,
Black the earth and dark the water:
By the departure of that flower of paradise,
The boat was broke in the wave of the heart.

The ladies displayed much grief and shed many tears. How shall I write of the state of the world's lord? It comes not within the mould of description! From the grief which that fountain of graciousness used to feel for the deaths of the children of his servants, the acute may in some measure conjecture what he felt for the death of his own child. But he infolded himself with patience, and chose the pleasant abode of composure.

Verse.

May the King live for ever in good fortune.
May there be to him the freshness of tiara and throne.

In the beginning of this glorious year the fortress of Būndi[1] was taken, and Daudā the son of Rai Surjan received his deserts. Previously an army had been sent against him, but as it appeared that this force did not act honestly, Zain Khān Kokāltāsh was sent off on this service from Rāmpūr on the day of Bahrām, 20 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to 10 Muḥarram 985 (30 March 1577). There were sent with him Rai Surjan the father of Daudā, Bhoj his brother, Rām Cand, Karm Sai, and others. An order was also given that the officers formerly employed in this service should co-operate and exert themselves in carrying out the work. In a short time the fortress of Būndī was taken, and Daudā betook himself to the ravines of the hill-country. When the country had obtained repose, Zain K. Koka, by H.M.'s orders, left Bhōj and other warriors to protect it, and proceeded to court in company with Rai Surjan. At the first stage he heard that there were disturbances in the country and was obliged to return. The brief account of this is as follows: Many of the soldiers had fallen into poverty from staying long in that hill-country, and when the Koka went off, the evil-disposed portion of the army raised a report that Daudā was coming, and

[1] Rajputana Gazetteer, I. 203.

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set about plundering. The Urdū bazār (camp-market) and much of the city were sacked. The officers out of fear and ignorance were on the point of coming away. The Kokaltāsh returned and took up his quarters there. By the Divine help and by wisdom he got the upper hand over pleasure and preferred hidden service 202
to personally waiting upon H.M. He despatched Rai Surjan to court with some spices[1] (*maṣāliḥ*) and set about putting the country into order. Neither outward want of equipment nor the general want of heart affected him, and the dust of dissension was at once laid. Joy returned to the despondent, and the wicked gossips sunk into contempt, while the rebellious received proper punishment. On the day of Gosh, 14 Ardībihisht, Divine month, the fort of Ranthanbhor became the seat of the tents of victory. The world's lord ascended the castle and reposed for a time in the palace of Rai Surjan. From thence he proceeded to Fatḥpūr, and when he arrived there the high officers did homage, and every one was the recipient of favours. On the night of 31 Ardībihisht, Divine month, the city received glory from his advent.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Zain K. Koka at court, and his communicating to H.M. the account of his victory. It has already been mentioned that he took up his quarters in Būndī and applied himself to clearing out the places in that country. Many of the soldiers had from the deficiency of means of livelihood taken to evil courses. That turbulent one (Daudā) whose fortune was somnolent did not pay attention to the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and did not take into account the victorious troops, and grew presumptuous. He collected some vagabonds and raised the standard of insolence on the top of the hill of Ūntgardan (camel's neck). That is a lofty hill and one difficult to surmount. His sole idea was that he might take advantage of an opportunity and do some damage to the victorious camp. Zain K. Koka arranged his warriors in three bands and pushed forward He inspired many warriors to advance to the heights, and he himself

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1 *Maṣāliḥ* means spices, but its occurrence is somewhat curious. The word also means employments, and the meaning here may be that Surjan was sent on some business to court. Or perhaps the word is used instead of *maṣaliḥguzār* and means peace-makers.

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together with Rai Bhōj and with the assistance of the mountaineers fared bravely forward. They had passed through the defiles and come near the summit, when the enemy became aware of them and made an advance. There was a fire of musketry, and by the blessing of the daily-increasing fortune three noted men among the foe were slain. The others gave way. On seeing the glory of the Divine aid the Koka pressed on still more, and when the base
203 one (Daudā) was with a party of audacious ones making a disturbance, he arrived at the spot, and there was a hot engagement.

Verse.

From the arrows and shields that were displayed,
No longer a desert, it became a flower-garden.
The violet-swords gleamed,
The ensigns robbed the eye of sight.

By good fortune and a happy star the foe became blistered of foot in the stony tract of failure. A hundred and twenty of their noted men fell in that engagement. The haughty and presumptuous mountaineer was defeated. When the country was cleared of the dust of rebellion it was given in charge to Rai Bhōj. Zain Khān did homage and was encompassed with royal favours.

Among the occurrences was the revision[1] of the management of the treasury. By the orders of King Wisdom, the care of property, and the increase of finances are, in the code of princes, a choice form of the Divine worship of the capital of the social state. Though the sublime genius of the world's lord addresses itself, in consequence of his position as caravan-leader of the spiritual world, to the true object of worship, and has erased fictitious pictures from the portico of his vision, yet he regards the observance of the rules of the outer world—which are the adornment of lofty minds—as right and proper, just as secular princes do. From such practice no dust settles upon his holy environment, nor does any mist arise in the rose-garden of his One-ness. Hence it is that the religion of this unique one of creation, unlike the devotion of worldly contemplators, needs no

[1] The first examination of the treasuries was made by I'tmād K., B. 13 and n. There were no less than twelve treasuries, id. 14.

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supplementing.[1] Every portion of the time of this celestial walker runs over with supplications and peculiar devotions, and produces in the outer world without the veil of hesitation or delay, the calm which is the proper condition of the social state. Ṣādiq K., Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr and some other honest and able men—who were abodes of trust, and balances (*qisṭās*) of knowledge—were sent from Fatḥpūr to Agra in order that they might inspect the public treasuries and test the treasurers and accountants, and custodians. On thorough inquiry the officials were found to be upright and were rewarded by favours and confidence.

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[1] *Qaẓa nādarad.* For Qaẓā see Hughes' Dict. of Islam. It is praying or fasting to make up for omissions.

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CHAPTER XXXV.

(This chapter begins with the account of the appointment of S'aīd Khān[1] to be atālīq or tutor to Sulṭan Daniel. The author indulges in a page of rhetoric about the qualifications necessary for such an office. He then proceeds to say, "S'āīd K. accepted with thanksgiving this great boon, and made great feasts, and tendered suitable presents. His quarters were made glorious by the advent of the prince.")

One of the occurrences was an outbreak of pimples in the body
205 of Prince Sulṭan Selīm. This began on 12 Khurdād, Divine month, and was accompanied by fever. The loving lord bent in meditation over the pillow of the nursling of fortune's garden and read in the pages of fate that he would be cured. So also did the ascetics, the astrologers, and the soothsayers, give tidings of joy. But as skilful physicians were not confident in diagnosing the disease, the ladies of the harem and the servants in general were not reassured. During this state of suspense an eruption (*judarī*) showed itself, and the physicians also now said that he would recover. In a short time it dried up, and a feast was held in honour of his recovery. The world rejoiced, and the auspicious gained knowledge about H.M.'s acquaintance with hidden things, and made the prostration of benediction.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of letters from the Niẓām-al-mulk of the Deccan along with presents from that country. Bāqī[2] K. had been sent to him as the bearer of valuable counsels, and he on receiving the orders of the imperial court sent his trusty servant Wafā K. along with Bāqī K. On the day of Dai ba mihr, 15 Khurdād, Divine month, they performed the kornish, and noted elephants and rarities of the country were produced before H.M.

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[1] B. 331.

[2] So in text, but I. O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma have Ṣānī Khān, and this is probably right. Ṣānī K. was a Persian and a Shi'a, and so likely to be acceptable to the Aḥmadnagar court, see B. 476, whereas Bāqī K. was a Sunnī.

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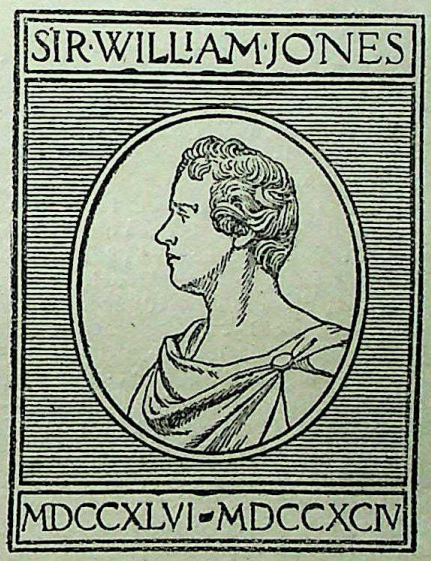

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One of the occurrences was that Shaikh[1] Jamāl Bakhtiyār was saved from danger of his life by the blessing of the holy spirit of H.M. In this saltpit of a world it has long been usual that when a ruler admits some favourite to his intimacy, his real friends and well-wishers assist in his advancement, while a number of ill-conditioned servants, and enemies in the guise of friends, are, owing to the disease of envy, ever striving to throw down the chosen one. He, however, by the blessing of his special connection (with the ruler) rejoices in the Divine protection. In accordance with this blameworthy custom many narrow-minded and envious ones were annoyed by the elevation of the Shaikh and took advantage of the carelessness of the butler to poison his drink. As soon as he swallowed it, there was a change in his condition. Dārāb,[2] who was one of H.M.'s prominent servants, out of friendship drank some of the same fluid, and he too at once fell into a confused state. They remained for a day and night in a dangerous condition. When H.M. heard of this he employed medical remedies, and also somewhat of spiritual medicines, and by the blessing of his **206** attentions they recovered.

One of the occurrences was an increase of the disturbance of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. When the world-conquering standards displayed the conquest of Gujarāt, each of the Mīrzās received his punishment and was an outcast in the desert of ruin. Gulrukh Sulṭan Begam, the mother of Moẓaffar Ḥusain, by skill and strenuous exertions, carried off the inexperienced boy to the Deccan, as has already been related. As he had turned away his face from the altar of fortune, the stewards of fate stained him with the dust of despair. As in that country (the Deccan) the thorn of unsuccess entered the foot of his desires, he, at the instigation of some evil-

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[1] B. 425. B. says his sister was superintendent of Akbar's Harem but the Maaṣir II. 564 says that she was one of Akbar's wives. At p. 266 it says she was *sar-āmad maḥalāt*, which probably means that she was chief wife, or favourite. Her name was Gohara-n-nisā.

[2] There is the variant Rūp, and this is the name given in Maaṣir, II. 566, and in both the I. O. MSS., Dārāb looks like a title and an inversion of ābdār. He is perhaps the Rūp Khwāṣ of Jahangir's Mem. (Price's translation), p. 35. He is there mentioned as a man of great courage, but an incorrigible drunkard. He was a Muḥammadan.

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disposed persons, perceived Gujarat to be vacant and proceeded thither. The tongues of the praters of futilites in the by-lanes waxed long. When H.M. heard of this occurrence, he, on the day of Mihr,[1] 16 Khurdād, Divine month, issued an order that the high officers should regard the suppression of the disturbances in Gujarāt as of more importance than the conquest of Khāndes, and should proceed to the former place. That crew from their being unable to comprehend the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, considered that the performance of the service (of conquering Khāndes) was beyond their capacity and so were procrastinating. Moreover, the ebullition of cupidity had come to such a pitch that they thought that they could by talking largely get money from the rulers of the country and lay foundations of a peace. By such political treachery, which in fact was the digging up the foundation of their own happiness, they thought to gild the palace-roof[2] of their fortunes.

Verse.

Aha for the vain thought, Aha for the impossible fancy !

They were whispering such disloyal things in Bījāgarh when the holy mandate arrived. They blessed their good luck a thousand times at having gained their object, and every one of the crew went off to his fief. As their intent was polluted, the work which they had rejected[3] was successfully carried out without their assistance. Why did they grieve[4] and lose courage ? If grief had seized those

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[1] The two I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have "Zamīyād, the 28th Khurdād."

[2] Referring to the proverb about destroying the foundation and ornamenting the roof.

[3] The expression *khidmat-i-marjū*, lit. "the returned service," is obscure. Perhaps it means the service in Gujarāt, and the sense is that this work was after all done without their help. It might also possibly mean that the service of returning from Bījāgarh was successfully accomplished without the assistance of Quṭbu-ddīn and the others who had gone off hastily to their fiefs in Gujarāt.

[4] Apparently the officers were distressed about the disturbances in Gujarat. A. F. asks why were they distressed? They had gained their object, viz. to get money from the rulers of the Deccan, and there was no time for lamenting that they had not conquered the country as they could not do so then, and the opportunity for the conquest had not come. Moreover the failure had been

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shortsighted shopkeepers because they had let drop from their hands the guiding-thread of their trade, it would have been intelligible. But where at that moment was the time or the opportunity for this? The rulers of the Deccan, who had been made uneasy by the approach of the world-conquering troops, obtained repose, and from far-sightedness they did not content themselves with what they had given to the officers, but also sent the rarities of the country along with diplomatic men to the sovereign court.

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the result of their own misconduct. A. F. seems to be referring especially to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. who, according to the T. A. Elliot, V. 406, left the other Amirs and went off to his *jāgīrs* of Broach and Baroda on account of the inroad of Moẓaffar Ḥusain. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 257. The expression "Where at that moment was the time or opportunity for sorrow?" perhaps means that the officers had got what they wanted, viz. bribes.

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CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GLORIFICATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD BY THE SWORDS OF WAZĪR K. AND RAJAH TODAR MAL, AND THE DEFEAT OF MOẒAFFAR ḤUSAIN M.

(This chapter begins with the usual reflections about the misery of every one who dared to oppose Akbar. The author then proceeds to mention the case of Moẓaffar Ḥusain as a fresh instance of this).

The brief account of this event is as follows: Wazīr K. was
207 not efficient in the matters of organizing the soldiers, comforting the weak, and extirpating evil-doers. Before this catastrophe (of Moẓaffar H.) occurred, H.M. had sent to this province Rajah Todar Mal who was one of the unique of the world for ability, service and courage. He was to exert himself in the task and was to compose the distractions of the province. The Rajah quickly arrived there and strove in a laudable manner to give the country repose. He first went to Sultānpūr and Nadurbār and made proper arrangements. After that he settled the affairs of Surat. Then he transacted the affairs of Broach, Baroda and Campanīr and came to Aḥmadabad. He was, in conjunction with Wazīr K., engaged in administering justice there when the tumult of disaffection rose high. Mihr Ālī Kūlābī, who was a servant of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain, joined with some other evil-disposed persons like himself and brought that inexperienced youth from the Deccan to Gujarāt. They kindled the spark of sedition in the neighbourhood of Sultānpūr. Some of the comrades of 'Ārif and Zāhid, the sons of Sharīf,[1] K., placed the stain of infidelity on their foreheads and joined Mihr 'Alī. When he came to the neighbourhood of Baroda, the *dāroga* (police-officer) of the city lost courage and left the place, and that great city was lost without a battle. Bāz[2] Bahādur came out with a force, but owing to the baseness of his servants he could effect nothing. Wazīr K. was preparing to shut himself up in Aḥmadābād, but

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[1] B. 383 Bāz Bahādur is the only son of Sharīf mentioned by B.

[2] B. 465.

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Rajah Todar Mal with the help of the Shāhinshāh's fortune exerted himself to clear up affairs. He came out of the walls and prepared 208 for battle. He marched towards Baroda, and when he encamped within four kos of the town (*qaṣba*), the enemy lost heart and went off towards Cambay without giving battle. The victorious army slowly followed them. The enemy learned the state of affairs and recovered courage and halted near Cambay and raised a disturbance. Saiyid Hāshim[1] the Khālṣa 'āmil came out at first and showed praiseworthy vigour; but on account of the great number of the enemy he had to take shelter. When the imperial forces approached, the enemy abandoned the siege and hastened to Jūnagarh. On the day of Zamiyād, 28 Khurdād, Divine month, the officers arrived in the territory of Dūlaqa and adorned the battlefield. Wazīr K. commanded the centre; Khwāja Yaḥyā Naqshbandī, Wajīha-ul-mulk, and others ornamented the right wing; Rajah Todar Mal, Rūp Rai Gujrātī, Shaikh Walī, Bipāk Dās, and some brave men were on the left wing. As cowardice and double-facedness darkened the condition of the army, the enemy turned, and planted the foot of courage. Their whole idea was that as soon as the forces were face to face, most of the imperialists would join them, while some would take to flight, and that Wazīr K., and the Rajah, and some others would be killed. Their great endeavour was to dispose of (*dar cāra-garī*) the Rajah, for they knew that in his force there were men who were enemies of their own lives, but friends of their honour. Accordingly the Mīrzā proceeded in a languid manner against Wazīr K., while Mihr 'Alī, who was the substance of the sedition, went against the Rajah with the cream of his troops.

Verse.

When army encountered army,
The combatants advanced on each side.
So hot was the fire of battle
That sparks came from the horses' hoofs.

The Rajah stood firm and showed the countenance of victory. The heroes displayed devotion and thanksgiving to God. Eighteen

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[1] B. 419.

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noted men among the foe went to annihilation, and after much fighting the enemy cast away his honour at the "Avaunt" of the Shāhinshāh's fortune. He was defeated in the most shameful manner. The soldiers of the right wing had fled without making a proper fight. Most of the centre behaved in the same way. Wazīr K. with a few loyalists exhibited devotion, and his life was
209 nearly ended in good service. Suddenly Rajah Todar Mal arrived with a thousand hearts after having defeated his opponents. All at once the woof and web of the presumptuous evil-doers were severed. Many were killed and many were caught by the lasso of disgrace. Moẕaffar Ḥusain M. hastened away to Jūnagarh with a few men of ruined fortunes.

Verse.

Whoever survived retired in such fashion
That he must needs be sorry that he lived.

There was a great victory, and much plunder fell into the hands of the victorious officers. (Here follow some twelve lines of rhetoric about the advantages of fidelity). They sent reports to H.M. together with choice elephants along with Dhārū.[1] There was much thanksgiving to God after receiving the news of this great boon, and there was general rejoicing. At this time also there arrived the ambassador of Sultan[2] Ḥusain M. from Qandahar. They performed the prostration. The gist of the embassy was the renewal of the bonds of friendship and service. The appreciative sovereign granted the desires of the ambassadors and gave them leave to return.

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to guide aright Rajah Madhūkar.[3] It is a rule of administration and world-government that the infatuated and presumptuous should be brought to their senses by reproof and chastisement, and be guided to the path of service, and that the garden of sovereignty should be made

[1] Todar Mal's son, B. 352 and 465.

[2] Son of Bahrām M. and nephew of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. B. 313, who says he died in 984. Apparently this should be 985. 984 is the date given in the Maaṣir, III. 296.

[3] B. 356 and 488. R. Maḍhūkar was a Bundela and chief of Undcah (Orcha). He was the father of Bir Singh, the murderer of A. F.

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verdant by increasing the honour and dignity of the awakened-hearted, so that both the obedient and the recalcitrant may receive their deserts, and that supplication and thanksgiving to God may 210 be properly performed. Accordingly, as at this time the aforesaid zamindar had, owing to the extent of his country, the number of evil and daring dependants, the inaccessibility of his territory, the want of wisdom and the friendship of flatterers, deserted the highway of obedience, and become a traverser of the desert of destruction, Ṣādiq K., Rajah Askaran,[1] the Motha Rajah,[2] Ulugh K.[3] Ḥabshī and other heroes were, on the day of Ormuzd, 1 Tīr, Divine month, nominated to arouse that haughty highlander from the sleep of ignorance.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Dastam K. to the government of Ajmere. H.M. perceived in him the indications of subject-cherishing and justice, and so increased his dignity. He assigned the Sarkār of Ranthambor to him as his fief, and sent him away to protect the province.

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One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rai Lonkaran[4] and Rajah Bīrbar. It has been mentioned that these two trustworthy servants had been sent from Dībālpūr to do honour to the Rai of Dūngarpūr. On the day of Rām 21 Tīr, Divine month, they returned and conveyed the chaste pearl to the holy harem. Society was adorned, and the spiritual world ornamented. The unique pearl arrived at the treasury of truth, and a great support was provided for the family.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Shahrukh M. That cupola of chastity the Khānim, who was the Mīrzā's mother, had from farsightedness and intelligence perceived

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[1] B. 458. He was an uncle of Bhagwān Dās.

[2] The "fat Rajah." His name was Udai Singh and he was a son of Māldeo. B. 429.

[3] B. 437.

[4] This is a nickname meaning the salt-maker because he was Rajah of the Sāmbhar lake. They had gone to bring the Rajah of Dūngarpūr's daughter to Akbar to become his wife.

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the characters of spiritual rule, and the letter of the enlightenment of the outer world on the holy forehead of the Shāhinshāh, and had formed a close intimacy with him from her early years. But she was terrified on account of the proceedings of M. Sulaimān, and did not know what impression he might have made on H.M. or what representations word-spinners might have made to him. She thought that anything which had displeased that material
211 and spiritual ruler would injure the honour and life of Shahrukh M. She thought also that if H.M. considered her to be the cause of the disturbance she would be disgraced for ever. In the bottom of her heart too was the idea that the world's lord might take the Mīrzā for his son[1] and exalt him. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg and M. 'Ashaq conveyed her and her son's petitions on 1 Amardād, Divine month, and H.M. in his abundant gentleness and old affection graciously received her excuses. He made the envoys joyful and then dismissed them. Also at this time Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk arrived from the Deccan. He had been sent to guide 'Ādil Khān of Bījāpūr. He performed that service and tendered 'Ādil Khān's supplication. Rashīd-al-mulk, who brought the petitions and the rarities of that country, was duly honoured.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of 'Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān with a friendly letter and noble presents. On account of the daily-increasing fortune of H.M. there had previously been an endeavour (on 'Abdullah's part) to establish friendship (lit. there had been a shaking of the chain of friendship) but because H.M. had thoughts of conquering his ancestral[2] territories, and on account of the revelation of his ('Abdullah's) proposals, H.M. had not paid much attention to the ambassador. For a long time he was busy[3] in camp. For instance, there was the turmoil of the victorious army during the first expedition to Gujarat. The masterpiece of Sarnāl astonished the ambassador, and when H.M. returned victorious, he, at the request of the officers of state,

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[1] *Farzandī* sonship. Her idea was that he might make him his son-in-law, as indeed afterwards happened for Akbar married him to his daughter Shukru nisā.

[2] This refers to Akbar's idea of reconquering the countries which had belonged to his grandfather.

[3] *Takāpūī dāsht*. Possibly this means that the ambassador had gone about with Akbar in his expedition.

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wrote a reply and sent him off. In order that the correspondence might be severed, no one was sent from the court along with him. When he returned to his country, he reported the wondrous fortune of the spiritual and temporal king of kings. The ruler of that country had regard to final consequences and had recourse to entreaties, and wrote warmer expressions of supplication, and exhibited the appearances of sincerity. The gist of his language was that the world-conquering sovereign should make an expedition from India to Persia in order that they might by united efforts release 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Fārs from the throne occupant thereof. The world's Khedive in his liberality and gentleness received the envoy graciously and dismissed him after making him happy. He sent M. Fūlād [1] with him, along with some of the rarities of India, and so soothed the Turanians. The reply he wrote was that the dynasty in question (the Persian dynasty) was specially connected with the family of the Prophet, and that on this account he could not regard a difference [2] in law and religion as a ground for conquest. He was also withheld from such an enterprise by old and valued friendships. As in the (i.e. 'Abdullah K's) letters (lit. nosegay) of friendship the 212
ruler of Iran had not been mentioned with honour, H.M. conveyed to him valuable admonitions in reproof thereof.

[1] This is the M. Fūlād who was afterwards put to death for murdering Mullā Aḥmad of Tatta, a Shia and one of the authors of the T. Alfī. B. 206. See the account of the murder in the A.N. III, 527. Badayūnī, Lowe 278, mentions M. Fūlād Barlās' being sent on an embassy to 'Abdullah K. along with Khwāja Khāṭib, but he puts it into the year 987. i.e. the 24th year of the reign. Perhaps this was a second embassy. See also Elliot v, 413, who puts the embassy into the 25th year. Elliot has here a reference to A. F.'s letters, Daftar iv, but there is no Daftar iv, and the letter conveyed by M. Fulad does not occur in A. F.'s correspondence. The remark however about the king of Persia's being connected with the family of the Prophet occurs also in the letter conveyed by Ḥakīm Hamām in the 31st year, A.N. III, 499.

[2] From the tenor of 'Abdullah's proposals it looks as if he had been under the impression then that Akbar was a good Sunnī. Probably Akbar did not undeceive him.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

Another visit of Akbar to Ajmere.

As the expeditions of just rulers are a source of soothment to mortals, and are market-days of justice, H.M. always was disposed to travelling and hunting (*sair u shikār*), especially when in this way he could make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some great ascetic. Hence he every year visited Ajmere. On the night of Bād 22 Shahriyūr [1] (about 2nd September 1577), Divine month, he mounted his horse and proceeded to the holy place. On the day that he halted at the stage of Karoha [2] he calmly mounted the elephant Ran Sangār, whom experienced men would not approach on account of his being violently *mast*. That riotous one submitted to the might of H.M's fortune, and the spectators were filled with astonishment. The superficial were astonished, but the farsighted and clear of heart rejoiced in accordance with their knowledge. Some learnt one of the thousand laudable qualities of H.M., and some emerged from the ravine of denial and entered the rose-garden of devotion. Wonderful acts were always oozing forth from the great man. Among them was that during this campaign Fatḥ [3] K. the leopard keeper was in despair about an illness of his eyes. Becoming hopeless about physicians he had recourse to supplications, and H.M. cured him by breathing on him with his Messiah-like breath. Ostensibly he cured him by using the lancet, but the physicians did

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[1] Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Akbar started at this time as the month of Rajab was at hand, in which was the anniversary of the saint's death. In 985, Rajab began on 14 September 1577. A. F. states below that Akbar reached Ajmere on 4 Mihr, which about corresponds to 14 September.

[2] Badayūnī text, ii, 243, calls it Maḥal Karoha and a dependency of Basāwar. It was here that a theft of books, described by Badayūnī, occurred. In A.N. II, 350, Karoha is mentioned as the 2nd stage from Fatḥpūr and before Basāwar.

[3] B. 523.

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not set up their acquired knowledge against the wisdom that was the gift of God, and performed the prostration of supplication.

One of the occurrences was the coming to an end of the life of Shaikh Aḥmad[1] the second son of S. Selīm of Fatḥpūr. He was distinguished among the men of the world for many exquisite qualities. He did not speak ill of people, nor was he made melancholy by beholding so much improper conduct. His walk and conversation were modest and sedate. From his fidelity and good service he was ranked among the Amirs, and was appointed guardian of the eldest prince. He caught a chill in the Mālwa campaign. Owing to carelessness and not listening to advice he came to the capital, and there his illness ended in paralysis. In this year, when the world-conquering standards were proceeding towards Ajmere he was brought before the world's lord, and after making the prostration he took his final leave. When he arrived at his house he expired. Hurrah for the fortunate one who 213
rendered up his unstable life at the feet of his teacher and king! If he had staked that precious coin (his life) in carrying out the service of dominion he would have brought the jewel of manhood and right thinking to the court of manifestation. At any rate the veil over his reputation for good service would have been rent. Inasmuch as the prosperity of double-faced ones and of fair-weather friends is great this positive statement does not suit every ear. But that great knower of unity, the fortunate one and appreciative of fidelity—whose name forms the title of this book—has gathered up the tricklings from his clear soul and expressed his approval.[2]

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[1] B. 475.

[2] A. F. became more and more tortuous and enigmatical as he revised his history. These reflections do not occur in the Cawnpore edition and so, I presume, they were added in one of the revisions. I am doubtful if I have understood the paragraph, and I think the text must be corrupt. In one place I have followed the I.O. MSS. and deserted the text. This is at the sentence beginning *u garna* "otherwise" and which I have taken along with *bārī* and rendered "At any rate." The text has *darīda amida* as if the meaning were that if S. Aḥmad had lived, the veil of his honour might have been rent, i.e. he might have behaved badly or been disgraced. But both the I.O. MSS. have a negative *nyāmida*, and I think the meaning is that whatever happened, Aḥmad would never have behaved badly, or been exposed. Then I think A. F. goes on to say, this is

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One of the occurrences was the elevation of Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī to the government of Multan. H.M. gave him leave after communicating to him valuable instructions about protecting the helpless and punishing the wicked. He on receiving these exerted himself to carry them into practice.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal from Gujarat, and his being received with royal favours. When the royal cortège was at Básàwar[1] the Rajah and many of the chief officers kissed the threshold. The Rajah told a thousand stories of the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, and produced many of the evil-doers—of whom Dauda Beg was the ringleader—in chains. As they were not worthy of life, they were capitally punished. In accordance with former arrangements the settlement of the affairs of the Viziership was made by him (Todar Mal). Good laws were introduced by the blessing of H.M.'s paying attention to the subject.[2]

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a bold statement to make when there are so many two-faced people about, but I am supported by the approval of Akbar. In this paragraph there occurs the curious phrase *ashnāyān-i-sirpūl* which I have translated as fair-weather friends. It literally means acquaintances of the Bridge-end (or head).' *Sirpal* means to "stumble" but the Bib. Ind. points the word as *sirpūl*. *Sirpal* also means "faithless."

[1] This was on Akbar's way to Ajmere. According to the T.A. Abū Turāb came there too.

[2] Though the chapter ends here, the arrival of Akbar at Ajmere is described in the next chapter. A great part of chapter 38 is a parenthesis about the affairs of Gujarat occasioned by the arrival of Todar Mal when Akbar was on his way to Ajmere.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

The stirring up of strife by Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. for the second time, and his failure.

May Almighty God not bestow a depraved intellect, for a thousand evils are engendered by it, and the ruin of the world results from it! And if one would be protected from this evil, he must abstain from the society of the wicked. for many who are sensible and far-sighted are changed from good to evil by the companionship of those disordered ones, so that peace ends in discord. The wise have called the nature of man "A robber in secret." Involuntarily he assumes the character of his companions, and approves in himself what has excited disgust when seen by 214
him in his contemporaries. The case of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. is a new instance of this as he, though of noble nature and clear soul, wrought his own downfall by association with the wicked. Inasmuch as there was something auspicious in his constitution, he saved his life, while the evil-thoughted went to the pit of destruction. At the time when that happened to his father and grandsire, which has been described, it was fitting that he should not slumber in the hot abode of insouciance. But from the pressure of turbulent and unwise men, among whom Mihr 'Alī was the ringleader, he dropped the reins of good guidance, and stirred up the dust of strife. By the Divine help this was laid in a short space of time. When Rajah Todar Mal went to the threshold of fortune from Gujarat, those evil-disposed men did not take a warning but again made the Mīrzā a pretext for wickedness. First, they opened the hand of oppression against the traders of Cambay, and got possession of a great deal of property. Wazīr K.[1] in reliance on the Divine power marched out of Aḥmādābad and hastened to that district. In Pīrpūr[2] his confidence was shaken by the disgraceful conduct of

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[1] B. 353 (Vair K.).

[2] There is the variant Bīrpūr, and apparently this is correct. J. II, 253.

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the comrades of Bāz Bahādur. He marched out of Sarnāl in order to fight. Most of his base servants were slaves of gold and left him and joined the enemy. Wazīr K. on seeing this became very meditative, and as the notes of disloyalty appeared on the forehead of his servants he turned back and shut himself up in Aḥmadābād. On the day of Dībāẕar 8 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the illfated scoundrels commenced the siege. Many of the waiters upon events joined the enemy and eagerly prosecuted wicked ideas. The condition too of the fly-natured garrison was also perverted. Wazīr K. with distinguished loyalty endeavoured at an improvement in the position. He put some into chains, and others he encouraged to do battle. When he despaired of visible help, he resolved upon dieing and awaited the wondrous fortune (of H.M.). As he was apprehensive about the two-facedness of the garrison he changed the guards of the bastions every day. At the time when things had become difficult on account of attacks by day and night, the light of heavenly aids shone forth, and the enemy became stained by the dust of failure. The brief account of this is that on 15 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the enemy plotted with the men inside and made an assault. They placed ladders and were about to succeed. Many of the self-opinionated obtained (they thought) their desires and opened the hand of plunder, and others were on the point of doing so. A musket-ball from the house of fate reached Mihr 'Alī, and all at once that ringleader of the turbulent passed to the silent abode of annihilation. On beholding this wonder of the daily-increasing fortune that dishonourable crew lost courage at the very crisis of their activity. In great confusion they fled to
215 Nadarbār. But none of the garrison came out as they feared that there was some stratagem. When a watch of the following day had passed, the truth of the world's lord's good fortune was impressed upon all, far and near. Mankind hastened to supplicate the Almighty, and prayed for the eternity of the unequalled dominion.

Verse.

For ever, whilst by the influences of sun and rain,
The zephyr causes the mouth of the rosebud to smile:

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May the lips of thy desire ne'er be closed against smiling,
May thy fortune bring thy adversary to punishment.

Two things are the source of prosperity and auspiciousness. One is a wise heart, and the other an eye which accepts warning. Whoever from an inverted fortune is void of those two precious things will soon descend into the pit of annihilation, and become disgraced for ever and ever. The case of Mihr 'Alī shows this. He did not perceive the glories of the Shāhinshāh's fortune and stirred up a disturbance. In a short space of time he was smitten by the archers of destiny, and took his place in eternal destruction. If he who is in reality of auspicious mind fall for some days into the desert of wandering owing to bad companionship, he is melted in the crucible of failure so that the evil alloy may be removed and he be tested. Accordingly the adventures of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. illustrate this. At the instigation of small-minded, evil persons he went a wrong course, and blistered his feet in the stony tracts of despair. But as he was constitutionally good, the Divine protection took charge of him and made him the subject of princely favours—as will be related in its place.

One of the occurrences was that Moẓaffar K. was exalted by prostrating himself at the holy threshold. It has been stated that as a retribution for his actions he had been kept at a distance. Owing to his happy star he in the dreadful wilderness of disappointment addressed prayers to H.M., and with energy, service and obedience united intellect and valour.....When the jewel of his good service had been submitted to the assayers of the Caliphate, a ray of kindness fell upon him and he was summoned to court. On 29 Shahriyūr, Divine month, he came from the province of Bihar, and did homage at Hāns Maḥal. He presented as peshkash the rarities of that region, and distributed four lacs of rupees. The throne-occupant exalted him by kindness and increased his dignity, and issued an order that he should minutely inquire into the affairs of the empire, and observe the rules of justice. Rajah Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr were to perform their duties in consulta- 216
tion with him. On 4 Mihr, Divine month, the delightful city of Ajmere was brightened by the arrival of the royal standards. H.M. hastened to the holy shrine and worshipped the incomparable Deity. Those who waited for his holy advent gained their wishes.

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Also at this auspicious time the officers of the court weighed[1] the sovereign against gold and other articles, and satisfied men by abundant gifts. First that river of bounty distributed heaps of gold and silver, and afterwards the officers in accordance with an intimation from him made donations of money. Also at this time on account of the enlightenment and truthfulness of Muḥibb Ālī K., the son of the Mīr Khalīfa, he bestowed on him a glorious robe of honour, and gave him permission always to present the petitions of the people and also to communicate what occurred to his reflection as proper to be done.

Although the constant alertness of mind of the world's lord is such that he transacts all the business of the empire with the same completeness and efficiency, that lofty geniuses and farseeing and laborious men carry out one item of work, yet he from abundance of wisdom and knowledge of mankind and for behoof of the general public walks warily in this fashion. Seemingly it is an injunction of King Wisdom that just rulers and other great ones who have a multiplicity of engagements should not be contented with their own acumen and ability, but should also permit some prudent and well-conditioned man to make representations to them, so that at a time when there is press of work, or when wrath is in the ascendant—which sometimes causes the foot of the wise to slip—he may lay before them suitable considerations. O God, grant that while sun and shade exist, and while there are rain and verdure, this chief of Solitude and Society may shed his light on the spirits of men and on the horizons!

Verse.

O God, while the heavens exist,
Do not empty the world of this king,
Let the spheres be as the seal of his ring,
Let the key of the universe be in his sleeve.

One of the occurrences was the death of Mujāhid Beg the grandson of Khwāja Kalān Beg. He had been appointed to be

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[1] This was the weighing which took place on 5 Rajab, the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the lunar calendar. B. 266. It nearly coincided with the *'urs* or anniversary of the death of the Ajmere saint which occurred on 6 Rajab, J. III, 362.

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thāna dār of Mohī in the province of Ajmere. Kuar Mān Singh and many brave men had gone into the defiles of the hills. In the beginning of Mihr, Divine month, the Rajputs of that quarter had come and plundered some of the protected[1] settlers on the newly cultivated lands. On hearing of this insolence he had become vexed and gone out rapidly and without sufficient equipment. After behaving with Rustum-like courage he travelled to his final bourne, and gained an everlasting name.

On 17 Mihr, Divine month, H.M. ascended to the summit of the fort of Ajmere and dispensed his graciousness to the sleepers **217** there.[2] Near the tomb of Ṣaiyid Ḥusain Khangsawār he halted and paid his devotions. On that night, he, until sunrise, kindled the lamp of truth and guided the auspicious ones of the holy throng. The fortunate and enlightened listened to many physical and spiritual truths. As the architecture-loving heart of the Shāhinshāh perceived substantive defects in that celestial fortress he directed the officers to exert themselves to repair it. In a short time the work was completed in a most excellent manner. On 22 Mihr he left that bounteous place and proceeded towards Mīrtha. Ostensibly he was recreating himself with hunting, but in reality he was dispensing justice and acting according to the Divine Will.

While there he considered the appointment of a caravan-leader for the pilgrims, and on 2 Ābān he appointed Mīr Abū Turāb to that select service. He belonged to the Salāmī Saiyids of Shīrāz. His grandfather Mīr Ghīāṣū-d-dīn—May God establish him—who was known as Ṣaiyid Shāh Mīr, and who was fully possessed of the acquired sciences, came (to Gujarat) in the time of Sulṭān Quṭbu-d-dīn the grandson of the Sulṭān Aḥmad after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and then returned to his own native land.[3] He came again to Gujarat to the dominions of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begarha at the time of the commotion of Shāh Ismʿail (Ismʿaīl I). He was accompanied by his two sons Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn and Mīr Quṭbu-d-dīn, and

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1 *Zīnhārīān*, "Persons under protection." But there is also the reading *dīhahaī* "villages."

2 Apparently what is meant is that he said prayers (fātīḥa) for the repose of the souls of departed men. It was Tāragārh that he visited. The shrine of the martyred Ṣaiyid Ḥusain is still there. See Rajputana G. II, 16.

3 Blochmann 506.

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settled there and died there, after leaving a good name. Mīr Abū Turāb the son of Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn[1] obtained reputation in that country, and when Gujarat came into the possession of the imperial servants he was distinguished by favours from the shadow of God (Akbar), and had the bliss of becoming a disciple. When he obtained this service (that of Mīr Ḥāj) five lacs of rupees and 10,000 *Khilāts* were made over to him for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Ḥijāz. I'tmād K. Gujrati, who had for years desired to visit those shrines, also got permission to depart. Owing to the outpourings of the river of kindness large numbers of men joined the pilgrimage with proper equipment. To the *sharīfs* of that land—who had always sent representations, and the rarities of the country—there were sent a lac of rupees and splendid goods.[2]

One of the occurrences was the committing the government of Gujarat to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. As it became known that Wazīr K. did not observe the laws of equity, and that the country was suffering in consequence, he was superseded, and the post was
218 conferred on the aforesaid Khān who was distinguished for his knowledge of affairs, industry, justice, and tenderness to the subjects, and he was transferred to this great office from Mālwa. A rescript was issued, and it was accompanied by sage instructions. Qāsim K., Ṭāhir K., Saif-al-mulk, Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb K., Qamar K., Fīrūz, Shaikh M'uāẓẓam, Shaikh Junaid and other servants of the Presence were sent, in order to promote the tranquillity of the country. An order was issued that when the new governor arrived in the country, the Wazīr K. should come to the borders of Idar and take charge of affairs there,[3] and that the rest of the former officers should proceed to Court.

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[1] According to Abū Turāb's own history, p. 17, recently edited by Dr. Denison Ross, his father's name was Quṭbu-d-dīn, and Kamālu-d-dīn was his uncle. See also Rieu's Persian Catalogue, III 967*b*.

[2] In the first book of A. F.'s letters, immediately before the letter to Goa, there is a letter to the Sharīfs of Mecca. But it was written several years after this time, and mentions the year 989.

[3] The text is obscure, but the Iqbāl-nāma says that Wazīr was to come to Īdar and control the borders. The same authority adds the epithet Kabulī to the name of Fīrūz, mentioned in text. Perhaps the meaning of the passage about Wazīr is that he and Shihābu-d-dīn were to meet at Īdar and hold a conference.

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One of the occurrences was the sending of troops to extirpate the Rānā. As the most choice form of devotion in the social state is to cause the obedience of the proud and stiff-necked by suitable admonitions and vigorous plans, and if advice and rebuke are no successful, to remove such from existence so that there may be no crevice in unity, and that the pleasant abode of the world may not be stained by the confusion of plurality, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kanwar (Kuar) Mān Singh, Payinda K. Moghul, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Rājū, Ulug Asad Turkamān, Kajra Cohān and other loyal warriors were in the year and month above mentioned despatched to carry out this great work. Shahbāz K. Mīr Bakhshī was appointed to command the force, and the execution of the task was committed to him.

Under the guise of the enjoyment of hunting a successful termination was put to the distractions of the province (Rajputāna), and enterprises which in former times had not been accomplished after thousands of endeavours were now achieved by H.M.'s giving a slight and subsidiary attention to them.

(The chapter concludes with a rhapsody about Akbar's graciousness, and how even wild animals were conscious of his benignity. But the only instance given is that a deer used to eat grain out of his hand. Observing that his courtiers marvelled at this, Akbar remarked that it was not extraordinary if such things occurred, if one did not ill-treat animals and spoke kindly to those dumb creatures. Such behaviour was an attractive force which caught the heavens and the stars in the noose of love !)

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

Concerning the education of H.M.'s auspicious sons.

219 The just world's lord continually exercises far-sightedness in judging of the grades of mankind, and so keeps the garden of promotion fresh and verdant. He knows the tests for men and bestows power upon them in accordance therewith. Just as it is indispensable that the cupbearer of the royal feast should judge of the drinking-capacities of men, and distribute the man-trying world's wine in proportion thereto, so does the ruler of the age in the plenitude of his perspicacity carry out this principle in the most choice manner. Some he raises to dignities step by step, and some whom he has found worthy of greatness are at once raised by him to the pinnacle of honour. As at this time, which was the beginning of the spring of daily-increasing fortune, he perceived in the characters of his sons the rays of intelligence and of apprehension of truth, he disregarded the tenderness of their years and raised each of them to a lofty dignity. As the household cavalry numbered 12,000 and were known by the name of Aḥadīs, and as no commander or *amīr* had a higher rank than that of 5000, the rank of Sulṭan Selīm was fixed at 10,000, and H.M. said that from observing the obedience, good disposition, prudence, and endurance of this nursling of dominion he made over the whole of the army to his charge. Prince Sultan Murād was made a commander of 7000, and Prince Sultan Daniel a commander of 6000 . . . .

220 Though the sovereign went on, stage by stage, in the enjoyment of hunting, yet all his energy was devoted to the capture of hearts. Spiritual and temporal ministrations issued from time to time from the fount of enlightenment, and good actions adorned the age. At the stage of Bāmrī[1] (?) which is a dependency of Mīrta[2] it was brought to his notice that the country was lying waste

[1] There is the variant Māmrī. I have not identified the place. It is perhaps Bārmer.

[2] I. G. and Rajputana Gazetteer, II. 261 also Tod's Rajasthan. It is in Jodhpur. In J. II. 277 it is

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owing to the bad condition of the reservoirs. In his abundant graciousness he visited the neighbourhood, and distributed active workmen among the officers. By one day's digging moisture was bestowed.

Verse.

The tanks shone like hearts' tablets,
They appeared like mirrors of wisdom,
Their limpid waters were like eyes,
Every drop was a hundred pearls.

One of the occurrences was the sending of a body of brave men to the province of Ajmere. When Shahbāz K.'s report was read and it appeared that he wanted some experienced men to take charge of the passes, Shaikh Ibrāhīm Fatḥpūrī was sent there with troops in order that he might take post in the territory of Lādlāī[1] and reduce to obedience the recalcitrants of that country, and that Shahbāz K. might exert himself in suppressing the Rānā.

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spelt Merath and placed in Sarkār Nāgor.

[1] B. 403. The text has Lawalālī. Maaṣir, II. 571 in its account of S. Ibrāhīm has Lāḍlāī. Perhaps it is the Lāroālah of J. II. 203, and if so, was on the Betwa and in the Sarkār of Canderī and province of Mālwa. But the context implies that it was in Rajputana. S. Ibrāhīm was the nephew (sister's son) and son-in-law of S. Selīm who gave his name to Jahāngīr. See Ṭabaqāt A., Newal K. ed., 485. Lawalāli occurs again at p. 236.

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CHAPTER XL.

Expedition of H.M. to the Panjab, the appearance of the comet, etc.

When the affairs of this part of the country (Ajmere) had been properly disposed of, H.M. resolved to march to the Panjab, and while enjoying hunting to compose the distractions of that province. On 9 Ābān, Divine month, he encamped at Māhrōt.[1] From a desire to cherish the lowly he visited the dwelling of Narāyan Dās the
221 brother of Rūpsī. On the 27th he encamped at Amber,[2] and on the same day the ambassadors of Quṭb-al-mulk[3] produced choice presents. Among them was the elephant Fatḥ Mubārak, who was renowned for his violence so that professional drivers were afraid of mounting him. When he was brought before H.M., he quickly mounted him, and made him obedient. The spectators were amazed, and were almost ready to vacate their bodies on beholding the might and majesty of the sovereign. What is wonderful in his performing such marvels, or what extraordinary in his subduing such wild animals ?

One of the occurrences was the guidance given to Rajah Todar Mal. Just as he was one of the unique of the age for practical wisdom, and trustworthiness, so was he at the head of mortals for superstition and bigotry. His rule was that until he had performed in a special manner his idols-worship, and had adored them after a thousand fashions, he would not attend to business nor eat or drink. Suddenly, in the turmoil of moving the camp, the idols of that simpleton were lost. In his heartfelt folly he abandoned sleep and food. H.M. had compassion on him and administered consolations to him. He recovered somewhat and addressed himself to his duties.

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[1] In Ajmere J. II. 273.

[2] The old capital of Jaipūr.

[3] The title of the Golconda Sultans. The Sultan here meant was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh who died in 1581.

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One of the occurrences was the laying the foundation of the fort of Mūl-Manahar-nagar. Inasmuch as H.M. is disposed to cultivate the soil (*gil*) as well as to civilize the soul (*dil*), he continually decks society and solitude by building up these two great places of worship. At this time, while he was at Amber, it came to his hearing that there was an old city in the neighbourhood, the ancient greatness of which was now recorded by a mound of earth. He resolved upon reviving it, and on 29 Ābān he, in an auspicious moment, laid with his august hands the foundation of that fortress. He nominated several officers to execute the work, and in a short time it was completed in an excellent manner. He associated it with Manahar[1] Dās, the son of Rai Lonkaran, the Zamīndār of the place, and gave it the name of Mūl-Manaharnagar.[1]

One of the occurrences was the appearance of a comet[2] after the sun had sate on the throne of the West.

Let there be a description of this phenomenon for the purpose of feeding the lakelet[3] of discourse!

When the rays of the world-warming sun fall upon moist 222
earth, heat is generated by that great luminary, and particles of the water become light and float upwards. They mix with the atmosphere and rise high. Such mixture is called vapour (*bukhār*). When the dry ground becomes heated by the sun, the supply of moisture which is hidden therein becomes united with the dryness, and from the influence of the heat the earthly particles get burnt

[1] He was a poet and wrote under the name of Tausanī (a mettled steed). He was also called Muhammad Manahar. See Badayūnī III. 201. For Manoharpūr, see I. G. XVII, 200. It is 28 m. N. N. E. Jaipūr. Tiefenthaler I. 323 mentions a town called Monoarpur 15 leagues N. Jaipur, and calls it a "ville de marque" and says it had a fortress. See also B. 494, n. 2, Lowe 238, and Elliot V, 406, and Errata, vol. VIII. Perhaps it is the Manoharnagar of J. II. 277. There is a reference to Rai Manahar in Price's Jahāngīr 33, and in the Tūzuk, p. 8. See Rogers' translation, pp. 17 and 321.

[2] *Ẕū ẕanab*, lit. possessed of a tail. This is the comet of 1577 described by Cornelius Gemma who was a professor of medicine at Louvain, and published his book at Antwerp in 1578. He died of the plague in the following year. His engraving of the comet has been reproduced by Guillemin. It passed its perihelion on 26 October, 1577 (B.B.R. A.S.J. XXI, 146).

[3] The text has *dibāca*, preamble but the variant *dariyāca* is supported by the I.O. MSS.

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and so their levity is increased. They then mix with the atmosphere and ascend. This mixture is called smoke (*dukhān*). Each is of two kinds. One becomes fixed in the ground and produces fountains, cavities (*kānhā*) and earthquakes. The other spreads over the surface of the earth and ascends. From it are produced clouds, rain, storms, thunder, lightning, and the like. Treatises on natural history describe these things clearly. I now proceed to refresh the garden of my discourse with an account of the production of those wonderful phenomena (comets).

Be it not concealed from the listeners to knowledge that whenever Mars is predominant in a country, the latter becomes arid, and thick vapours and smokes rise up in it. Especially is this so if Mars be in the tenth house of the horoscope of the year or season, and if that house be windy, or fiery and malific, and the moon, or Mercury, be windy, so that he (Mars) may regard them with a glance of affection.

Assuredly, the crops will then become bad, and there will be the elements of a famine. There will also be sicknesses, predominance of wrath, and the snapping of the thread of inquiry. (Wisdom-seeking).

In fine, when the viscous and hairy vapour first rises from the ground and joins the first stratum[1] of the atmosphere, viz. that which is mixed with fire, it assumes beauty, just as the smoke of an extinguished lamp becomes illuminated when approached by a lighted candle. It is then called a meteor (*shihāb*), also a shooting-star, and when it descends towards the earth, the vulgar think that a star is falling. If its beauty does not become so great, it, on account of grossness, does not flame, but still it is consumed. On account of the varieties of the atmosphere it assumes various forms. Thus it becomes hairy, or it acquires a tail, or it holds[2] a spear, or resembles a horned animal, etc.

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[1] It is stated in the Ain, J. III. 38, that Fire is the first elemental sphere, and that its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon.

[2] *Neza badast*. Cf. J. III. 38, n. 3. The word used in the Ain is *niyāzik*, the pl. of *nezak*, a short spear or javelin, and J. translates this as the "Zodiacal light." But A. F. is there treating of the notions of the Greeks, not of the Hindus and it does not appear that the Greeks had observed the Zodiacal Light.

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According to differences in its quality, it is either quickly consumed, or it lasts a long time. Occasionally terrible red or black appearances are observed in it. If it is dense, the red appearances excite dread, and if it become yet denser then black appearances inspire fear. Such forms were called in ancient language ṣawābī[1] i-najūm and ẕūāt al-aẕūāb.[2] Each one of them had a different name in accordance with its difference in form. For instance, they called the hairy one ẕū-ẕūāba and the tailed one ẕū-ẕanab. In Hindi (i.e. Indian) books they reckon the number of forms as more than one hundred.[3] In Greek treatises seven kinds are enumerated, and they are all regarded as of the natures of Saturn and Mars. The *ẕū-ẕūāba* (possessed of forelocks) and the *ẕū-ẕanab* (the tailed) are regarded as the most malefic. Ptolemy says that the ẕū-ẕūāba and the sun are eleven Signs apart. Some of the Greeks are of the opinion that the ẕū-ẕūāba show themselves in the morning towards the east, and that the ẕū-ẕanab appear at evening towards the west. Seemingly, this idea is the result of repeated observations. The sages of India have divided them into **223** two classes, according as they are benefic or malefic. All agree that their influence affects the country across whose zenith they pass, or where they are visible to the inhabitants, and that it depends on the

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Probably then all that A.F. means by *niyāẕik* is spear-shaped comets. The next word, which Jarrett translates by luminous streams, is *umidha* اعمدة in the original, and this is the plural of paucity of عمود pillar. The next expression is ẕūāt al qarūn, lit. possessed of horns, but which J. renders "meteors." This corresponds to the *ke shākhhā dāshta bāshid*, "which possess horns," of A. N. III. 222, eight lines from foot. In a MS. of the Ain in my possession there is no conjunction between *umidha* and *ẕūāt-alqarūn*, so that the phrase reads "horned pillars." There is an account of a comet in the Tūzuk Jahāngīrī 250, Elliot VI. 363.

[1] *Ṣuwābet* is given in Meninski as meaning a shooting star (stella volans), and this seems to be the meaning here. It therefore cannot be derived from *Ṣābit* fixed. It is perhaps derived from the root *ṣaub* and means retributory. The expression then may mean the retributory stars, comets being regarded as sent as punishments. The I.O. MSS. have *ṣuanī*, *ṣawānī* ثوانى which is the plural of *ṣāniyat* a second (of time) (seconds).

[2] Possessed of forelocks.

[3] In the Ain it is stated that the Hindus reckon the number of comets, meteors, and the like, as a thousand (see text of Ain II. 24, and J. III. 38).

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nature of the Sign in which they appear. They move according to the rapidity of the fiery sphere. Their effects depend upon the length of their appearance. Their wondrous[1] influences are detailed in old books in a manner which cannot be described here. Among them was the hairy comet which appeared in the Hijra year 662,[2] when the sun was in the Sign Leo. On that night there was a lunar[3] eclipse to the extent of eleven digits $\frac{11}{12}$. More extraordinary still it was as large as a man's head, and smoke issued from the top of it. It passed to the countries of Tibet, Turkestan, China, Kāshghār, Farghāna, Transoxiana, and Khurāsān, and was visible for eighty-five days. There were disturbances in all these countries. In Transoxiana and Khurāsān the events connected with Qāīd[4] and Borāq and others illustrate this subject. Accordingly for a long time people reckoned their years and months[5] from it. In 803 (1400) a tailed comet appeared in the zenith of Asia Minor (Rūm). Maulāna 'Abdullah Lisān, and Muḥīu-d-dīn[6] Maghrabī and other astronomers of the time represented to Ṣāḥib Qirān (Timur) that it appeared from the sayings of the wise that an army from the east would conquer that country and capture its monarch. That brightener of the face of Fortune had always meditated a campaign into that country, though his feeble-minded companions did not approve of it. He proceeded thither and impressed on the minds of high and low the brilliancy of his design, and the deep discernment of the astrologers. In the year 837 (1433) a tailed comet appeared in the

[1] *Nairangī-aṣar.* Cf. B.B.R.A.S. XXI, 146 n., where the word *nairang* is taken to mean incantations.

[2] 1263-64. It appears from Pingre's Cometographie I, 406, ed. Paris, 1783, that this comet belongs to 1264. It appeared in France in July of that year.

[3] *Kusūf.* This is usually applied to eclipses of the sun, but as this occurred during the night I suppose the moon is meant. Perhaps however *zer-i-zamīn* means the underworld.

[4] The Kaidu and Borāk of Ney Elias' introduction to the T.R., pp. 34, 35. Kaidu was a grandson of Oktāī, and Borāk a great-grandson of Caghatāī. He died in 1270. See also Vambéry's History of Bokhara, 152, 153.

[5] *Sāl u mah-ī derīn.* I.O. MS. 236 has *salmah.* The expression means a date and also perpetually.

[6] An anachronism unless there were two persons of that name. Muḥīu-d-dīn Maghrabī lived in the time of Hulagū (1260). See D' Herbelot's article Mohieddin, and J. II. 19, N. 1. I cannot find Maulānā 'Abdullah Lisān.

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first degrees of the Sign of Libra near the Northern Crown. It used to rise and set there. When some days had elapsed a singular movement of it took place. It became spear-bearing (*nezadār*) and went off to a distance from the Northern Crown, and in eight months it disappeared. A great pestilence occurred in Herat and its neighbourhood. Every day more than a thousand persons died. M. Ibrāhīm,[1] the ruler of Fārs, M. Baysanghar Arghūn[1] the Shāh of Badakhshān and S. Zainu-d-dīn Khāfī[1] died during this calamity. The contest between M. Shāhrukh and Sikandar the son of Qarā Yūsūf was also a result. Those acquainted with the mysteries of the heavens are agreed that if a comet appear in the angle of dominion, the sovereign of that country will die, and if it incline towards that angle, the possessions of that prince will depart from his hands, and if it occur in a falling angle (sāqit-i-watad) sickness and pestilence will increase, and there will be sudden destruction among the people. A thousand thanks to God that by the blessing of the holy personality of the world's Khedive, the malefic influences passed away from his empire. If from time to time such a terrible phenomenon occur, no great misfortune befalls this country. Still **224** in spite of such Divine protection, that prudent partaker of the banquet of enlightenment ordered the distribution of abundant charities according to the rules of Muhammadans and Hindus. Worlds upon worlds of men were made joyful.

The brief account of this great phenomenon[2] is as follows: On

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[1] Both were sons of Shāhrukh, but according to Beale, Ibrāhim did not die till 1435 or 839 A.H. Baysanghar died in 837, but I do not find that he was ruler of Badakhshān. The I.O. MSS. have Shāh-Badakhshānī, and I suspect that a conjunction has been left out and that Shāh Badakhshānī is a different person from Baysanghar and one of the Shāhs of Badakhshān. Neither does it appear that Baysanghar was an Arghūn. Probably then we should read M. Baysanghar and Arghūn Shāh of Badakhshān. This view is corroborated by I.O. M.S. 23, which has the conjunction *u* before Arghūn. But I cannot find who the Arghūn Shāh was who died in 837; of Baysanghar there is a notice in D'Herbelot, and Bābur also refers to him in his Memoirs. Zainu-d-dīn Khāfī was a famous saint. He died in Shawāl 838, April 1435, B. 592, note.

[2] *Mauhibat*, which means a gift. Either this is an euphemism, or it refers to the circumstance that the comet did not injure India. I.O.

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the day of Ārād 25 Ābān (5 November 1577), Divine month, at the time when the sun was auspiciously placed in Scorpio, this celestial sign appeared in Sagittarius, in the west,[1] but inclined to the north. It had a long tail, and in some countries it was visible for five months. Astrologers and those acquainted with the secrets of the upper world represented that in some of the inhabited parts of India grain would be dear, and they mentioned the particular places where this would occur. They also said that the ruler of Persia would die, and that there would be the dust of confusion in Irāq and Khurāsān. As they said, so did it come to pass without defect or diminution. About the same time a caravan arrived from Persia and some able and truthful men reported to the august court the passing away of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the putting to death of Sultan Ḥaidar, and the arrival at power of Shāh Ism'aīl. The brief account of this is that the Shāh—the cupola of paradise—died in Qazwīn on 5 Khirdād.[2] Sulṭan Ḥaidar, his third son, considered the sovereignty as his right, and by the efforts of some of the grandees fancied himself to be secure. He was put to death by the exertions of his unkindly (*nāmihrbān*) sister Parī Khānim,[3] and Ism'aīl[4] M., the second son, who had been imprisoned for 22 years in the fortress of Qahqa,[5] was placed upon the throne. He, from wickedness, sent many of his brothers and cousins to the abode of annihilation. In one day he killed Sulṭan Ibrāhīm,[6] together with eleven[7] of his own brothers.

M.S. 235 seems to have moībat مویبت, which means a country visited by pestilence.

[1] *Bākhtarrūia māīl bashimāl.* J. remarks II, 278, N. 3, that though bakhtar is often incorrectly used, A. F. invariably uses it for the West. I am not sure if A. F. does not mean to connect the length of the tail with the fact that it was visible in various countries.

[2] Or 15 May 1576. At p. 590 of A. N. it is stated that he died on 4 Khirdād.

[3] See details further on, A. N. III, 591.

[4] According to Olearius, translation 1662, p. 346, Ism'aīl was imprisoned for having made war on the Turks without authority.

[5] A fort in the district of Ṭūs, Malcolm, Hist. of Persia, I, 514, ed. 1815, says he was told that Kakha is the modern Sheshah. Kahka is however mentioned by Reclus as being a large town.

[6] Son of Bahrām M. and cousin of Ism'aīl.

[7] According to Olearius, Ṭahmāsp had only eleven sons. The word *barādar* evidently here includes cousins. See the list at p. 591 of A. N.

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When the events of Persia were related to H.M. he remarked that the people of that country were beholding the retribution for their ingratitude, and that this gloomy and blood-shedding young man would fill up the measure of his days without moistening his lip (*lab tar nagushta*) with the wine of the world, for the spirit of the age could not endure infatuation. What appeared on the tablet of the tongue abounding in pearls came to pass. There was another proving of H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries, and the celestial phenomenon revealed its qualities both as regards the past and the future. First Shāh Ṭahmāsp went to the holy world before the appearance of the marvel (the comet), and after it had appeared, Shāh Ismʿaīl went to annihilation. He died after having spent one year and five months in bloodshed, dishonour and lust (*badmihrī*). Many are agreed that he was poisoned by Parī Khānim.[1] During the lifetime of Shāh Ṭahmāsp she was the centre of affairs, and she expected to have still more authority during the rule of this ill-fated and noxious one (Ismʿaīl). He from presumptuousness and conceit dismissed her (lit. drew the writing of dismissal on the page of her position), though he had come to the rank of Shāh by her efforts. That foolish one[2] (Parī Khānim) plotted with the mother of Ḥusain Beg Ḥalwācī Oghli from whose hands he (Ismʿaīl) took his mixtures **225**
and electuaries. On the night of Bahman 2 Āẕar, Divine month (November 1577), of the following year (985) some horses had come as a present from the ruler of Gurjistan. He went to the polo ground to see them. As the comet cast its baleful shade, and as the astrologers of Persia agreed with the sages of India, they read to him the celestial message, and begged him to put off his visit. They were not successful. From the ground he went to the quarters of Ḥusain Beg which were close by. Sharīf Qazwīnī brought to him

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[1] Malcolm calls Parī K. the favourite sultana of Ṭahmāsp, and this error is repeated by Oliver, J.A.S.B. 1887, p. 42. She really was S. Ṭahmāsp's second daughter, and was betrothed to Badī-uz-zamān, son of Bahrām M. See the ʿĀlam Ārāī and A. N. III, 590, 91. A. F. there gives a history of the Ṣafavī family.

[2] Cf. Lowe 248, where she is called Parī Jān Khānim. The expression is *kotāh khirad*, and possibly it refers to Ismʿaīl; in that case the word *hamdastān* must be taken to mean "associated with" and not "plotted."

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from the house the accustomed intoxicant and remarked that the seal on the box (*ḥuqqa*) had been removed. As the inevitable time had arrived he lost the thread of intelligence and made answer that if he had got it from the hands of Ḥusain Beg's mother there was no fear. He took some of it, and gave some to Ḥusain Beg. It has been heard from the secret knowers of Persia that when a portion of the night had passed away, Parī Khānim, whose house was in the neighbourhood of that confectioner's son's house, sent Shāh Wardī[1] with some men dressed up as women. They squeezed the throat and other vital parts of that infatuated madman and so killed him. As the heat of madness and his apprehensions kept him in solitude, his real well-wishers—who are the guardians of realm and religion—had not access to him. Indeed the servants generally could not set foot there. By the evil effects of such conduct—which is the worst of behaviours in the generality of those living in a state of association, then what must it be in the case of rulers,—these things happened to this confused and presumptuous one. The door of that house of terror was closed and nothing transpired from it. At last, night turned to day, and day had almost turned to night. No one had the courage to make a search. By the exertion of great courage M. Sulaimān the Vizier and M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and some others of the nobility came there. They read the inscription of hopelessness on the portico and broke open the door and found him lying dead. The little finger of the right hand was broken, and the skin of the forehead and nose scratched (here follow some lines of rhetoric) . . . . . .

The condition of this inwardly-disturbed one is impressed upon
226 all. He began by vexing his father, and benefactor, and sovereign. The latter from affection and foresight and in hopes of curing him put him into prison. When by heaven's decree he became the ruler of Persia, he extinguished the lights of wisdom and settled down in the indulgence of lusts. He choked the fountain of wakefulness and engaged in killing friends and cherishing foes. He did not appreciate the dignity of sovereignty, and was active in ruining the foundations of dominion. Apparently it is the wondrous design of the stewards of fate that the bliss, benevolence, and justice of the

[1] I.O. MSS. Bardi.

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ruler of India may be proclaimed to the world, and that all the subjects of that abode of pleasantness may recognize the Imām of the time, and reposefully spend their days in the auspicious dwelling of thanksgiving.

Verse.

Praise be that mine of earth and water,
Which has produced such a brilliant pearl.
May there be a glorious day in that sky,
Which holds such a night-gleaming star.
O God, preserve that dervish-loving king,
Under whose shadow lies the repose of mankind.
Make him rule long over the people :
Keep his heart alive for the blessing of worship.

In fine, after some insincere expressions of grief, and more feastings, they proceeded to search for another ruler. As there were no royal sons who were fit for sovereignty they turned towards Parī Khānim, but she understood the spirit of the age and refrained from the high office, and referred them to Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda the eldest son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, and whose blindness had saved his life in the time of the bloodshedding Shāh. Her sole idea was that he should nominally be the Sulṭan and that the real power should be with her. M. Sulaimān, who knew her craft and fraud, and who from his good disposition was not in league with her, fled to Shīrāz from fear of being made prisoner. He made known her wickedness, and agreed with the mother of Sulṭan Muḥammad Khudābanda—who was the real mother of Shāh Ism'aīl—that they should get rid of this turbulent strife-monger. When Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda approached Qazwīn, Parī Khānim became aware of their designs and barricaded the city. Shāmkhāl Carkas (Circassian) her maternal uncle with some thousand men prepared for battle. By the exertions of right-minded people things had a peaceful termination. The lady of Irān made her excuses, and the farsighted men who were watching for their opportunity accepted them. When she came near the camp, they represented that there was not an auspicious hour on that day. She 227
should cause her litter to be set down near the camp, and Shāmkhāl with the main body of the troops should encamp in the neighbour-

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hood of a certain village. In the morning before they joined the men of the camp, Shāmkhāl would be exalted by doing homage (to Khudābanda), and after that there would be a review of the troops on a grand scale. By such pleasing tales they (Parī K. and her uncle) were lulled into security. When night drew her dark mantle over the face of day they induced Amīr Aṣlān Afshār, who was ostensibly a friend (*az dostān rasmī*) of Shamkhāl, to go and prepare a feast of friendship in his private apartments, and to kill him (Shamkhāl) while he was off his guard. And they arranged to give that slave of gold the governorship of Ispahan as a reward for this service. He who did not understand the rights of acquaintanceship, and much less did he know the mysteries of friendship, spilled the cup of his existence. At the same time they seized that veiled [1] one of 'Irāq, and she shortly afterwards became a curtained-sitter in the secret chamber of annihilation.

One of the occurrences was that on 2 Āẕar, Divine month, in the neighbourhood of the town of Kotputlī,[2] Moẓaffar K., Rajah Todar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr were summoned to a privy council and there was a discussion about the affairs of the empire. Many matters were disposed of. The Sarkār of Bihar was assigned to Shujā'at K., Mīr Mu'izzu-l-mulk and other servants. The mints of the imperial dominions which had been under the charge of *caudha-*

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[1] A. F. seems to have thought that as he was telling a Persian story, he could not be too flowery and enigmatical. The result is that he is more than usually tortuous and obscure. It appears from the 'Ālam 'ārāī B.M. MS., Add., 16, 684, 65b, that both Parī K. and Shamkhāl were put to death. The text has haqīqat-guzīn-i-'Irāq and I.O. MS. 236 has *haqīqī-gazīn*, as if the passage referred to Shamkhāl; but I believe that it refers to Parī K. and that the true reading is that given in I.O. MS. 235, p. 510a, 1, 2, maqanna gazīn. مقنعه گزین "the veiled one." The expression "the veiled one of 'Iraq" thus corresponds to that used a little above where Parī K. is called "the lady of Irān, bānūī Irān."

[2] Text has Kotbūqlī, but the variant Kotpūtlī seems right. It was in Sarkār Nārnaul, Province of Agra, J. II. 182 and 194. There was a copper mine near it which perhaps was the reason why the question of mints was discussed there. The passage is translated in Elliot, vi, 57, where the town is spelt Kotpakalī. Kotpūtlī is in Jaipur and about 60 m. N.E. the city of Jaipur, I.G., XVI, 3.

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rīs[1] were divided. The directorship of this weighty business was assigned to Khwāja[2] 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad *Shīrīnqalm* in Fatḥpūr, the capital of the empire. The mint at Lahore was assigned to Moẓaffar K., that in Bengal[3] to Rajah Todar Mal, that in Jaunpūr to Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr, and that in Gujarat to Khwāja 'Imādu-d-dīn Ḥusain, that in Patna[4] to Aṣaf K. On the same day it was ordered that square[5] rupees should be coined. On 9 Āẕar the victorious standards cast their shadow on the town of Nārnaul.[6] There as the holy heart of H.M. is impressed by the glory of searching after God he visited the abode of Shaikh Niẓām[7] the hermit, and conferred eternal joy on that vaunter[8] of simplicity. By the strength of his good fortune no sadness found its way into his holy heart from his not finding the marks of enlightenment (in S. Niẓām). He only increased his search. As, owing to his wide capacity and exceeding research, his far-seeing glance did not fall upon his own treasure,

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[1] A Hindu title. See Wilson's Glossary. It does not appear that A. F. explains it anywhere. But at B. 268 he speaks of Akbar's resuming the fiefs of the Caudhris.

[2] B. 107 and 495. He was a calligrapher. A. F. says he owed his perfection to a glance from Akbar.

[3] A. F. does not say here or elsewhere at what place in Bengal the mint was. Here and at B. 31 the word Bengal (Bengāla) is used as if it was the name of a city. Perhaps Gaur is meant, for Tānḍa is separately mentioned at B. 31.

[4] This is the Patana of B. 31, and is apparently Patna in Bihar and not Patan in Gujarat,

[5] These are the Jalāla rupees mentioned at B. 31.

[6] Nārnaul or Nārnol is described in Tiefenthaler I. 212. He says it was rich and populous until Jai Singh took it from the Muhammadans. It is now in Patiala, I.G., XVIII, 380.

[7] B. 538 where A.F. has entered him next to his own father as one who understood the mysteries of both worlds. But possibly, as B. suggests, A.F. may mean here S. Niẓām of Amethi. He is described in Badayūni III, 15, while S. Niẓām of Narnol is described at id., p. 26. He belonged to the Cistī order.

[8] *Dukkān ārāī sāda lūḥ.* The expression seems intended as a sneer. According to the Bahār-i-'ajam *dukk'ān arāī* is used metaphorically to mean boasting and the passing off things of small value as being of great price. The interview is mentioned in the T.A. and Niẓāmu-d-dīn quotes a verse apropos of it. Evidently Akbar was then a keen inquirer, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn says there was a mystic assemblage or dance.

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and as he did not find in the wearers of rags, or in the learned of the age, any notes of the spiritual and celestial mysteries which are attached to the table of the bounty of God, his thirst for the limpid waters of truth increased from time to time. Hence it is that the intimates of the majestic council (of God) have described as eternal that pain of seeking after God which is the zenith of truth. The incomparable Deity does not come within the field of the heart of mortals, nor does the foot of search become worn out.

228 On the day of Āsmān, 27 Āẕar, Divine month, the capital of Delhi was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's advent. First of all he circumambulated the holy shrine of H.M. Jinnat Āshiyānī, and showered gifts on the custodians. Then he visited the other tombs, and was also lavish in gifts there. On 3 Dai, Divine month, he visited the quarters of Shāikh Farīd[1] Bakhshī Begī, who had many seats in that delightful neighbourhood on the banks of the Jumna, and had places of worship which were the praying-spots of India. H.M. went there at the request of this loyal servant and thus secured for him eternal exaltation. On the 5th of the month he halted at the sarai of Bāwalī[2] and spent some days there in administrative work and in hunting. The needy of that part were replenished from the table of his bounty.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Ḥājī[3] Ḥabībullah. It has already been mentioned that he had been sent to the port of Goa with a large sum of money and skilful craftsmen in order that he might bring to this country the excellent arts and rarities of that place. On the 9th he came to do homage, attended by a large number of persons dressed up as Christians and playing European drums and clarions. He produced before H.M. the choice articles of that territory. Craftsmen who had gone to acquire skill displayed the arts which they had learnt and received praises in the critical place of testing. The musicians of that territory breathed fascina-

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[1] Farīd Bukhārī, B. 413 and 415, n. l.

[2] Perhaps Bawal in Ṣarkār Rewārī, J. II, 293. Pālam, to which Akbar went afterwards, according to the T.A., was in Sarkār Delhi, J. II, 86.

[3] Cf. *ante*, text 146, and Elliot v, 407, and vi, 57. The organ is described by Badayūnī in an obscure passage, Lowe 299. See Vullers, s.v. *arghanan*. It is the Greek organon.

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tion with the instruments of their country, especially with the organ. Ear and eye were delighted, and so was the mind. Also at this halting place Khwājā Ghīāṣu-d-dīn[1] 'Alī 'Āṣaf K. arrived from Īdar and did homage, and his brother's son J'afar Beg, who had come from Persia, performed the prostration.

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[1] Blochmann 433. His nephew J'afar was distinguished in Jahangir's reign.

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CHAPTER XLI.

The defeat of Rajah Madhukar by the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh.

When the star of anyone's fortune sinks and his days grow dark, the first thing that happens is that the lustre of his sense becomes obscured so that he by his own efforts flings away his honour, and becomes contemptible in the spiritual and physical world. Such was the condition of this evil-thoughted zamindar.
229 At this time when the glory of justice had seized the world, and the eternal managers were labouring to make dominion (i.e. Akbar's power) resplendent, that short-sighted and crookedly-going man made his seeming power the strength of his country, and the number of his daring followers the material of presumption, and departed from the highway of obedience. The world's lord nominated Ṣādiq[2] K. with a numerous army to that quarter in order that if he did not accept the pleasing words of counsel, he should receive fitting punishment. The victorious army went by way of Narwar and communicated the exhortations. That turbulent and distracted one did not accept them. They were obliged to commence the work of clearing the jungle (jangalburī) and proceeded to the town of Undcah (Orchha of I.G.). When they came near the fort of Karhara, Parmān Parmānand Panwār, who was in league with the wretch, took refuge there. The army surrounded the fort and addressed itself to the taking of it. Every day some of the garrison made sallies and were defeated. In a short space of time the cup of his power was ready to spill over. He opened his lips in supplication and asked for quarter. As the rule of the Shāhinshāh is to cherish the humble and to accept excuses, the imperial servants observed this principle and gave him protection. When they had

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[1] Maaṣir-al-umarā II, 131, and B. 488.

[2] B. 355, 356. The Iqbālnāma says he was accompanied by the Mota Rajah, Rajah Āskaran and Qāsim 'Alī K.

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untied this difficult knot, they advanced further. As the country was forest, and the marching of the army was difficult, they cut down the trees one day and marched the next. After this prudent fashion they advanced stage by stage till they came near the river Dhāra,[1] which is north of Unḍ-cah. The wretch collected a large army and prepared for battle on the bank. The braves on each side daily adorned the field of battle. From time to time there were gallant hand-to-hand combats. On 5 Dai, Divine month, it was resolved to cross the river and engage in battle. Owing to the difficulties of the ground, the troops could not keep their order. Ṣādiq K. led one body and Qāsim 'Alī K., Ulugh K., and S. Fīrūz with some brave men pressed forward to cross. On account of the enemy's fire the vanguard could not cross, and the work of the ghāzīs became difficult. At this crisis the royal faujdārs Kamāl K. and Maḥmūd K. pushed the rank-breaking elephants into the water and crossed. First, Ṣādiq K. crossed with a body of active men and a noble engagement took place. 230

Masnavī.

The desert became like a river of blood,
You'd say tulips were springing up on it;
The ground became like a sea of pitch,
With waves of daggers, clubs, and arrows.

Inasmuch as on the wide field of Divine aid physical resources are of no avail, and no dust of harm from crowds of wretches can fall on the pleasant abode of loyalty, the true man prevailed over the vagabond. The enemy was routed, and many of them lost their lives. The victorious army took possession of the Rajah's house without difficulty. On account of the number of trees, and ignorance of the locality, they were unable to make out what had become of him. Some thought that he was hiding and waiting for his opportunity. Others suspected that he would attack the camp. Ṣādiq K.

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[1] B. 356 has Dasthārā. The Maaṣir has "the river Sawā, which is known by the name of Saṭḍhārā." Elliot VI, 58, who translates this passage of the A.N., has Satdhārā and explains this as the "Seven streams" and states that this is a name for the Betwa at Urcha. The Iqbālnāma has also Dhāra.

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adopted the latter view and proceeded toward the camp. He turned[1] the vanguard into the rearguard and sent off detachment after detachment. Meanwhile that slumbrous-fortuned fool emerged from behind and stirred up strife. Most of the troops gave way and turned their backs, Ulugh K. with some brave men stood their ground and fought. Ṣādiq K. arrived with an army of heroes and heartened the waverers. Abū ma'ālī and others grew bold. Each man left off thought for his life and stood upon guarding his honour. There was a brilliant engagement. Ulugh K., Abū-ma'-ālī and M. Muḥammad Sīldoz distinguished themselves in single combat. Horal Deo, the Rajah's eldest son, was killed by a ball from a *gajnāl*.[2] Khān Jahān the brother of the Rajah attacked a lofty elephant and fell to the ground. He got up with agility and planted[3] his dagger in the elephant, and after prodigies of valour escaped wounded. Rām Sāh, the son of the presumptuous one, after fighting and being wounded by an arrow withdrew from the battle-field. The vagabond was defeated by the might of daily-increasing fortune. About 200 Rajputs of note were killed. Some of the brave imperialists were wounded, but by the Divine protection they recovered. Ṣādiq K. in expressing thanks for the good fortune (of Akbar) used to say, "When matters got out of hand, the holy personality of the "Shāhinshāh came into my mind, and I directed my attention to the "source of blessings. I made the idea of the world's Khedive the "caravan-leader of the last journey, and engaged hotly in warfare.
231 "Suddenly the august standards appeared and that glorious figure "presented itself. For a moment that glorious apparition brightened "eye and heart. I sank into a sea of amazement and did great deeds. "From time to time new strength was vouchsafed. In that spiritual "and physical struggle, the lights of victory shone by the blessing of "that mysterious spectacle and dispersed the darkness. In spite of "the dispersion of friends, and the multiplicity of enemies, a victory, "such as entered not into the comprehension of the ordinary man,

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[1] This obscure sentence is made clearer by the Iqbālnāma. Apparently Ṣādiq K. recrossed the river, thinking his camp in danger, and then Madhukar took advantage of his departure to attack the vanguard which had, by Ṣādiq's retracing his steps, become the rearguard.

[2] A gun carried by an elephant. B. 113, first paragraph.

[3] The Iqbālnāma says he killed elephant.

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"displayed its joyful countenance." Generally such occurrences which seem extraordinary to the clouded souls of the superficial are purposely effected by holy spirits, and are intended to guide the ignorant but fortunate. But sometimes the stewards of fate cause their production without those unique ones of existence being aware of the fact, in order to indicate the purity of the jewel, so that mortals may emerge from the wilderness of denial, and enter the pleasant abode of devotion. If the hearer of this instructive story be one of the intimates of the holy banquet and of those who share in the secrets of the palace of purity, and be aware of the knowledge of Divine matters possessed by the Khedive of the world, he will regard this extraordinary apparition as belonging to the first class, and if he be one of the auspicious ones of practical wisdom, and have some knowledge of the right-thoughtedness and abundant graciousness of the lord of the earth, he will regard it as belonging to the second class.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Qāsim [1] K. to the government of Agra. Owing to the quality of the climate the general public of that place are notorious throughout India for their turbulence, courage, and recklessness. They have accepted obedience on account of the Majesty of the Shadow of God, and perform service. At this time, when the august cortége was away on a campaign, they had, from wickedness and irreflection on the end of things, raised their heads in sedition and oppressed the weak. Accordingly the just prince appointed him on 14 Dai, Divine month, as he was the distinguished one of the age for truth, knowledge of affairs, and courage, and gave him sage advices. He joined the glory of action to knowledge and tranquillized a world.

One of the occurrences was the Khān Jahān's marching against Sātgāon. The family of Dāūd was there, and Matī [2] and Jamshīd belonging to his *khāṣkhail* (clan) and many wicked Afghans were making a disturbance there. When the centre of Bengal had been cleared of the rebels, Khān Jahān addressed himself to that quarter. Matī, who had brought together some of Dāūd's choice treasures, wished in his good fortune that he might be enrolled among the

[1] B. 379.

[2] His real name was Maḥmūd K. Khāṣkhail. See infra A.N. 259. He surrendered to Khān Jahān at Gwās, and was put to death there.

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royal servants. Jamshīd and the other Āfghans leagued together and made war upon him. After many conflicts he was defeated and had to retire into obscurity. Much of his property came into their
232 hands. Yūsuf Balūc and Sarmast Afghan and some of Matī's friends were waiting for their revenge. One day that turbulent man (Jamshīd) went to their house in order to pacify them, and they killed him. By the marvels of celestial aid the ill-fated enemies fell into trouble of their own accord, and without any fighting on the part of the imperial servants. Dāūd's mother and the rest of his family asked for protection and agreed that when the fortunate army went to Tānda, she and her followers would come to Court. Khān Jahān accepted her overtures and went off from Sātgāon to the place agreed upon. She and her party kept their promise and came to Court.[1]

On the 26th of this month H.M. went off rapidly to the neighbourhood of Ḥiṣār to hunt, and spread the shadow of his justice over that city. The house of Mihr 'Alī Sīldoz was honoured by his presence. Presents were offered and H.M. accepted a portion of them, and made him joyful. From thence he went to Hansī, where he alighted at the shrine of S. Jamāl, where he paid his devotions to God, and distinguished the attendants by great gifts. He was one of the lieutenants (*jainashīnān*) of Shaikh Farīd Shakrganj and on an indication from his *pīr* had settled there in order to guide inquirers. Whenever the Shaikh (Farīd) read the signs of excellence in any man he appointed him to a particular district and told him to take his letter of appointment to S. Jamāl.[2] If the latter agreed, he was to enter on his duties as one of God's servants, otherwise he was to endeavour to mortify (*gudāzish*) himself until he

[1] Apparently this only means that she surrendered to Khān Jahān. She did this at Gwās (in Murshidabad). See A.N. 259.

[2] There is an account of S. Jamāl in the Khazīna-al-aṣfiyā I, p. 285, and also in J. III, 379, where he is called S. Jamālu-d-dīn. He was descended from Abū Hanīfa of Kūfa. The story of Farīd sending certificates to him for signature is told there and also in Ferishta's life of Farīd (near the end). Ferishta says that Farīd at the instance of his sister twice sent him the certificate of her son, and that on the second occasion Jamāl tore it up. Afterwards he gladly signed the certificate of Niẓāmu-d-dīn Auliya. Jamāl is said to have died in 659 A.H. (1260); he is buried at Hansī.

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should become fit for such a high dignity. Accordingly they tell that he had appointed one to Delhi, and that the latter did not get S. Jamāl's countersignature. Afterwards he countersigned the appointment of Niẓāmu-d-dīn (Auliyā). Apparently, the object was that his integrity might be impressed upon all, and also that his own high rank might be evidenced by this exaltation of a disciple. Otherwise, what reason was there for giving such authority to a subordinate, and why did he show such a procedure in enlarging the position of discipleship.

Also at this time Maulānā Muhammad Amīn [1] arrived and did homage. He was of a noble family in Yezd and belonged to the village (*qariya*) of Aqdā. In Shīrāz he studied in the school of that learned of the age Maulāna M. Jān, and read some commentaries and books on asceticism (*tajrīd*), and knew the 'Aẓdī,[1] and for the purposes of magic he knew a little about the stars and the science of geomancy (*ramal*) and something about chronology. He was an eloquent expounder of plans, and by his assurance and plausibility he sold himself at a high figure. At this time he came from 'Irāq to the threshhold of fortune and by the instrumentality of court- 233
intimates he was introduced. The Khedive of the world from the high opinion that he had of his introducers increased his dignity, and sent him along with Prince Murād to the house of Shaikh

[1] This is the Mullā Muhammad Yezdī of Badayūnī, and who, he says, got the name of Yazīdī (in allusion to the Yazīd who killed Ḥusain). See Lowe 214, 267, 284, 285. He is also apparently the Maulānā Muḥammad of the Ain. See B. 541. He was originally a Shia and in favour with Akbār who made him Ṣadr of Jaunpūr (A.N. text III, 281). But he afterwards rebelled and according to Badayūnī, Lowe 284, issued a fatwa declaring that it was a duty to rebel against Akbar. Akbar, it is said, had him arrested and drowned, A.F. does not seem to tell more about him, except that at p. 309 he speaks of his having been drowned, and implies that this was an accident. The word 'Aẓdī either refers to the distinguished men of the tribe of 'Aẓd, see D'Herbelot s.v. Azd, or to the work called the Muwāqif 'Aẓdia composed by 'Azdu-d-dīn Qāzī of Shiraz who lived in the 14th century. See Beale. Apparently Mullā Muḥammad wanted to make Akbar a Shia just as Rodolfo Acquaviva wanted to make him a Christian, and both failed. Maulānā Mīrzā Jān is referred to again at vol. III,. p. 747.

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Abdu-n-nabī, who was the centre of *ahl-i-sa'ādat* (learned men), or rather nothing important could be accomplished without his opinion, and loaded him with favours. As he was not of a good disposition, and had not studied the pages of genius, nor possessed a wide capacity, his counterfeit was soon detected and his veneer of gold was revealed to high and low, as will be mentioned in its proper place.

One of the occurrences was the capture of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. Fortune rises up to wage war on whosoever lifts up his head from submission to the God-worshipping Khedive, and his foot is soon pierced by the thorn of failure. If he has no lot in auspiciousness he falls headlong into the abyss of annihilation. Otherwise fortune makes him foolish and delivers him into the hands of the lord of fortune, in order that he may in the prison, which is the school of truth, turn to do good service. The story of the Mīrzā is a fresh instance of this. Though evil-disposed people made him a support of disaffection he soon became stained with the dust of shame and became a foot-blistered vagabond. From Gujarat he again hurried off to the Deccan, and joined with some evil-conditioned men in Berar. The troops of that country made war upon him, and there was a hot engagement. As he had turned away from the true qibla, he was defeated and came to Khandes. Raja 'Alī K. seized him and restrained him from plundering. Though in reality he was putting down the dust of dissension in his own country, yet in appearance he was behaving loyally to the holy court. When the facts came to H. M's. knowledge, he sent orders along with Maqṣūd Damba to the effect that he should be sent to Court.

One of the occurrences was that a cloud came over the reliance which H.M. reposed upon S. 'Abdunnabī. The pious sovereign never considered himself and always practised equity. In accordance with the dictates of wisdom, the Sultan, he made no distinction between friend and foe. As the integrity[1] of the Shaikh was impressed on H.M. by the simple, whose ignorance was sold at the rate of knowledge, and by interested persons who posed as being candid and free from desires, he raised him from the hollow of

[1] See vol. II, 248, where it is stated that 'Abdu-n-nabī was appointed in 972 at the recommendation of Moẓaffar K.

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failure to the high ground of honour. In the first place the management of the learned (*ahl-i-sa'ādat*) was made over to him permanently, and afterwards the glorious affairs of the State were referred to him. As in the testing-house of man-knowing assayers the coun- **234** terfeit coin of mortals does not remain current, right thinking persons came to know the real facts and at this time some portion of the story of his trickery and self-interestedness reached the acute sovereign. From abundant vigilance, and profound meditation—for many righteous persons become stained by the suspicion of the wicked and irreverent—he personally undertook the inquiry, and went into the question according to proper rules. There was no slackness in the Court of judgment, and the general public did not know of the inquiry. When there had been several revolutions of the spheres, the truth of former representations was proved in various ways.[1]

Verse.

If a man conceal his secret for a time,
Length of time reveals his fraud.

From perfect far-thoughtedness—which is indispensable in this evil world—an order was given in the borders of the town of Gohāna[2] to S. Farīd Bokhārī that when the august cortége should pass that way he should produce the owners of the *sayurghāls* (B. 268) of that country before H.M. in order that the position of each of them might be ascertained, and that the propriety of each of the grants might be impressed on his mind. In a short time it became manifest that owing to a love of gold, and the acceptance of recommendations, the rules of sufficiency and inquiry had been neglected. The world's Khedive in his abundant gentleness did not remove the veil from the face of his ('Abdu-n nabī's) actions but referred the investigation [3] and criticism to prudent servants. He

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1 Cf. B. 269 beginning of first para. Badayūnī III, 80, ascribes the downfall of 'Abdu-n-nabī to his having put a brahman of Mathurā to death for disrespect to the Prophet. He adds that Akbar got very excited when discussing this matter, and that his mustaches stood out like a tiger's whiskers. There is a full account of 'Abdu-n-nabī in the Darbārī Akbarī, 320.

2 Kohāna in text. It is in the Rohtak district. I.G. XII. 304, J. II, 293.

3 Text has *nikohīdagī*. Is this a mistake for nigāhīdagī?

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said, "A man cannot manage every thing on account of multiplicity of employment Especially is this great employment larger than that one person can control it. It is an indispensable part of prudence that head men be appointed to each province and that this great form of worship[1] be divided, so that Truth may be fixed in her centre, and that the pillar of justice, i.e. knowledge of the truth, be exalted." About this time the Ṣadārat of the Punjab was conferred on Maulānā 'Abdulla Sultānpūrī, and it was intimated to some persons of enlightened heart that they should mention to H.M. the names of some trustworthy, experienced, and energetic men who might be fit for this work.[2]

At this time the town of Sunām was[3] brightened by the glory of the royal standards. He conferred distinction on M. Yūsūf K. by addressing him (or perhaps by giving him a title) and said, "Something tells my heart that the world-surpassing[4] territory of Kashmīr shall come into the possession of the imperial servants." Out of his abundant kindness that delightful country became assigned to him as his fief. I laud his perception and the light of his vision! What after so many years was to show itself, shone on that day in the pure temple of his soul which is a mystery-revealing mirror. On 21 Bahman Divine month (about 1 February 1578), he encamped at Shādīwāl, and for the guidance of those standing about the threshold of fortune he uttered auspicious counsels. He let fall many spiritual and physical truths. He said, "If the scarf of social life were not on my shoulder, I would restrain myself from eating flesh." Inasmuch as he was aware of the wolfish[5]

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[1] 'Ibādat. The Lucknow ed. has qiyād, i.e. conduct or rules.

[2] Ain 19 about Sayurghāls, B. 268 should be read. At p. 270 A. F. tells us that the Ṣadr was directed to consult him and to increase or decrease the grant in accordance with his advice.

[3] Text Sīām, but there is the variant Shīām. I have not however found either of these places and so have adopted the Cawnpore ed., reading Sunām, which also appears in I.O. M.S. 236. Sunām or Sunnām is a town in the Patiāla State and is entered in the Ain under Sirhind, J. II. 296. It is mentioned in B. 286 as one of the places where Akbar used to hunt leopards. Bayazīd Biyāt got the pargana of Sunām in farm. See his Memoirs near the end. Also I.G. XXIII. 139.

[4] I.O. M.S. 236 has instead of jahān gushāī, jān gushāī "soul-opening."

[5] *Gurgkhoī*. This expression occurs also in the Ain B. 61, which

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nature of men he considered that to tame them all at once would be to distress and pain the votaries of custom. Therefore the inspiration came to his holy heart that he would stretch out his hand slowly 235
and by degrees so that things might not be made difficult for followers of the truth, and that constant apprehensions might not make the general public crazy. He has now for some time abstained from eating meat on Fridays.[1] It is to be hoped[2] that the practice (of eating meat) will be confined to certain days.

One of the occurrences was the bestowal of the pargana of Tihāra on Raḥmān[3] Qulī Qūshbegī. For a while he had, in virtue of his leadership of the spiritual world, while in the midst of material calculations, been swimming[4] in the ocean of Vision (shahūd). When he

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treats of days of abstinence There is also a similar remark there about leaving off the practice by degrees. Cf. Akbar's saying in J. III, 240, "Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is that many others might willingly or unwillingly (kām nākām) forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency."

1 Bartoli, Missione al Gran Mogor, ed. Piacenza, p. 7, speaks of Akbar's fasting strictly on Friday, and ascribes it to his contempt for Muḥammadanism. Akbar gave up hunting on Fridays for a reason given by Jahangir, T. J., 249.

2 The word *umed* "hope" is not in text, but it occurs in the I.O. MSS. The clause is to me almost unintelligible, and my translation of it is of very doubtful correctness.

3 Text رچمن Racman, and there is the variant *caman* چمن. But it is clear from the I.O. MSS. and the Bib. Ind. text, p. 196, that the name really is Raḥman or Raḥmān, i.e. The Merciful, which is one of the names of God. At p. 196, Raḥman Qulī Qūshbegi (i.e. falconer) is described as coming from the Ḥijāz and as bringing a letter from the Sharīfs of Mecca. I have no doubt that he is the Raḥmān of the passage before us. Qulī means servant or slave so that Raḥmān Qulī means the slave of God. Apparently he is the Raḥmān Qulī of Badayūnī III, 278, who described himself as the loving son of the poet Mullā I'shqī. Mullā I'shqī was Mīr Bakhshī. See B. 528 and A. N. III, 247. Perhaps he is the same as Ism'aīl K. who is described as the father of Raḥmān Qulī Beg by Ma'ṣūm Bhakharī. See Elliot I. 245.

4 See B. 156 where a similar phrase is translated "launches forth into the ocean of contemplation." The words which I have translated "material calculations" are muḥāṣiba nafsānī. I presume that nafsānī is used in the sense of carnal or material. But I am not clear as to the meaning. Perhaps the reference is to Akbar's having lately been

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came out of this state (lit. when he returned) he displayed this great act of liberality. Some of the servants of the Court were meditative as to what could be the cause of this. He, who reads the inscriptions on the forehead of the heart, had compassion on their bewilderment and said, "When that township[1] (*qasba*) came in sight, whose name means "of yours,"[2] it struck me that everything was a manifestation of the glory of the Holy Being (God) while this (expression, or village name) only showed external things (ṣūrat-i-namūdārī). My heart became lacerated by the turmoil of "We and I (*mā u man*)" and by the grasp of connexion and dependence. I felt chilled by the abode of association, and my enchainment in outward things was nigh being severed. When the mysterious working of Divine destiny brought me into the world of contingent existence, it passed into my mind that as an act of thanksgiving this township should be given to one in whose name there was an allusion to the Incomparable Creator. At that time this chooser of service (Rahmān Qulī) appeared before him, and was distingushed by the great favour.

In that holy assemblage he uttered many delightful words and weighted with knowledge the brains of the awakened-hearted. By the sound of this awakening the slumbrous in the night of ignorance were roused and guided in the wilderness of search. Glory to the sublime strength which keeps the lamp of Oneness alight in the strong wind of multiplicity, and observes solitude in the midst of society. And hail to the lofty perception which keeps sovereignty shoulder to shoulder with saintship, and preserves unity of colour!

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engaged in arranging about the mints, the division of commands, etc.; see supra, text 227.

[1] It is clear from J. II. 115 and elsewhere that A. F. uses *qasba* occasionally as equivalent to pargana or district.

[2] Text *azalī*, i.e. eternity. But I cannot find that Tihāra means eternity, and the two I.O. MSS. and also a MS. of my own have Az tust ازتست "yours," or "of you," and I believe this to be the true reading, for it is stated in Forbes's Hindustani Dictionary that تهارو and تهاری tihārau and tihārī, Hindi तिहार, means "your" in the old Braj dialect. This accords with the next sentence in which Akbar alludes to pronouns and speaks of being distressed by the "mā u man," "We and I." Pargana Tihāra was in Sarkār Sirhind and on the Sutlej. See J. II. 295.

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Verse.[1]

A Shāh who by wisdom is the guide or the path to God,
An ocean which never for a moment is separated from God,
Though they call him the shadow of God,
We do not call him shadow, for he is God's light.

On 9 Isfandarmaẕ, Divine month, a bridge was made from the neighbourhood of Lakhi[2] Qiyāmpūr, and the royal standards passed over the Sutlej. Worlds of troops and universes of animals crossed safely and in comfort. Near this place Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram came from Lahore and paid his respects and was honoured with royal favours.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to Baluchistan. As the leaders of that tribe, owing to their innate savagery and ill-fatedness, had turned away their heads from obedience and had not paid proper respect, M. Yūsuf K., Shah Qulī K. Maḥram, Saiyid Ḥāmid, Muḥammad Zamān and other strenuous ones were 236
sent off to that country. They were first to guide them by wisdom-conferring counsels, and if these were not effectual they were to enlighten their darkness by the flashes of the sword. On the 12th the cortége alighted at Patan (Pākpattan). The sovereign paid a visit to the shrine of S. Farīd Shakrganj.[3] From the beginning of night he made the morning of truth shine, and he also spent most of the following day in that processional spot (muṭāf), and performed the duties of the primacy of the spiritual and temporal world. The attendants on the shrine and the inhabitants generally attained to high dignity and were comforted. During that banquet of enlightenment Ṣūfī Nāṣir from Balkh and Mullā Mushfiqī[4] from Bokhara had

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1 This quatrain seems to be Faiẓī's: cf. B. 561.

2 J. II. 332, where it is called Qiyāmpūr Lakhī. There are three other Lakhīs in the Sarkār (Bet Jalandhar Doāb).

3 J. III. 363.

4 B. 583. Mashfiqī was a poet, and Badayūnī III. 328 gives two specimens of his poetry. The passage in text is corrupt and I have corrected it from the two I.O. MSS. 236 and 235 of Ethé. According to the text the wisdom of these two strangers was tested as had been that of the sages of India. But in the two MSS. referred to, the word diyār "country" does not occur and the words are "ma'rifat-i-ānrā cūn sha'ra-i-in 'iyār girifta." The expression about their coming to know that they had wasted their lives,

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the happiness of presenting themselves. The spiritual knowledge of the one and the poetry of the other were tested, and they came to recognize the futility of their lives, and began their work anew.

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and their commencing their studies afresh (under Akbar as teacher), is repeated with reference to 'Abdul Bāqī Turkistānī at the foot of first paragraph of p. 244.

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CHAPTER XLII.

Beginning of the 23rd Divine year from the holy accession, viz. the year Bahman of the second cycle.

On Tuesday 2 Muḥarram 986 (11 March, 1578), after the passing of 53 minutes, the sun filled with light the sign of Aries and the eleventh year of the second cycle began. Mortals rejoiced in the equability of the atmosphere, and in their delight returned thanks. Melody unmixed with sorrow sounded, and there was universal joy.

Verse.

The spring-clouds made pictures in the garden,
The morning breeze shed *'aṯr* on the rosarium,
Whiles the musky gale brought perfume from hidden places,
Whiles vivifying Boreas shed jewels on the ground.

In the beginning of this year 3 Farwardīn, Divine month, a bridge was made over the Rāvī at Khānpūr, and the august standards cast their rays on that country.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of S. Ibrāhīm to the governorship of the metropolitan province (Fatḥpūr Sikrī). He knew the outer world and was skilful in its management. It was ordered that he should come from the thānadāri of Laḍlāī[1] to that city and guard the orders of sovereignty. Though the awe of majestic justice keeps the distant as well as the near in the school of service, and they reckon employment as the source of secular and spiritual bliss, yet as vigilance and forethought are the characteristics of the sitter on the throne of fortune, he useth to make over each 237
country to some prudent and active-minded person, and in a sleepless manner spreads forth the shade of watchfulness. After this noble fashion did he worship the world-adorning Deity.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Shujā'at[2] K. to the

[1] Text Lawalāli as at p. 220, where it is said to be in the province of Ajmere. See note at p. 220. In I.O. M.S. 236 it is Lāzhlālī.

[2] See B. 284 for an account of how Akbar saved Shujā'at from a tiger.

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province of Mālwa. As it came to the august hearing that the officers of that country were somnolent and did not regard the afflictions of the weak, and had become worldly and had stepped aside from the highway of wisdom, he imparted counsels as regarded each of them suitable to their conditions, and sent off Shujā'at K., who together with courage, possessed knowledge of affairs and justice, to be their commander-in-chief. An order was also issued that Shāh Budāgh K., Tolak K., Muṭṭalib K., and the soldiery generally should exert themselves with one accord in composing the troubles, and should act in conformity with Shujā'at K.'s opinion.

One of the occurrences was the stumbling[1] of H.M.'s horse. Whatever happens to him is a lesson and an ornament. If by reason of human nature slumbrousness overcome him, and forgetfulness be produced by the mantle of mortality, he is awakened by what is in appearance injurious, and enlightenment is bestowed in a wondrous fashion. Intimations reach the *masnad* of instruction in proportion to the slumbers of each person. But the much wakefulness of a world does not come up to his sweet sleep. Spectators are amazed, and as they do not comprehend the cause, they are bewildered. Apparently it was in this way that one night when he was coming back to the camp from hunting, his horse stumbled. He, the wise and foreseeing one, regarded this as a message from God, and prostrated himself in devotion. A new foundation was laid for Divine worship. May the Incomparable Creator uphold that holy personality on the pleasant spot of health and not suffer any untoward dust to settle on the skirt of daily-increasing fortune!

Verse.

Hail to the holder of the kingly throne!
The magazine of Divine aids,

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[1] Perhaps this is the occurrence which is referred to in the collection of Akbar's sayings at the end of the Ain, text II, 234, and J. III, 386, five lines from foot. The words there: "On the completion of my twentieth year" appear to be a mistake arising from a corrupt text. In two MSS. which I have consulted the word is not "*bist*" "20" but "*asp*" or "*asb*" horse, and the meaning seems to be "my horse stumbled." But Akbar had another fall from his horse in the 34th year at Daka in Afghanistan. See A. N. III, 572.

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God be praised that in his lofty destiny,
No evil[1] comes except in the shape of rue.

Simple-minded, superficial persons who never saw anything but prudence and far-sightedness in that Unique of the realm of being, and who did not budge even half a step from the market square of ordinary causes, sought[2] out petty reasons. As one of the ancients has sung:—

Quatrain.

I went to kill the horse with my sword, 238
He said, "First hear this my excellent excuse:
I'm neither the earth's[3] bull that I can support the world,
Nor the fourth sphere that I can draw the sun.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Komulmīr.[4] That fortress is of difficult access and is situated on a sky-high mountain. The Rānā had after the fashion of his ancestors made it his residence. In former times very few had succeeded in taking it. On this day owing to the wondrous fortune of the Shāhinshāh, it became with a little effort the resting-place of the victorious army. When Shahbāz K. proceeded thither, he sent away to Court Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh lest from their feelings as landholders there might be delay in inflicting retribution on that vain disturber (the Rānā). He himself went forward to take it, in company with Sharīf K., Ghāzi K., M. K, and others. By the guidance of the stars the troops passed over the stony tracts and easily crossed the defiles. At a time, when neither resident nor

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[1] *Kamāli* "Perfection," but I think there is an allusion to the 'ain-i-kamāl, i.e. the evil eye. But the meaning may also be "No perfection comes unaccompanied by its rue" (as a prophylactic against the evil eye).

[2] There are apparently various readings. I.O. M.S. 236 seems to have *ba kīn u sāīl* "revenge and questionings," and id. 236 seems to have *bakamīn u sāīl* "with inquiries and questionings."

[3] *Gāo-i-zamīn.* The bull which bears the earth on its horns.

[4] *Kohlmīr* in text, the Kombhalmīr of B. It is in the Udaipūr State and 40 m. N. of Udaipūr. The mountain is over 3,500 feet high. It was visited by Tod who has described it in his Personal Narrative. It was he who took possession of it in 1818. See also B. 400, the Rajputana Gazetteer, III, 52, and I.G. XVI, s.v. Kūmbhalgarh.

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stranger thought of it, Shahbāz K. arrived to take the fort. By the might of heavenly aid he got possession of the defile of Kelwāra,[1] which is such that the foot of fancy (*khiyāl*) cannot reach it. The heroes ascended the heights and prevailed. The garrison lost heart on seeing the lights of celestial aid. On 24 Farwardīn, Divine month, 3 or 4 April, 1578, the fort was invested and the drums of joy beaten. On beholding the might of the ghāzīs, the foot of courage of the turbulent one (the Rānā) slipped, and he became still more dismayed. By the wondrous work of fate a large gun inside the fort burst, and the harvest of his equipment was reduced to ashes. At once he dropt the thread of courage and fled to the hills.[2] Many Rajputs of fame stood in front of the gate and the precincts of the temple and made a daring fight. After gallant hand-to-hand combats they slept in the house of annihilation.[3] In the morning of dominion that celestial knot was loosed, and a deed showed itself which ordinary people could not comprehend. When it was pointed out that that wicked one was in the hill-country of Bānswāla, he (Shahbāz K.) made over the fort to Ghāzī K. Badakhshī and hastened in that direction. Next day at midday he took
239 Goganda, and at midnight Udaipūr. The victors obtained immense booty.

One of the strange occurrences was that an ascetic hermit had for a long time lived in obscurity in the first fort (Komulmīr?). Men always sought a blessing from his lofty spirit. Before the catastrophe by three days he came out in the morning on the top of the Rānā's temple and sounded the "*'azān*" (call to prayer), and announced the coming of the king's army. The governor was astonished and questioned him. He replied, "This (i.e. last) night I was informed that the capture would take place." The slumbrous-witted one was enraged and put him to death.

On hearing the news of this great Divine boon H.M. increased his devotions, and distinguished the loyal combatants by great

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[1] I.G. XV. 198.

[2] The Maaṣir II. 593 says the Rānā escaped in the dress of a Sanyāsī, but perhaps this merely means that he escaped naked or with few clothes.

[3] The account of the taking of Komulmīr is partially translated in Elliot, VI, 58.

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favours. On the 31st of the month H.M. went near Ciniot[1] towards the bridge,[2] and a portion of the great camp crossed under his inspection, and the active servants had a fresh instance of his marvels. How could so numerous an army have marched if he had not been there to guide it? Who has the ability to describe the equipment? Shall I relate the passing over hills and plains? Or shall I describe the completion of the bridge and the adornment (*āin*) of the boats? Or shall I write of the passage of the elephants through the boisterous river, or tell tale of the masterfulness (*isbahbadī*) of this spiritual king? On that day, on account of the ignorance of newly-trained servants, Pūndarīk,[3] a special (*Khāṣa*) elephant, was lost in the depths (*ẕ'harifhā*) of the river. The deep-seeing (*ẕ'harifnigāh*) sovereign regarded diminution[4] of property as increase of life, and held a feast. One day there was on the hunting-ground a great hailstorm. The hailstones were as large as nuts.[5] H.M. was in a litter[6] (sukhpāl), and holding communion with his God. By the blessing of the shadow of the blessing of the Shāhinshāh no harm happened to his followers in that unprotected plain.

One of the occurrences was the cessation of clouds and rain. The

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[1] The text has *janūb*, south. The Iqbālnāma enables me to correct this to Ciniot. I. G. X. 285. Akbar was in Lahore when he heard of Shahbāz K.'s success. On 31 Bahman he went to Ciniot on the Cenāb. See J. II, 320, 21, and R.A.S.J. for 1899, p. 132.

[2] The sentence is obscure and the Lucknow ed. and some MSS. have *khabar* "news" instead of *jisr* a bridge. Perhaps it is the name of a place, e.g. Jasroya or Jarrota, J. II, 320. Apparently H.M. marched from Lahore.

[3] Sanskrit, Pūndarīka, a lotus.

[4] This does not refer I think to the loss of the elephant. It is merely A. F.'s round-about way of saying that Akbar gave a banquet. Akbar considered, he says, the consumption of property involved in giving a banquet as a means of increasing life. There is also a play on the double meaning of the word *kāhish*. It means both "diminution" and the disease of phthisis. A.F. also travesties a couplet of Niẓāmī quoted by Vullers s.v. which says that *kāhish* (the disease) soon produced *kāhish*, diminution of life.

[5] *Jauz*. We are not told the kind of nuts; perhaps A.F. as an Indian means cocoa-nuts, but more probably he refers to walnuts or *supārī* nuts.

[6] Perhaps Akbar was in a litter on account of his recent fall from his horse. *Sukhpāl* seems to be the same as *sukāsan* mentioned at p. 130, top line, as used by Muni'm K.

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account of this marvel is that for some days there was constant and unseasonable rain. The campmen and the generality of the subjects were distressed and complained. The wonder-worker emitted his glorious breathings[1] on a mirror and then put it into a fire. From the wondrous effect of the breath[2] of him whom the spheres obey the celestial turbulence ceased.

Verse.

When energy assists the brave,
They raise the Earth above the sky;
By energy accomplish deeds,
That difficulties may be easy to you.

One of the occurrences was the forgiveness of the offences of the Balūcīs. It has been mentioned that the leaders of that tribe had from darkness of understanding and slumbrousness of fate
240 cast their eyes on the remoteness and strength of their country and taken the path of ruin. As the world-adorning sun of Divine[3] light exists for the casting down of the wicked as well as for the cherishing of the good, an order was given that some of the Panjab officers should proceed to the abodes of the tribe and inflict proper chastisement on them. The sound of the approach of the world-conquering troops aroused the slumberers and guided them to good service. From dread and from farsight they sent prudent men and sought for forgiveness. H.M. accepted their excuses[4] and received the entreaties of those tamed ones of the desert of ignorance at the

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[1] See B. 164 where Akbar is described as breathing on cups of water and placing them in the sun. Perhaps *dar ātish nihād* means "he placed the mirror in the sun."

[2] *Damgīrāī*. It also means assistance, or power. See J. III, 366, where the original of the words "miraculous powers" is *damgīrāī*. A.F. plays on the double meaning. The miracle is described in a MS. of the T. A. in my possession. The account occurs near the beginning of the 24th year and says that Akbar called for a mirror, breathed on it three times and then put it in the fire. The mirror was probably of metal. The story does not seem to occur in the Newal Kishore edition.

[3] *Shamsah-i-peshṭāq*. The sun-picture of the portico. See B. 50.

[4] The Iqbālnāma gives the names of two of the Bilūcī chiefs who came to sue for grace, Ḥājī K. and Jihat K. A. F. also mentions them in the following chapter.

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rate of chosen service. He issued an order that the troops should return. For his whole thought is to accept the obedience of mortals so that multiplicity may become unity, and that mankind in general may have repose. He does not act like the rapacious and greedy who make stumbling an excuse for subjugation, and do not rest without shedding blood and heaping up wealth.

One of the occurrences was the composing of the distractions connected with the *sayūrghāls*[1] (rent-free lands). Many recluses suffered from their feebleness because they had not their land in one place, and sometimes were tormented by the exchequer-officers and the agents of fief-holders. Also avaricious and shameless people fraudulently laid hold of lands in several places. They looked upon the differences in localities as a means of fraud, and so fell into eternal ruin. The just lord of the earth ordered that the *Aima*[2] lands should not be mixed up with the exchequer and jagir lands. He also abolished the plurality of situations and assigned to each in a particular place his *tankhwāh*.[3] Able men were appointed to every province and *sarkār* and made justice resplendent. By the holy orders the lamp of satisfaction was kindled for the recluses, and the evil-doers were guided aright. The work was done from the beginning, and by wise regulations the revenue was preserved, which is the highest form of worship in the social state. The light of justice also diffused new radiancy over the world.

One of the occurrences was the amazement of the superficial at the knowledge of mysteries possessed by H.M. One day he heard in his privy chamber the beating of a drum. Though those who had access there searched for the drummer, they could find no trace of him. It fell from the mouth full of pearls, "Something tells me that it is the admirable work of Yār Muḥammad."[4] When

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1 Cf. B. 268 and Lowe 261 and 282. It was Qāẓī 'Alī of Baghdad, B. 528, who was appointed to re-adjust the rent-free tenures.

2 See Wilson's Glossary and cf. B. 269, first para.

3 His pension (lit. body-satisfying), the Tuncah of Warren Hastings' time. See Wilson's Glossary s.v. Tankhwah.

4 Perhaps the Yār Muḥammad Yas āwal of text III, 475. Or he may be the son of Ṣādiq K. B. 357, 499. The story is told in a MS. copy of the T.A. near the beginning of the 24th year. It says Akbar remarked, "It is Yār Muḥammad Naqārcī (drummer)."

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they searched they found it to be so. Such far views were continually appearing for the guidance of the fortunate. A day did not pass that the various writings on men's hearts were not read by him as if they were inscriptions on a portico. If I were only to record the instances that had come to my own knowledge, a
241 separate book would be required, then what question can there be of the instances that have happened to others?

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CHAPTER XLIII.

The enjoyment of H.M. in a Qamargha[1] hunt, and his capture of the prey of his desires.

The sublime thought of the wise Khedive in the enjoyment of hunting is that he may, without the awe inspired by royal majesty and without the intervention of prattlers—whose skirts are mostly stained with self-interest—acquire a knowledge of the events of the world, put down oppressors, and exalt the good who sit in the corner of contempt. His holy heart also always longs for an opportunity of receiving spiritual influence, and thinks that perhaps he may in the fields of unconventionality fall in with some good man and thereby lay a fresh foundation for wisdom's palace. Or perchance the tongue of some silently eloquent one may communicate religious knowledge to him, and by his inward attractions (*kashashhā*, lit. "drawings") H.M.'s heart may be at rest from the questions of the Why and Wherefore, and may become fixed and pledged in one place, so that in this arid desert of self-confidence he may attain a spot of repose and may breathe freely in a holy mansion. While thus spiritually hungered in the struggles of search he on 12 Urdībihisht, 22 April 1578, resolved upon having a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood of Bhera.[2] He crossed the Bihat (Jhelum)

[1] According to some copies of the T. A. Akbar had come from Pāk Pattan where he had been visiting Farīd's shrine. The account of the *qamargha* and of Akbar's "attraction" is omitted in the Lucknow lithograph, and the account in B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 is very differently worded from the text of the Bib. Ind. The verbose preamble is omitted, and the wording of the narrative is different. Add. 27, 247 is useful as it gives the corresponding Hijra dates. Thus it gives 12 Urdībihisht corresponding to 14 Ṣafar (986), i.e. 22 April 1578, 15 Urdībihisht corresponding to Friday 17 Ṣafar, 25 April. It also adds the epithet *kuhna* "old" to the name Bhera. In fact there are two Bheras, the old and the modern, and the first apparently lay on the right bank of the Jhelum.

[2] In the Shāhpūr district of the Panjab, Badayūnī says, "near Nandana," and a M.S. T.A. in my possession has Nandana Rohtās.

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and gave orders to the great nobles and officers that they should according to excellent methods enclose the wild beasts from Girjhāk [1] to Bhera, a distance of twenty-five *kos*. They zealously applied themselves to the task and formed troops (*qushūn, qushūn*) and bands. At this time Ḥājī K.[2] and the other Bilūcī leaders came with a thousand feelings of shame and did homage. Inasmuch as the observance of promises is at the head of the deeds of the social state, he forgave their offences and raised them from the ground of disgrace. At a sign from H.M. they obtained a place in the company (for hunting).

The zealous strivers of the domain of enlightenment had fulfilled their orders, when the bird of desire fell into the net, and the tongues [3] of eloquent silence obtained the joy of deliverance. That seeker after truth (Akbar) was putting forth the foot of search in that wide wilderness, and was holding self-conflicts in the pleasant place where the quarry had fallen. The glory of unity was bestowed by him on the pure spots and pleasant precincts of the temple of his supplications. As attainment follows upon search, the lamp of vision became brilliant. A sublime joy took possession of his bodily frame. The attraction (*jazaba*)[4] of cognition of God cast its

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[1] Kirjhāk in text. J. II, 324 and n. 6. It is the Hindu name for Jalālpūr, I.G., and is said to be the Bucephala of Alexander. It is on the right bank of the Jhelum. Add. M.S. 27, 247 says that the arrangements for the *qamargha* were carried out during ten days. It gives the date of the "attraction" as the day of Dīn 24 Urdibihisht corresponding to Sunday 26 Ṣafar, 4 May 1578. It mentions M. Yūsuf K., Naurang K. and Aṣaf K. as employed in arranging the hunt. It also speaks of Akbar's leaving his main camp on one side of the river and of his crossing over. In this M.S. the expression *jazaba qavī* "a strong attraction" is used, as in the T.A.

[2] B.M. M.S. gives 17 Urdibihisht as the day of their coming, and adds the name of Jīta K. or Chēta K. as a variant.

[3] Apparently this refers to the animals who were freed from the enclosing nets.

[4] The jazaba is described by Badayūnī, Lowe 261, and by Niẓāmu-d-dīn at the beginning of the 24th year, but the passage is omitted in Elliot V, 408. It seems to have been a remarkable occurrence, and Badayūnī speaks of it as having led to disturbances in the eastern provinces. Perhaps it caused Akbar's mother to come at this time to visit him. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Akbar distributed "money to faquirs under the tree where he had experienced the attraction, and ordered a house

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ray. The description of it cannot be comprehended by the feeble intellect of common-place people. Nor can every enlightened sage 242 attain to an understanding of it. A few of the farsighted ones of the illuminated spot of spiritual knowledge understand a little out of much of it by help of the ecstacy of vision (*shahūdī*). Until the boon companions of the banquet of Majesty (i.e. Akbar's companions) have drunk the clarified wine, what do they know of religious experience? And without tasting that inspiring wine, who among the topers in the tavern of Unity has the strength of vision to perceive from what jar this intoxication comes? The belief of one party of keen-witted men who were admitted to an audience was that the decorators of the court of creation had observed the world-illuminating beauty of his understanding. There[1] had been a marvellous intercourse with the mystery-knowing heart of the holy sanctuary.

A number of clear-sighted ones of the holy assemblage thought that he had met in these inspiring fields one of the pious anchorites and had gained his desire. Another set thought that he had met in with one of the holy spirits, others were convinced that the speech of the silent ones of the wilderness had conveyed a message to him. Others thought that the beasts of the forest had with a tongueless tongue imparted Divine secrets to him. When he had for a long time received the Divine rays, the blissful servants came and in proportion to their capacity carried[2] off the fragments of the feast. When the stewards of the hidden chamber of the Divine decrees had for the sake of the government of the world brought down again him who had obtained his desire in the spiritual kingdom, he in thanksgiving for this great boon set free many thousands of animals. Active men made every endeavour that no one should touch the feather of a finch and that they should allow all the animals to depart according to their habits. The

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and garden to be made there." The preparation for the *Qāmargha* had gone on for four days, and the enclosing circle was nearly completed when Akbar stopped the hunt. See D.A. 86.

[1] I am exceedingly doubtful of the meaning of this sentence. Perhaps it means that the opinion just stated is that of the ladies of Akbar's court.

[2] This phrase is repeated at p. 245, last line.

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caravans of animated beings had fresh life. The dumb of this world hastened to the rose-garden of joy. As his pure heart is free of sensual pleasures, and he ever desires asceticism, the thought of this boiled over in his soul and the desire for one-ness prevailed. He was nearly abandoning this state of struggle, and entirely gathering up the skirt of his genius from earthly pomp. But in obedience to the orders of Wisdom—the Shāhinshāh—he passed from this desire, but conformed somewhat to the practices (of the ascetics). He shortened his hair which was long and beautiful and entrancing, and many of the lovers of the order[1] voluntarily imitated him. Stranger still, some time before this he had said that in the beginning of his reign he had, from sympathy with the natives of India, and in opposition of his ancestors, cherished the hair of his head, but from the wonders of Divine power would it be surprising if he should change his mind, and bring some inhabitants of this country to our "custom." On the same day he crossed the Bihat and came to the camp, and gave up the thought of advancing
243 further. At this time[2] Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh arrived on the bank of the river from Ajmere and did homage.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at the camp of H.M. Miriam Makānī. At the time when the camp was on the bank of the Bihat, it was announced to H.M. that her litter was near at hand, and that she was very anxious to see him. He was much delighted, and made arrangements for doing her honour. First an order was given that the prince Sulṭān Selīm should go to meet her and that many officers should accompany him. After that, H.M. went on horseback and made the reverence to his visible God (his mother), an act of worship of the true Creator. He at once acted according to etiquette and also exalted the rank of his knowledge of God.

Verse.

It belongs to a knowledge of rank to adore rank,
God does not give rank, save to him who appreciates it.

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[1] *Silāsil.* Apparently the order of the Divine Faith. But perhaps the word means locks or curls, and the translation should be "lovers of such chains (curls)."

[2] Add. 27, 246 says Bhagwant Dās

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One of the occurrences was the arrival of presents from Bengal and Koc[1] (Koc Behar). At the time when the camp was by the river Bihat the bearers of reports from Khān Jahān arrived at court. The gist of them was that the eastern provinces were tranquil by the blessing of the ruler of the age. Rajah Māl Gosain, the zamindar of Koc, also again made his submission. First of all the rarities of Bengal, including 54 noted elephants, were produced, and then the presents of the landholder. Partāb 'Tār Feringi, who

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came on the day of Mār Isfandār 29 Urdibihisht, corresponding to Rabī' al awwal. On 1 Khurdād or Monday 4 Rabī'al awwal news came of the arrival of Miriam Makānī. Though Niẓāmu-d-dīn puts the occurrence in the 24th year, he means 986 as A. F. does. Elliot's correction to 987 is wrong.

[1] There is an interesting account of Kūch Behar in A.N. III, 716. The Rajah himself did not wait upon Akbar. It was only his vakīl who came. At p. 716 A. F. gives an account of Rajah Māl Gosain. He says he was the grandson of Bishna (or Bisa, and the Visu of other authorities), and was an ascetic and did not marry till he was fifty. B.J.A.S.B. for 1872, 100 n., says he is the Nara Narain of Kūch Behar annals. See also Gait J.A.S.B. for 1893, 301 n. It is unlikely that an ascetic would develop into a great conqueror, and apparently the real warrior was his brother Sukhla Deva Sīlārāī, as indeed the temple inscriptions say. A. F. 716 calls Sukhla Dev the elder brother of Māl Gosain, but the inscriptions quoted by Gait, id. 295, show that he was the younger brother. Māl Gosain is more likely to be right than Bāl Gosain, as the first agrees with the Mallā Deva of the inscriptions. Māl Gosain wrote a book or a letter in praise of Akbar and sent it to him along with some fine silks. Presumably this was part of the present sent on the occasion mentioned in the text. In the 50th year of his reign he made his nephew his heir-apparent, but after this either he or his brother Shukl (Sukhla) Gosain married and had a son called Lacmī Narain. See Glazier's Rungpore, p. 12. B.M. Add. 27, 247 calls Rajah Māl Gosain the Rajah of Kāmrū (Kāmrūp).

[1] Cf. Elliot VI, 59. Partāb Bār is in the Cawnpore ed., p. 128, Partābā Bār, though at p. 182 id. we have Partāb Bā. As remarked in Elliot, the names of Partāb and his wife are very doubtful. In the two I.O. MSS. the name is Partāb Bāz. Partāb is mentioned again in the Bib. Ind. ed. III, 320, corresponding to Cawnpore ed. 182, where we are told that M. Najāt K. took shelter with him after having been defeated by Qatlū in Selīmābād (or Sulaimānābād) in Bardwan and Hugli, see B. Geography of Bengal A.S.B. 42, p. 218. B. id. calls him Partāb the Portuguese governor of Hugli, p. 440 and n. In all probability Partāb is the Tavares mentioned by

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is one of the officials of the merchants of the ports of Bengal, had the bliss of an audience. He and his wife Nashūrna were from their happy star amazed at the laudable qualities of the sovereign,

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Manrique: see Murray's Discoveries in Asia, Vol. II, 99. Sebastian Manrique was an Augustinian monk, and his book Itinerario, etc., was published at Rome in 1649. See also Bartoli, Missione al Gran Mogor, Piacenza, 1819, p. 5, who mentions Pietro Tavares as being a military servant of Akbar and also as captain of a port in Bengal. According to Bartoli it was Tavares who induced Akbar to send for Egidio Anes Pereira the priest of Sātgāon. The latter in his turn induced Akbar to send for priests from Goa. See also the Calcutta Review, vol. v, for June 1846, article "The Portuguese in North India," p. 257. Apparently this article is the authority for the statement in Toynbee's Sketch of the administration of Hugli, Calcutta, 1888, p. 3. Partāb Bār does not bear much resemblance to the name Tavares. Perhaps it was his Hindustani title, or it may be that the first syllable is a corruption of his Christian name Pietro. The Darbār-Akbarī, p. 67, has Tāb Bārro which comes nearer Tavares. The author does not, apparently, read the second name as that of a woman. The excellent I.O. M.S. old No. 564, new do. 236, has p. 317b, four lines from foot.

پرتاب باز فرنگی که از اعیان بازارگانان
بنادر بنگاله است سعادت بار یافت او
بالسوزبا زن خود از نیک اختری حیرت‌زده
خوی ستوده شهریارگشت و با راستگی عقلی
و شایستگی حال در نظر اکسیر آن گیتی
خداوند اعتبار یافتند *

Thus the name of the wife appears to be Ulsozba, and she as well as her husband were received by Akbar, for the plural *yāftand* is used. I cannot make out what the name really is, though possibly it is Louisa or Isabella. The author of the Darbār Akbarī has Bāsubāran باسوبارن That is, he has *ran* instead of *zan* (wife), and he seems to regard the name as that of a man. The other I.O. M.S. No. 235, p. 516a, has, instead of a woman's name, *ba sūd u ziyān khud* "with his own profit and loss!" and has *yāft* instead of *yāftand* (according to the English numbering the page is 518a). The lady's name also appears in MSS. as Nashūrnā, Nasūrtā and Basūrbā. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Agra, writing to Dr. Wolff in 1832, told him that a lady named Juliana, an inmate of Akbar's seraglio, was instrumental in procuring the presence in Agra of the Jesuit priests. See Wolff's Researches, etc., p. 303; and Col. Kincaid, *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, vol. III, p. 164, speaks of a Juliana as having married John Philip Bourbon, and as having been the sister of Akbar's Christian wife. Possibly all this is merely a distortion of the story of the Donna Juliana who was at the Court of Aurangzeb and Bahādur Shah.

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and from their good sense and propriety of conduct they found favour in the testing eyes of the world-lord. Also at this time Abdul[1] Bāqī Turkestānī acquired bliss by doing homage. H.M. in his abundant quest of truth gave every one access to himself, and listened to the tales of plausible persons, as possibly his soul might be refreshed by them. In this abode of search (the world) the 244 unique pearl of enlightenment does not come into the hands until after hundreds of disappointments, and without having an open countenance for the various classes of mankind, nor can knowledge (of God) be attained. Many lights of the firmament of holiness remain hidden in the dark places of ignorance, and many, on the other hand, make a boast of themselves. From seeing such tumults, the questers in the wilderness of search withdraw their hearts from inquiry. They withhold their foot from endeavour, and choose the corner of apathy (*afsardagī*). But the far-seeing sovereign (Akbar) becomes more earnest in his striving when he does not get the night-gleaming jewel! By his orders the stewards of the holy banquet bring every sect before his noble glance, and accordingly at this time, by the direction of some courtiers, this man who had trodden the desert of exile, and who had come from the Ḥijāz, was brought into the enlightened assembly. For a time he discoursed pleasingly and with a fluent tongue, and communicated some of the things about religion and creed that he had acquired from learned Christians. It soon became evident that he had not examined into the matter with a discriminating eye, and that he had not penetrated to the pure temple of devotion (*riyāẓat*). From his good disposition he became conscious of his empty-handedness, and of the waste of his life, and took up the matter anew.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Sakīna Bānū Begam to give counsels to Ḥakīm M. One of the secret thoughts of H.M. during this expedition was that he would hasten to Kabul and arouse the slumbering Mīrzā by advice, and compose the distractions of Zabūlistān, and cause all the people thereof to sit in the shade of

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1 Probably he is the Maulānā Abdul Bāqī who became a Ṣadr, B. 272, 528, 541. The words at the end of his description are similar to those used at p. 236 of text to describe Mullā Mashfiqī and Sūfī Nāẓir. Add. B.M. 27, 247, calls him Martāẓa Bāqa.

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justice. When the mysterious[1] revelation which loosed the knots of difficulties came to him, that design became erased from his heart, and he said, "My sole wish is that the Mīrzā may emerge from the defile of savagery and be encompassed with princely favours. Inasmuch as he is young and inexperienced, and is associated with persons of small capacity, perchance he may on our approach turn away from the altar of fortune and go into exile.[2] Though able and farsighted persons have regarded a younger brother in the light of a son, yet something tells me that the existence of a dutiful son is doubtful, and the meeting of the brothers impossible. It is far better that I hearten him by good counsels from a distance. It may be that his somnolent fortune shall awake and that he shall take the path of obedience, cease to stray, and become a traveller to the abode of bliss! If through converse with evil-thoughted ones he has hurried away from the high road of obedience and the pleasant abode of service, and has fallen into the thornbrake of ingratitude, it becomes a magnanimous nature, and is suitable to a wide tolerance to act contrary to the opinion of the short-sighted, and to take that unfortunate wanderer and stumbler
245 by the hand, and to cure him by various instructions." On this account he nominated that veiled one of the palace of chastity, who was the Mīrzā's full sister,[3] for most men listen to the words of friends and near relatives, and do not accept the advice of well-meaning strangers, nor take their words into account. If they had a clear judgment and seeing eyes and an awakened heart, they would distinguish between the pearl and the glassbead like experienced jewellers of the market-place who test everything small or great, and they would cast out of view the speaker and regard only the intrinsic beauty of the speech! It was also in his mind that if the Mīrzā should hearken to what was said, a fresh relationship might be established which would encourage and comfort him. Though in the opinion of the wise the intermarriage of near re-

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[1] The vision during the hunt.

[2] The Iqbālnāma adds, he might take refuge with the Uzbegs.

[3] Sakīna was given in marriage by Akbar to Naqīb K.'s son Shāh Ghāzī K. She died in 1014 (1605), A.N. III, 839. Sakīna means tranquillity, and also the Shechinah or Holy Spirit. She is mentioned by Gulbadan B. as Māh Cūcak's second daughter.

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latives be not approved, yet the far-seeing hold it to be right under certain considerations, and regard it as a slight evil for a great good. Hence he ordered that if the veiled one of chastity saw purity (lit. crystal) in the forehead of his disposition, she should rejoice him with the tidings that Prince Sultan Selim might become his son-in law. She left on 19 Khurdād from Sīdrī [1] (?) and went off in company with Mīr 'Alī K. Sildoz and Mīr Abu Issac [2] Ṣafvī.

At the same time the ambassadors [3] of Shāhrukh M. obtained leave, and 'Abdulla [4] K. and 'Ābdī Khwāja were sent off to encourage and soothe the Badakhshīs. It has already been mentioned that the Khānim had sent, on behalf of the Mīrzā, skilful persons, and apologized for the disorders of that country (Badakhshān). When the facts were known, the disturbances created by the Mīrzā were seen to be the result of his youth, and of ill advice, etc., and the excuses were accepted. The hearts of the distressed were comforted by various favours, and it was announced that when the veiled chaste one should come to court her countenance would be brightened by glad tidings.

NOTE.—See Akbar's opinions on this subject in J. III, 397, 398. He regarded the marriage of cousins as a survival from Adam's time when such connections were necessary.

About this time the primacy of the spiritual world took possession of his holy form, and gave a new aspect to his world-adorning beauty. In the pleasant abode of hunting the magical musicians [5] came forth with their melodies, and for a time his august heart was engaged by this. On hearing this exorcising spell of the woof and warp of association, or rather talisman of the perception of the treasury of truth, that [6] cavalier of the plain of vision experienced a trans-

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[1] Or Sahīdrī?

[2] B. 523. He was the son of Rafī-u-d-dīn Ṣafavī who was connected by marriage with A.F's father. See J. III, 423.

[3] 'Abdu-r raḥmān Beg and M. 'Āshiq. See text, p. 211.

[4] They were sent with the ambassadors, and probably Sakīna went off in the same party. B.M. M.S. Add. 21. 247, says 'Abdullah was son of Mu. Ghauṣ of Gwalior. See B. 457.

[5] Apparently this is allegorical, but see B. 611 for A.F's account of the influence of music.

[6] The text has the word *gusekhta* "loosed," but it is not in the I.O. MSS. and seems out of place here.

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formation. What the chiefs of purity and deliverance had searched for in vain was revealed to him. The spectators who were in his
246 holy neighbourhood carried away the fragments of the Divine bounty. In a short space of time he by God-given strength turned his face to the outer world and attended to indispensable matters. If the tale of such spiritual things were to be unfolded and written down, volumes would be required, and the moving foot of the travelling pen would be worn out at the first advance. My whole energy is engrossed by recording the glorious occurrences of the outer world. Inasmuch as spiritual reflection has broken the rein of my heart I have through helplessness recorded something of the holy world of holiness.

At this time a fresh benevolence was exhibited. An order was issued for the taking of measures to fill the Anūptalāo [1] with money. In the special apartments (courtyard?) (*daulat khāna-i-khāṣ*) of Fatḥpūr there is a reservoir twenty by twenty (yards) and twice a man's height in depth. It is paved with red stone and is an object of admiration to the critical. Before the august expedition (to the Panjab) had taken place there had trickled from the fountainhead of bounty the statement that "For some time the participators in the holy banquet have had their eyes and ears gratified by the clearness of the pearling waters and the prattling of the fountains. Now let it be filled to the brim with various coins so that the great treasures may become visible and the general public may receive an abundant share of the sublime bounty, and the necessitous be freed from the anguish of expectation." At this time the arrangers of the banquet of sovereignty set about filling the reservoir. Rajah Todar Mal reported that it would be filled by the time the royal standards arrived, that seventeen krors of *dāms* had been counted out, and that it was estimated that this quantity [2] would suffice to fill it.

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[1] The tank or reservoir (*ḥauz*) was made or completed in 983 (1575-76). Lowe 204. Badayūnī, after mentioning the tank, goes on to speak of Jalāl K. Kūrcī, and we know that he was killed at the end of 983. B. 476. Anūptalāo means "the unparalleled tank."

[2] *Miṣl-i-ān.* I am rather inclined to think that A.F. means by this expression that another seventeen krors would be required. This would make the amount agree with the statement in Jahangir's Memoirs, T.J. 260, that it took thirty-four krors, forty-eight lacs and 46,000 dāms

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One of the occurrences was the coming of Shahbāz K. to court, and the bringing with him of Daudā the son of Rai Surjan. It has been mentioned that he had been sent to that country to subdue recalcitrant ones of the province of Ajmere and to punish the wicked there. He had done excellently there and had slain many of them. Some had saved themselves by submission, and rested in peace. The Rānā had his residence plundered, and had gone into obscurity in the defiles. Daudā, who had always been prominent among the turbulent had repented and become submissive.

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to fill it. He calls it the Kapūr tank and says it was 36 by 36 cubits and 4½ cubits deep. The B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 has *hamīn qadr dīgar khwāhid gan.īd* "another equal amount would fill it," and the Iqbāl-nāma says that Todar Mal reported that seventeen krors had been used and that there was still space, and that Akbar ordered it to be filled to the brim. Elliot V. 409 says the reservoir was filled with gold, silver and copper, and that the amount came to twenty krors of *tanks*. Badayūnī, Lowe 272-73, says twenty krors of copper coin were used. He also says that a ḥakīm undertook to build a subaqueous house in the tank and failed, and that the contents of the tank were distributed in three years. An account of the inauguration of the reservoir and the distribution of the money is given in A.N. III, 257. See also D.A. 125. This last gives an account of an old picture of the distribution. In the report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. XVIII, Architecture of Fatḥpūr Sīkrī 1894-98, Chapter I, there is an account of a Ḥauz or tank in the Maḥāl-i-Khāṣ which presumably is the Daulat Khāna Khāṣ of A.F. The name of the tank is not given, but the dimensions 95 ft. 7 ins. square agree fairly with those given by A.F. and Jahangir, if we take his *dara'* or *zara'* to be yards. The tank may also have been increased in size. There is also a tank, known as the Sweet Tank, at the back of the Diwān-i-Khās. The tank in the Mahāl-i-Khāṣ is also shown in the plan in Keene's Agra. It is crossed by four causeways meeting in the middle. There is also a tank in the large square in front of the chief mosque. According to the Iqbālnāma it was this tank which burst in the 27th year and did considerable damage. See A.N. III, 392.

Jahangir speaks only of silver and copper coins being put into the tank whereas A.F. speaks of *muhrs*. According to Jahangir, Tūzuk 260, thirty-four krors and forty-eight lacs odd of dāms (i.e. copper money) and sixteen lacs and 80,000 rupees in silver were poured in, making a total of one kror, and three lacs of rupees or three lacs 43,000 tūmāns. In this estimate the dām has evidently been taken as the fortieth part of a rupee, and the Persia gold tūmān as worth Rs. 30.

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Shahbāz K. took that suppliant with him to court. On 5 Tīr, Divine month, he had the honour of saluting the threshold in the village of Tihārah, and was received with princely favours. His miserable condition was brought to the august notice and he was admitted to an interview. H.M. observed that eternal ruin was written on his forehead, and the draught of kindness did no good to the wicked. Inasmuch as the keeping of one's word is an essential part of rule, he was forgiven and allowed to sit in the shade of
247 tranquillity. When the royal standards proceeded to the capital he was left in the Panjab. Shortly afterwards he absconded,[1] and H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things was again illustrated. On the 9th of the month a bridge was ordered to be made over the Cenāb near the town of Kahlūr,[2] and the army crossed; on the 21st a bridge was made near Kalānūr, and the army crossed the Rāvī. From there an embassy was dispatched to the ruler of Kashmīr. As 'Alī K.[3] the governor (*ḥākim*) of that country had not hastened to the highway of obedience, H.M. sent on the 24th Mullā[4] 'Ishqī of Ghazni and Qāẓī Ṣadru-d dīn[5] of Lahore in order that they might guide that sitter in the hills to obedience. Next day he halted in that pleasant spot (Kalānūr[6]) and stayed in the garden of that city of fortune in whose rose-like land the accession of the Unique one of creation took place. He gave a feast there. On 4 Amardād, Divine month, he crossed the Beah (Beas) by a bridge near Khokhrowāl.[7] At this place S'aīd[8] K. was sent to the government of the Panjab. When the royal cortège first arrived in the province a large number of suppliants for justice had come and complained that Shah Qulī Maḥram did not attend to the punishment of oppressors, and that in consequence the administration of justice

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[1] B. 410.

[2] One of the Simla Hill States, capital Bilāspur. I.G. VIII, 234.

[3] 'Ali Cak. J. II, 330, father of Yūsuf Shah.

[4] He was a Bakhshī and also a poet. B. 528 and Badayūnī III, 277. The dispatch of the embassy is noted in the T.A., Elliot V, 411. For its return see Badayūnī, Lowe 276.

[5] B. 545. He is there described as belonging to Jālandhar. But this is explained by Badayūnī III, 84, where he is described as of Jālandhar and afterwards of Lahore. He is also called al Lahorī in T.A. in the list of learned men.

[6] In Gurdāspūr, Panjab.

[7] J. II. 319, where it is Khokowāl or Ghoghowāl.

[8] B. 331.

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was not in a good state. H.M. censured him and quieted the grieved hearts. The wicked went into the corner of contempt. From that time H.M. meditated that a just and able man should be sent to watch over matters. At this time, when his intention was to proceed to the capital, he entrusted the duty to the skill of that able and just man (S'aīd K.) and gave him wise directions. He also sent along with him to Lahore abundance of money for the poor and the empty-handed. He observed to Rajah Todar Mal that he had learnt that many Afghans had settled in the towns and villages of the Panjab. Though some professed to be traders and some to be husbandmen, yet there were signs of their being wicked. From time to time it appeared that they oppressed the weak, and that such things were not promptly inquired into; also the weak were unable to produce evidence. It appeared to H.M. that this body of men (Afghans) should be scattered and be sent in detachments to different provinces, so that the people might obtain relief from the burden of oppression, and also that the Afghans might not become vagabonds. At this time Rajah Bīrbar and 248
Saiyid Moẓaffar were sent to Jālandhar in order that for some days they might serve at a distance and gather bliss by sympathy for the helpless. Every one who was looking for a holding (*madad-m'aāsh*) and could not get it was to be sent to court. He would get one sufficient for him from the crown lands.

One of the events was the appointing of Muḥibb 'Alī K. the son of Mīr Khalīfa to the governorship of Delhi. From his early years he was an intelligent companion (of Akbar) and one who regarded his ability as a ray from loyal devotion. The wise sovereign offered him his choice of four great employments, 1st—The office of Mīr 'Arẓī at court. 2nd—The charge of the harem.[1] 3rd—The governorship of a remote province. 4th—The governorship of that blissful city. As his strength of body was not great, he rightly preferred the last employment.

On the 26th of the month H.M. ordered a bridge of boats to be placed over the Sutlej, and the army crossed. On this day Ḥājī K.

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1 *Darbār-i-shabistān.* Presumably this is the appointment formerly held by 'Itimād K. in the 20th year, text 142, where it is called the *darbar-i-mashkūī.* He must have vacated it when he went on pilgrimage.

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and the other Bilūcī chiefs from ignorance and savagery ran away. They had not beheld[1] the majesty of the great camp, and they did not choose to be far from their own homes lest court-service would fall upon them! At the time of crossing they searched for a wrong path. Kuar Mān Singh, Zain K. Koka and Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Āṣaf K. were sent after them. Owing to their being late in getting intelligence, they were unable to come up with them. Evil tale-bearers represented that they had not been active in the search, and for some days they were excluded from the bliss of the Presence and were in disgrace.

One of the occurrences was the leaving of Rajah Todar Mal in the province of the Panjab. When H.M. went off to Fatḥpūr, he was sent off in order to arrange the *jāgīrs* of the officers of the Kachwāha family. He was also ordered, with regard to some of the cultivated lands of the northern hill country, whose rulers were not obedient, to leave them in peace, if, on receiving advice, they laid upon their shoulders the burden of submission. Otherwise he was to extirpate the thankless crew, and to make over their lands and residences as the *tankhwāh* of the combatants for dominion (Akbar's officers). In a short space of time the order was carried out. Many of the hill-proprietors became ashamed and apologised and attached themselves to the saddle-straps of fortune, and some were punished and banished. At the time when the royal standards cast the shade of justice over the centre of the Caliphate, Rajah
249 Bhagwant Dās and he (Todar Mal) came and did homage.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Fatḥ K. to the government of Bhakar. During the Mālwa expedition news had come to Dībālpūr that Saiyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Adl had died. H.M. sent them I'tmād K. the eunuch, who was distinguished[2] for justice and ability. He in an able manner conducted an army to Sehwān,[3] and after being successful returned after making peace.

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[1] Apparently A.F. means that the Bilucis were so ignorant of the splendour of Akbar's court that they thought they would be impressed and kept as his servants.

[2] B. 438 says he died in 985 or 986, but at p. 490 he thinks that the date given by M'aṣūm, Shabān 984 or Oct. 1576, may be more correct. The T. M'aṣūm says he was succeeded by his son Abul Faẓl. Elliot I, 243.

[3] The text has Sahsawān, but the variant Sehwān seems right.

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Inasmuch as most men drop from their hands the thread of wisdom and become presumptuous when they have been successful, and do not respect their subordinates, and lose sight of the attracting affection which is the greatest of Divine gifts, this prudent man was caught by this evil quality. In his conceit and negligence he did not recognize friend from foe, nor separate the flatterers from the speaker of bitter-seeming truths. The wicked and evil-minded were trusted while the right-thinking and right-acting were disregarded. In addition to this he used harsh and insolent language to his servants. He called craft circumspection and did not act justly. At the time when H.M. was in the Punjab he was about to convey his soldiers to the holy court in order that their horses might be branded. From somnolence of intellect he thought that the loans which he had formerly made to his men would supply[1] him with the means for his expenses. Though they declared their poverty, he paid no heed and did not act justly by them. One morning Maqṣūd 'Alī, a servant, joined with some scoundrels and killed him. Many of them were seized, but some escaped to Qandahar. H.M. appointed Fatḥ[2] K., who was distin-

[1] The meaning appears to be that he called in his loans. This is how B. has understood it, for he says, 13 note, "In order to equip his contingent, he collected his rents and outstandings, as it appears, with much harshness." The Iqbālnāma puts it somewhat differently, saying that I'timād's men asked for the expenses of the journey and for help, and that he would not give them any money, and abused them. Perhaps then the meaning is not that he called in his loans (and surely he would not do this when they were about to undertake an expensive journey), but that he would not give them any help, as he thought that the loans he had already made them were sufficient. The Maaṣir I, 90, says that when Maqṣūd, who was blind of an eye, represented his poverty to Itimad, the latter told him that he deserved to have his blind eye pissed upon, and that Maqsūd drew his dagger and killed him. The Maaṣir also remarks in the biography that castration tames animals, but makes men more fierce. See also B. 13n and 428, and Elliot I, 244, where there is a translation of Māsūm Bhakharī's account of the matter. It appears from this that the murder was committed at Bhakhar and on 10 Rabī-al-awwal 986, or 17 May 1578.

[2] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that this is Fatḥ or Fattu K. Masnad 'Ali, B. 502, 523 and 531. He was an Afghan, and perhaps he was sent in pursuance of Akbar's scheme of

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guished for his observance of justice, to take charge of the country. On 5 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the royal cortège passed near Sirhind, which received the freshness of spring by his advent. The great officers, and the doctors of poetry[1] and proof, and other special members of the holy feast were eloquent and acute according to their degree. The ocean of the lord of oratory swelled up, and the thirsty-hearted ones of the desert of ignorance were saturated with knowledge.

One of the occurrences was H.M. the Shahinshāh's proceeding by water. Owing to the largeness of the crowd, it occurred to him that the camp should go by land and that he himself and some special courtiers should go by water. On the 14th he set out from the ferry of Sulṭānpūr Khiẓrābād. The select ones accompanied him while the great camp and the common soldiers went by land.
250 On the 19th he reached the environs of Delhi, and visited the tomb of H.M. Jahānbānī Jinnat Ashiyānī. Then after a time he re-entered the boat and weighed anchor. As the peasantry of that neighbourhood complained of the revenue officers (*'amalguẕārān*) he left Moẓaffar K. and Shāh Manṣūr there to dispense justice to them, and then join him.

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removing the Afghans from the Panjab. In the T. M'āṣūmi, Elliot I, 244, he is called Fatḥ K. Bahādur.

[1] *Hukamāī nāla u istidlāl.* Perhaps *hukamāī nāla* means Musicians.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

The rapid journey of H.M. to Ajmere, and his return to the Capital.

It was a rule that he should go every year in the beginning of Rajab to the holy shrine, and distribute gifts. In this way he worshipped God. But from the view that Divine worship is not restricted to any one place, and that speciality of locality does not befit universal bounty, he had the inspired thought that the chain of "use" and "wont" should be broken, and that there should be a wider sphere for the reception of the truth. This view, however, was not carried into effect in this year. Suddenly his heart was inflamed by the thought that he should rapidly go to the holy spot and return. Accordingly on the 24th he in the neighbourhood of Muttra mounted on a swift steed, and proceeded thither. A few intimates accompanied him. On that day he sent off Khwāja Fatḥ Ullah, who was one of his servants, to Gujarat to bring Quṭbu-d-dīn K. to Court. From the time that M. Koka, in full reliance on the Shāhinshāh's kindness, had gone into retirement, the secret [1] wish of H.M.'s loving heart was always the desire to enhance the glory (*bahrūzī*) of that seeker after bliss. From this thought he sent for him upon this expedition, in order that if he had got rid of his ill-humour he might come to Court and be encompassed with royal favours. Owing to his being full of fancies, and not listening to

[1] I have only guessed at the meaning of this clause for the word *bahrūzī* بهروزی is unintelligible to me. *Bahrūz* means a transparent blue crystal, and it also means Indian frankincense, but its meaning here I do not understand. I presume that the expression Sāādat *pazhūh* refers to Akbar for I do not see how M. Koka could be described by A. F. as a seeker after auspiciousness. Literally, the clause seems to mean "hidden in the loving heart was the crystal of auspicious search." But I suspect some corruption of the text though the I.O. MSS. agree with the Bib. Ind. *Bahrūzī* occurs again at p. 320 and seems used there to mean victory. It is apparently a form of fīrūzī, both meaning a blue crystal. See also p. 394, where we are told that Akbar exerted himself anew to develop (*dar bahrūzī*) Sulṭan Selīm.

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advice, he remained in the same disturbed state. Accordingly Quṭbu-d-dīn K., who was his uncle, and in the place of his father, was sent for, as perhaps his advice would put him on the road of happiness. H.M. travelled so rapidly that he went more than a hundred kos in four days. He made his first halt in the house of Daudā in the town of Ḥājīpūr. Next day he reached Mūl-Manaharnagar,[1] and after that he came to Sāmbhar.

251 On this day the eye and heart of the writer of this noble chronicle were glorified by a special view of H.M. The brief account of this is that every day two especially devoted followers were appointed to collect cows for the use of the blissful young[2] children, whom H.M. took with him after quieting their mothers and grandfathers. On this occasion, when the standards of fortune had advanced beyond Mūl Manaharnagar, my elder brother S. Abū-faiẓ Faiẓī and myself were chosen for this important service. In the beginning of the month my noblest of brothers was in attendance on the august stirrup and discoursing eloquently. This inexperienced one (himself) had to attend to the business alone. As the place is the abode of savage hill men, the dust of disturbance arose in every place where I searched for cows. Most people did not believe that the king would pass by that way. For a time I was lost in bewilderment, but by my good star I came to my senses. My soul was troubled thinking that if the orders were not properly carried out, what would happen? And that if from excitement I got confused I would be a byword for stupidity. "Perhaps I shan't be able to manage the thing alone." Suddenly, a secret message of joy came to me in that hopeless place, and the star of fortune shone. I called to mind H.M. and he opened the knot of difficulty. All at once I in that burning spot of heat,[3] and in the coldness of search, hastened to a little hill, and there a number of cows were seen. They drew near of their own account and separated two of their number. By the marvels of Divine assistance about 20 others followed those two. A difficult task became easy, and my heart had fresh glory. The rosebush of devotion was irrigated anew!

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[1] See above, p. 221 of text.

[2] I presume this means Akbar's children.

[3] Apparently the heat of the air is contrasted with the coldness, i.e. the ill-success of the search.

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On the 27th Shahriyūr, Divine month, Ajmere was brightened by the Shāhinshah's advent. The circumambulation was performed, and the expectants had their desires fulfilled. Next day, when midnight had passed, H.M. and nine followers mounted swift steeds and proceeded rapidly towards the capital. (They were) Naurang K., Shīroya K., Ḥusain K., Maqbūl K., Fatḥ Ullah the sherbatdār, 'Abdulla Bilūc, Hilāl Aftābcī, Shākir K. Ābdār, Maḥmud K. Khawāṣ. They travelled 120 kos in two days [1] and reached the capital in the end of the month.

Also at this time a report came from Gujarat from the imperial 252
servants to the effect that the caravan [2] of chaste ladies had traversed the dangers of the ocean and reached Gujarat. When the preparations for a land journey had been completed they would proceed to the Presence. H.M. was delighted on hearing this news and sent an order to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. to expedite the noble caravan, and to dispatch it to the K'aba of fortune (Fathpūr Sikrī).

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[1] The T.A. Elliot V, 408, says Akbar left Delhi on 1st Rajab and travelling 30 kos a day reached Ajmere at the end of 6 Rajab, the saint's anniversary. Next day he returned, and travelling 50 kos a day reached Fatḥpūr in the evening of Friday 9 Rajab. According to this account he took four days. The statement in Lowe 262, "at day-break," is wrong. He reached Toda then. B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, which often differs from the Bib. Ind. text, says that Akbar left for Ajmere on the day of Dīn 23 Shahriyūr, or Friday 2 Rajab, and arrived on the day of Marisfand 29 Shahriyūr, night of 8 (should be 6) Rajab, which is that of the anniversary, and arrived at Fatḥpūr on 30 Shahriyūr or Friday 9 Rājab. But these dates seem wrong and Dīn is 24, not 23 Shahriyūr.

[2] This must have been some of Gulbadan Begum's party. She and Selīma did not return till 1582. A. N. 385.

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CHAPTER XLV.

The increased splendour of the 'Ibādat Khāna from the brilliance of the acuteness of H.M. the Shāhinshāh.

Although God-given wisdom and the science of Divine knowledge (theology) adorn his holy personality and illumine his actions, yet, owing to the utter marvelousness of his nature, he every now and then draws a special veil over his countenance, and exercises world-sway and speaks and acts in accordance with the requirements of the time. At the present day, when the morning-breeze of fortune is blowing, and the star of success is continually acquiring fresh radiance, he, by his practical knowledge and farsightedness, makes external ability the veil of spirituality and appraises the value of the mortifiers of the passions, and the calibre of scientists. It has been mentioned[1] that he, in his ample search after truth, had laid the foundation of a noble seat for intellectual meetings. His sole and sublime idea was that, as in the external administration of the dominion, which is conjoined with eternity, the merits of the knowers of the things of this world had by profundity of vision, and observance of justice, been made conspicuous, and there had ceased to be a brisk market for pretence and favouritism, so might the masters of science and ethics, and the devotees of piety and contemplation, be tested, the principles of faiths and creeds be examined, religions be investigated, the proofs and evidences for each be considered, and the pure gold and the alloy be separated from evil commixture. In a short space of time a beautiful, detached building was erected, and the fraudulent vendors of impostures put to sleep in the privy chamber of contempt. A noble palace was provided for the spiritual world, and the pillars of Divine knowledge rose high.

At this[2] time, when the centre of the Caliphate (Fatḥpūr Sīkrī)

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[1] See text 112, and Elliot V, 930. A. F. puts the building of the 'Ibādat khāna into the 19th year, and the T.A into the 20th.

[2] The translation in Elliot VI 59, begins here.

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was glorified by H. M.'s advent, the former institutions were renewed, and the temple of Divine knowledge was on Thursday[1] nights illuminated by the light[2] of the holy mind. On 20 Mihr,[3] Divine month, 3 October 1578, and in that house of worship, the lamp of the privy chamber of detachment was kindled in the banqueting-hall of social life. The coin of the hivers of wisdom in colleges and cells was brought to the test. The clear wine was separated from the lees, and good coin from the adulterated. The wide capacity and the 253 toleration of the Shadow of God were unveiled. Ṣūfī, philosopher, orator, jurist, Sunnī, Shīa, Brahman, Jatī,[4] Sīūrā[5] Cārbāk,[6] Nazarene, Jew, Ṣābī (Sabīan[7]), Zoroastrian, and others enjoyed exquisite pleasure by beholding the calmness of the assembly, the sitting of the world-lord in the lofty pulpit (*mimbar*), and the adornment of the pleasant abode of impartiality. The treasures of secrets were opened out without fear of hostile seekers after battle. The just and truth-perceiving ones of each sect emerged from haughtiness and conceit, and began their search anew. They displayed profundity and meditation, and gathered eternal bliss on the divan of greatness. The conceited and quarrelsome from evilness of disposition and shortness of thought descended into the mire of presumption and sought their profit in loss. Being guided by ignorant companions, and from the predominance of a somnolent fortune, they went into disgrace. The conferences were excellently arranged by the acuteness and keen quest of truth of the world's Khedive. Every time, eye and heart gained fresh lustre, and the lamp of vigils acquired new glory. The candle of investigation was

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[1] Friday in text, but as B. explains this means Thursday. The account in the T.A. Elliot V, 391, shows that Thursday night is meant, for it goes on to say that the meetings sometimes lasted till past midday on Friday.

[2] The meaning is that Akbar was present at the discussions.

[3] End of September 1578. Add. 27, 247 has day of Bahrām 20 Mihr =Friday 1 Shʿabān (3 October 1578).

[4] For Yati, the clergy or ascetics among the Jains. J. III, 205, and note.

[5] Sīūra. A general name for the Jains. See translation I. 147 and note. B. 164 spells the word Sevrā.

[6] For Chārvāka. They are the Nāstiks or infidels of Hindu philosophy. A. F. is severe upon this sect in the Ain. J. III, 21. There is an account of them in the Dabistān.

[7] Ṣabīan. Also called the Christians of St. John. See D'Herbelot s. v.

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lighted for those who loved darkness and sequacity. The families of the colleges and monasteries were tested. The handle of wealth and the material of sufficiency came into the grasp of the needy occupants of the summit of expectation. The fame of this faith-adorning method of world-bestowing made home bitter to inquirers and caused them to love exile. The Shāhinshāh's court became the home of the inquirers of the seven climes, and the assemblage of the wise of every religion and sect. The veneer and the counterfeitness of all those who by feline tricks and stratagems had come forth in the garb of wisdom were revealed. A few irreverent and crafty spirits continued their old tactics after the appearance of Truth and its concomitant convictions, and indulged in brawling. Their idea was that as in the great assemblies of former rulers the purpose of science and the designs of wisdom had been but little explored owing to the crowd of men, the inattention of the governor of the feast, the briskness of the market of praters, etc., so perhaps in this august assemblage they might succeed by the length of their tongues, and a veil might be hung over the occiput (*farārū*) of truth. The Khedive of wisdom by the glory of his mind carried out the work to a conclusion deliberately and impartially, and in this praiseworthy fashion, which is seldom found in the saints of asceticism,—how then is it to be found in world-rulers?—tested the various coins of mortals. Many men became stained with shame and chose loss of fame, while some acquired wisdom and emerged from the hollow of obscurity to eminence. Reason was exalted, and the star of fortune shone for the acquirers of knowledge. The bigoted 'Ulamā and the routine-lawyers, who reckoned themselves among the chiefs of philosophies and leaders of enlightenment, found their position difficult. The veil was removed from the face of many of them. The house of the evil-thinking coiners became the abode of a thousand suspicions and slanders. Though the
254 wicked and crooked-minded and disaffected were always speaking foolishly about the pious Khedive, yet at this time they had a new foundation for their calumnies, and descended into the pit of eternal ruin. Inasmuch as the warmth of the Shāhinshāh's graciousness increases daily, and he was aware of the ignorance of those turbulent ones, he did not proceed against them with physical and spiritual vigour and with external and internal majesty. Rather, he re-

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strained his heart and tongue from uttering his disgust, and did not allow the dust of chagrin to settle on the skirt of his soul. In a short space of time many of these fortunately fell into fatal evils and suffered losses and died, while some who were of a good sort became ashamed, and took up the work (of study) anew. From a long time it was the custom that the dull and superficial regarded the heartfelt words of holy souls as foolishness. They recognized wisdom nowhere but in the schools, and did not know that acquired knowledge is for the most part stained with doubts and suspicions. Insight is that which without schooling illuminates the pure temple of the heart. The inner soul receives rays from holy heaven. From eternity, the ocean of Divine bounties has been in motion, and the cup of those who are worthy of the world of creation is filled to the brim therefrom. Always have the magnates of Use and Wont in spite of their great knowledge sought the explanation of wisdom and ethics (*'ilm u 'amal*) from this company of the pure in heart, and have waited in the antechamber of the simple and beautiful[1] of soul, and have gathered bliss therefrom. Accordingly histories tell of this, and it transpires in biographies (?).[2] God be praised for that at this day the Lord of Lords of inspired (*ladunī*) wisdom is represented by the Holy Personality of the Shāhinshāh. The difficulties of sect upon sect of mankind are made easy by the flashings of his sacred soul. The attainment of enlightenment is not the first[3] robe of honour which the eternal needle sews. He who knows the secrets of the past, and the reader of ancient stories, is well aware of this. Still more is it known to the awakened, the truth-choosing and the acute! May the Almighty God ever keep verdant and watered this tree which is rich in spiritual and material fruit!

Verse.

Lord, so long as the world hath glory and colour,
Heavens, motion, the earth, stability;

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1 Cf. Akbar's remark J. III, 385, that the prophets were all illiterate, and his suggestion that therefore all believers should keep one of their sons uneducated.

2 *Ba siyar*. But text is *basiyar*, many, and perhaps the meaning is only that there is much evidence of this in histories.

3 Apparently the meaning is that

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Make the world the possession of this lord of conjunctions,
Make the spheres friendly to this world-conqueror.

One night, the assembly in the 'Ibādatkhāna was increasing the light of truth. Padre Radīf,[1] one[2] of the Nazarene sages, who was singular for his understanding and ability, was making points in that feast of intelligence. Some of the untruthful bigots came forward in a blundering way to answer him. Owing to the calmness of the august assembly, and the increasing light of justice, it

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possessors of enlightenment came late, and perhaps also that awakened souls came late, and acute truth-choosers still later.

[1] Rodolfo Acquaviva. B. 168, n. 1. says that the word in the MSS. is ردلف Rodolf, and not رديف, and that the letter *lām* has been mistaken for a *yā*. Cf. Elliot VI, 60, n. 2. The Bib. Ind. text has رديف and gives the variant رويق Ravīq. The Lucknow and Cawnpore ed. want the passage, and so also does B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247. I.O. MS. 564 or 236, 321b, has ردلفو Rodolfū, the points and the sākin being carefully marked. I.O. MS. 235 has 522a رديف. B.M. Add. 1116, p. 153a, has روتق Rautaq.

The subject of the Jesuit missions to Akbar has been admirably treated by General Maclagan in a paper in J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 38 *et seq.* It appears from it, and from Bartoli (reprint of Del Majno, Piacenza 1819, p. 26) that Acquaviva did not arrive at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī till February 1580 (on the 18th according to Maclagan, and the 27th according to Bartoli). There is then an anachronism in A. F.'s placing the event in the annals of the 23rd year, i.e. 986 or 1578. It is noteworthy that the account of Acquaviva appears to be a subsequent addition to the Akbarnāma, as otherwise it would have appeared in the MSS. used for the Lucknow ed. The story about Acquaviva's proposal to submit to the ordeal of fire does not seem to be true. Badayūni, Lowe, 308, says S. Quṭbu d-dīn of Jalesar, proposed the ordeal to the fathers and that they refused. This was in the end of 989 (B. 199), or A.D. 1581, and consequently at a time when Badayūnī was at court. Bartoli also, p. 31, says it was a Muḥammadan who proposed the ordeal to Acquaviva. See also a pamphlet published at Bombay in 1894 called "The Blessed Martyrs of Cuncolim," p. 6, which however adds that Rudolfo did offer to throw himself into a fire. Bartoli adds that the Muḥammadan knew well that he would not have to undergo the ordeal, and probably this is true, for Quṭbu-d-dīn was a drunkard as well as an enthusiast, and according to A. F. III, 309, he was convicted of fraud and misrepresentation. According to B.M. Add. 27, 247, it was S. 'Abdu-Nabī who refused the challenge.

[2] There is no pronoun *ke* after Rudolf in the I.O. MSS. though there is in the text.

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became clear that each of these was weaving a circle of old acquisitions, and was not following the highway of proof, and that the explanation of the riddle of truth was not present to their thoughts. The veil was nearly being stripped, once for all, from their procedure. They were ashamed, and abandoned such discourse, and applied themselves to perverting the words of the Gospels. But they could not silence their antagonist by such arguments. The Padre quietly and with an air of conviction said, 255
"Alas, that such things should be thought to be true! In fact, if this faction have such an opinion of our Book, and regard the *Furqān* (the Qoran) as the pure word of God, it is proper that a heaped fire be lighted. We shall take the Gospels in our hands, and the 'Ulamā of that faith shall take their book, and then let us enter that testing-place of truth. The escape of any one will be a sign of his truthfulness." The liverless and black-hearted fellows wavered, and in reply to the challenge had recourse to bigotry and wrangling. This cowardice and effrontery displeased his (Akbar's) equitable soul, and the banquet of enlightenment was made resplendent by acute observations. Continually, in those day-like nights, glorious subtleties and profound words dropped from his pearl-filled mouth. Among them was this: "Most[1] persons, from intimacy with those who adorn their outside, but are inwardly bad, think that outward semblance, and the letter of Muḥammadanism, profit without internal conviction. Hence we by fear and force compelled many believers in the Brahman (i.e. Hindu) religion to adopt the faith of our ancestors. Now that the light of truth has taken possession of our soul, it has become clear that in this distressful place of contrarities (the world), where darkness of comprehension and conceit are heaped up, fold upon fold, a single step cannot be taken without the torch of proof, and that that creed is profitable which is

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1 *Beshtar*, but perhaps *peshtar* (which, however, I do not find in the MSS.) would be a better reading, as meaning that formerly he (Akbar) from association with conformists persecuted, etc. This passage may be compared with that in the Ain, J. III, 384, para. 3. There the word *peshtar* is used, see Ain, text II, 231. It seems doubtful if by the phrase *Khud musulmān nāshud*, Akbar meant to avow that he was not a Muḥammadan. Possibly it means, if a man is not of himself a Muhammadan, he should not be forced to be one.

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adopted with the approval of wisdom. To repeat the creed, to remove a piece of skin (i.e. to become circumcised) and to place the end of one's bones on the ground (i.e. the head in adoration) from dread of the Sultan, is not seeking after God."

Verse.

Obedience is not the placing of your forehead in the dust.
Produce[1] truth, for sincerity is not situated in the forehead.

The first[2] step in this perilous desert is with a high courage, and an exalted determination to rise up and do battle with the protean and presumptuous carnal soul, and by rigorous self-examination to make Anger and Lust the subjects of Sultan Reason, and to erase from the heart the marks of censurable sentiments. Mayhap the Sun of Proof will emerge from behind the veil of Error and make one a truth-worshipper, and afterward[3] he may by secret attraction draw to himself one of the inquirers after the Path. Such load-stones are produced from the mine of asceticism (*riyāẓat*). Or it may be that by virtue of talisman and the might of fascination he may bring him into his circle.[4] Should the latter go astray and fall into the pit of not doing God's will, yet shall he not be stained with the dust of blame. He also said, "We blame ourselves for what we did in accordance with old rules and before the truth about faith had shed its rays on our heart."

The fortunate and auspicious, on hearing these enlightening words, hastened to the abode of the light of search and set themselves to amend their ways, while the somnolent and perverse were full of disturbance. Inasmuch as the fierce winds of indiscrimination had laid hold of the four corners of the world, he mentioned the rules of

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[1] There is a play on the words *pesh ār* 'produce' and peshānī 'forehead.'

[2] cf. J. III, 384, "The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon." Also, *ibid.*, "Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islām. As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame. Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such. What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion."

[3] Both the I.O. MSS. have *āngah* "afterwards" here.

[4] *girāu* in text, but apparently *gird* in I.O., 236.

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various religions, and described their various excellencies. The acute sovereign gave no weight to common talk, and praised whatever was good in any religion. He often adorned the tablet of his tongue by saying "He is a man who makes Justice the guide of the path of inquiry, and takes from every sect what is consonant to reason. Perhaps in this way the lock, whose key has been lost, may be opened." In 256
this connexion, he praised the truth-seeking of the natives of India, and eloquently. described the companionship of the men of that country in the day of disaster, and how they played away for the sake of Fidelity (lit. in the shadow of), Property, Life, Reputation, and Religion, which are reckoned as comprising the four goods of the world's[1] market. He also dwelt upon the wonderful way in which the women of that country become ashes whenever the day of calamity arrives.

This bliss-collecting class has several divisions. Some protagonists of the path of righteousness[2] yield up their lives merely on hearing of the inevitable lot of their husbands. Many sensualists[3] of old times were, from ignorance and irreflection, unable to read such exquisite creatures by the lines of the forehead, or the record of their behaviour, and entered with loss the ravine of experiment, and cast away recklessly the priceless jewel! Some deliberately and with open brow enter the flames along with their husband's corpse, or with some token of him who hath gone to the land of annihilation.

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1 It is *daniya*, "the world," in text, but the I.O. MSS. have *dīnī*, "belonging to faith." See Badayūnī, Lowe 299, for a reference to the four degrees of devotion.

2 *Rāh-ī nekāndeshī*, "the path of right-thinking." But the I.O. MSS. have *īkāndeshī* "oneness of thought."

3 The meaning is that some husbands were so gross-minded as not to believe in their wives' virtue, and so tried them by causing them to receive false reports of their death, thereby losing the priceless jewel of a virtuous wife. This meaning is made clear by B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247, which has the words *khabar-i-guzashtan khudra badarogh rasanīda* "spread a false report of their own death." The same MS., says 'Abdul Ḥai Feringhi, spoke of the Christians practising monogamy. There are some remarks on *satī* by Akbar in the collection of his sayings at the end of the Ain, J. III, 398, and at p. 322 of the same work we have the statement that Hindu women may be divided into five classes with regard to their methods of expressing grief for the death of their husbands. The first class is of those who die as soon as they hear the news, and so have to be burnt by the relatives (after death).

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Verse.

Being saturated with love, they burn together,
Like two wicks caught by one flame.

Some whom sacrifice of life and fellowship do not make happy, yet, from fear of men's reproach, observe the letter of love, and descend into the mouth of the fire.

He said[1] to the learned Christians, "Since you reckon the reverencing of women as part of your religion, and allow not more than one wife to a man, it would not be wonderful if such fidelity and life-sacrifice were found among your women. The extraordinary thing is that it occurs among those of the Brahman (i.e. the Hindu) religion. There are numerous concubines, and many of them are neglected and unappreciated and spend their days unfructuously in the privy chamber of chastity, yet in spite of such bitterness of life they are flaming torches of love and fellowship." On hearing such noble recitals those present remained silent in the hall of reply, and their tongues reddened with surprise. The Divine message filled with joy all the seekers after wisdom in the august assemblage.

One of the occurrences was the division of his time. Though H.M. watches over his being and cherishes his time, nor spends any portion of it idly or uselessly, yet at this auspicious period he discussed the subject for the guidance of the fortunate, and by apportioning day and night gave a lesson to mankind. Though in every act of movement or repose he is cognisant of the Almighty, and assiduous in doing His will, as befits obedience to Sultan Wisdom, yet when he arises from sleep he withdraws his attention from everything else, and makes his outward accord with his inward conditions and practises devotions, and makes his heart a memorial of the Creator. He returns
257 thanks for his existence and commences his good works. In this holy employment he spends not less than five gharīs, i e. two astronomical hours, and he regards it as the key of the gate of successes (*muqāṣid*)

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[1] B.M., Add. 27, 247, p. 299a, makes the remark about Christians having only one wife as having come from 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Feringhī. It also gives here Akbar's opinion about the difference between Manṣūr (Ḥallāj) and Pharoah. See Jarrett III, 394. 'Abdu-l-Ḥai Feringhī is casually mentioned by Jahangīr in his Memoirs, p. 324, S. Aḥmad, ed. annals of 15th year.

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Inasmuch as God has made us complex, it is fitting that some attention should be paid to the body. He therefore pays some regard to the clothing thereof and to his toilet. Not more than three *gharis* are spent on this occupation. After that he opens the gates of justice and holds open Court. In the investigation into the cases of the oppressed, he places no reliance on testimony or on oaths, which are the resource of the crafty, but draws his conclusion from the contradictions in the narratives, the physiognomy, and from sublime researches, and noble conjectures. Truth takes her place in this centre. In this work he spends not less than 1½ pahars. As it is the social state, it is indispensable that he devote some time to food, and to offices of decency. He does not spend more than two gharis in these things. As rulers are bound to make lofty the hall of justice, and to seek enlightenment from the tongue of the dumb and helpless, they must necessarily spend some time with elephants, horses, camels and mules and the like. So he takes note of their food and forage, and pays attention to the grooming of this homely crowd. He sets four *gharīs* apart for this work. He also spends two *pahārs* in the female apartments in the affairs of his secluded wives, and of the other chaste ladies who make petitions to him. It is necessary that he give his mind to these matters that there may be equality in his treatment of them (the women), and that equity be preserved. As the foundation of the house of bones rests upon sleep he from motives of health, which is bound up with thanksgiving, spends 2½ *pahars*[1] in sweet slumbers. From this account those who have the honour of attending the court will reap bliss, and receive into their hands the laws of good fortune.

One of the occurrences was the sending of truth-speaking, acute persons to examine the treasuries. Some interested, evil-minded persons represented to H.M. that the treasurers of the capital had become dishonest and had opened the hand of fraud. Inasmuch as the management of the minutiae of administration, what need then to speak of the generalities, rests on the genius of just

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1 The total of these spaces of time comes to six *pahars* and 14 *gharis*. There are 8 *pahars* or watches in the 24 hours, but the number of *gharis* in a *pahar* varies from 9 to 6. J. III, 16. If we take 7 as the average the 8 *pahars* are accounted for. The account here given of Akbar's distribution of his time may be compared with that in the Ain B. 153.

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rulers, H.M. nominated Moẓaffar K., Khwāja Shah Manṣūr, Qāsim K., and some other experienced and intelligent persons to examine into the matter. They in a short space of time inspected the money in the treasury and tested its amount and quality. The mischievous storytellers met with their deserts.

One of the occurrences was the commencment of the opening of the treasury of the Anuptalāo. Already an order had been given for filling it with various kinds of coin. When by the labours of energetic and honest workers it had been filled to the brim, the
258 bounteous sovereign on 23 Mihr, Divine month (beginning of October 1578), established his divan on the bank and began his gifts. He commenced by supplications to the gracious and incomparable Deity. After that he lifted out one by one a mohar, a rupee, and a dām. A similar amount was given to several of those who were admitted to the presence. The writer of this noble volume also participated in this favour. After that, crowds of men received gifts, handful by handful, and skirt by skirt. He addressed the first set and said with a mystery revealing tongue that each one should out of loyalty regard the royal gift as an amulet of Reason's arm, and should for the sake of the stability of the dominion (Akbar's),[1] and the attainment of desires, make a vow to the effect that he would bestow a specific portion of whatever of the world's goods he amassed on the poor and needy, so that he might in a short time attain eternal joy. The fortunate and auspicious regarded this speech as a Divine message and succeeded in opening the knot of their desires. The evil and blackhearted regarded it as fiction and broke (i.e. bent or left it in) the thorn of failure in the foot of fortune. The inquiring heart brought a close scrutiny to bear on men's careers and continued searching for a sign of the wonders of miraculous[2] aid. In a short space of time those who hearkened to the Divine message reached the lofty position of Amirs, and those who from somnolent fortune did not regard it did not attain such a position. What do I

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[1] I adopt the reading *pāibandagī* of the I.O. MSS. in preference to the *yābandagī* of the text.

[2] *damgīrā*. This word is not explained in the dictionaries, but means help, especially of a miraculous kind. See its use in this sense in the 'Aīn, text, II, 216, where in the account of Jalālū-d-dīn Tabrīzī we are told that he was saved from the effects of an accusation, by the *damgīrāī* of S. Bahāu-d-dīn.

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say! They then lost the position they had, and were spiritually and materially ruined. The exposition of this wonderful circumstance is a long story. Whom shall I eulogize, and from whom shall I strip the veil? I shall write a brief account of what happened to myself, and this will help to make the matter comprehensible. I set myself out of loyalty to preserve the gift, and by the blessing thereof I became a flower-gatherer in fortune's garden. Inasmuch as good fortunes repose in time's ambushes and seek for assistance, and as the wonder-workers of destiny conduct the new travellers in the land of assiduity and application into narrow defiles in the beginning of their career, so was I at the first stage of the long road of social life brought into a bitter country. By dint of a right intention and the strength of an awakened fortune, I went on with an open brow and a determined step. By the guidance of celestial aids I closed the tongue of desire, and confiding my ear to the pleasant abode of content I made the threshold of the world's lord my resting-place, and gathered bliss. The vicissitudes of Time cast no dust of instability into that pure temple, and the narrow path of guidance became a wide plain of joy. My fellow-travellers dispersed on account of the darkness of fortune's face and the difficulties of maintenance, but some of them from fidelity and nobleness bravely footed the path along with me. They got expansion by my expansion. One day they were empty-handed and in difficulty, and endeavoured to spend that capital of fortune (the Anūptalāo gift). The reply from my nature's antechamber was, "It will not be sufficient for two days, practise now whatever remedy you would employ (after the two days), and be patient. If this (the gift) be a surety for eternal life, refrain from folly and let not go the skirt of the vow." As fate was propitious, they accepted the celestial counsel, and there was no stirring of the dust of distress. In a similar manner from the ascent and descent of the spheres the multiform, presumptuous spirit rose up several times to contend and was defeated. In a short 259
space of time, by the blessing of the holy spirit (Akbar's), Fortune's door opened, and without the labour of search or the recommendation of man, the Shāhinshāh's favour raised this obscure sitter in the dust to celestial dignity. Silver or gold had no weight or value in thought's balance. Many great men of the age fell into the thornbrake of envy. I hope that by gaining the spiritual kingdom my

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countenance may be made joyful, and that the little of the impulses or desires which remain may disappear. Do you suppose I am writing a panegyric? I am only recording in a thanksgiving manner something about favours that have been received. The glorious qualities of God's chosen One are more than the capacity of the vulgar of the age can comprehend. The abundant kindnesses which I have enjoyed prompts me to impress on the hearts of the exoteric something of my own adventures. May it be eyes to the blind, and a collyrium to the seeing, and may they continually garner bliss in the palace of Truth!

Among the occurrences was the arrival of a report from Khān Jahān. When by the glory of activity and skill the delightful country of Bengal had been cleared of the weeds and rubbish of the ingrates, Ibrāhīm Naral[1] and Karīmdād Mūsāzai waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance in the country of Bhātī.[2] 'Īsā[3] the zamindar of that country spent his time in dissimulation. Shāh Bardī also, the admiral (*mīr nawāra*), raised the head of presumption. The able servant (Khān Jahān) led an army thither. In the neighbourhood of the town (qaṣba) of Gwās,[4] Naulaka[5] the mother of Dāūd, and her dependants, and also Maḥmūd K. Khaṣkhail, commonly known as Matī, and many disaffected Afghans presented themselves with offers of submission. Much property was obtained and choice collections were made. A dispute arose between Naulaka and Matī. Khān Jahān who wanted to send him to annihilation, put him to death, ostensibly in order that he might be punished for the charge of fraud which was brought against him, but also that the properties seized might remain concealed. Shāh Bardī, who was a vagabond[6] in the desert of insubordination, accepted good counsels and became

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[1] Variant, Taral, and this is supported by Iqbālnāma MS.

[2] See B. 342, n. 1., and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 226. J. II, 116, and n. 3. The word seems connected with the Bengali *bhātā*, ebb-tide.

[3] J. II, 117, and B. 342, and n., A.N. III, 432.

[4] Khāṣ in J. II, 137, and in text of Ain, but in Index this is corrected to Ghās. It is properly Gawas, or Gwās as in A.N. It is in Murshidabad district, and is a very large and well-known pargana.

[5] Meaning apparently "Nine lacs." I.O 236 has Lonā.

[6] āwāra. A. F. apparently uses this word because it jingles with Shāh Bardī's title of Mīr Nawāra.

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loyal. When the town of Bhāwāl[1] became the station of the army, Ibrāhīm Naral, Karīmdād and other Afghans of that country brought forward propositions of obedience and used the language of harmony. 'Īsā however sate in the ravine of disobedience, and was presumptuous. A large force was sent against him under Shāh Bardī and Muḥammad Qulī. It proceeded by the river Kiyāra[2] Sundar, and a hot engagement took place on the borders of Kastal?[3] 'Īsā was defeated and fled, and much valuable booty fell into the hands of the warriors for dominion. Inasmuch as pride increases the blindness of the heart and eyes, Majlis Dilāwar and Majlis Pratāp,[4] who were landholders in that part of the country, suddenly 260
brought out a crowd[5] of boats from the rivers and channels and kindled the flames of contention. The warriors of the victorious army lost courage and turned to flee, and in that encounter some of the voyagers left their boats and fled. Muḥamād[6] Qulī in his activity and courage threw himself upon the enemy's boats and carried on the fight. He contended as much as he could and then was made prisoner. One of the wonderful results of daily-increasing fortune was that when the army was retreating, Tīla Ghāzī, a landholder, came and opened the hand of courage so that in despair's midday the lights of victory revealed themselves to the imperial servants. Together with abundant booty they gained their object. The black-hearted foe fell into the billows of despair. Just then Ibrāhīm Naral sent his son with choice products of the country and

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1 This is Bhāwāl or Ran Bhāwāl in the Dacca district. It was in Sarkār Bāzūhā. J. III, 137.

2 Kināra in text, but both the I.O. MSS. have Kiyāra, or Giyāra. In the Ain, Kiyāra Sundar is mentioned as a large reservoir in Sonārgāon. J. II, 124, and Ain text I, 390. Jarrett remarks that Gladwin adopts the variant of Katara, and the Riyāẓu-s-salāṭīn has Kathora Sundar. Possibly the river meant is one near Egara Sunda or thana Niklī in the Maimansingh district.

3 Variant Kaithal. I cannot identify it.

4 Can this be the Rajah Pratāpaditya of Jessore?

5 Kundilān. This is the same word that is used in A.N. II, 39, two lines from foot. I take it to be the *kundala* of the Burhān Qātī and Vullers. In the Newal Kishore lith. of the B.Q. the word is wrongly printed kundana, but the description says there is a lām in the word. It means gathered together, congested.

6 Identified in Index with the M. Qulī of pp. 433, 585, etc. Perhaps the M. Qulī Toqbai of B. 434, and the Maaṣir III, 204.

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asked for protection. The general (Khān Jahān) accepted his excuses and returned. He proceeded to Ṣiḥḥatpūr which he had founded in the neighbourhood of Tānda, and then reported the celestial aids to the august court.

At this time of joy a musician named Gadai was brought before H.M., and it appeared that he had twenty-five children from one wife. Apropos of this H.M. said, "A Bilūci had twenty children from one wife and he came to the court and petitioned saying, and people say this chaste matron has become forbidden to me (ḥarām) on account of the numerous births. 'What remedy have I, and what cure is there for my wretchedness?' We bade him be comforted and observed that such a saying had not the appearance of truth. Wicked story-tellers must have invented it. If any matrimony (*kesh*) produced such a good result (as so large a progeny) it was an honour to the parties, and not a case for abstension (*ḥurmat*). Let him then go on to display his own virility, and the fertility of his spouse." H.M. told this lively story, and the hearts of the auditors had a fresh entertainment.

One of the occurrences was the flashing of the light of truth from his sacred soul. Though H.M. from his wide capacity and splendid genius knows that multiplicity is the veil of unity, and keeps such ward and watch that every one of the enlightened men of the world and (also) of the swift-goers of the spiritual court regards that royal cavalier of insight as his own leader, yet as the thoughts of solitude have been kneaded into his constitution, the threads of the exquisite veil become occasionally broken. Accordingly, at this time, Bakhshū Qawwāl[1] recited before him two heart-ravishing stanzas in a pleasing manner. That Syllabus of the roll of recognition (of God) displayed a countenance flashing with Divine lights. Those whose vision did not extend beyond the plain outward appearance received spiritual delight (from the singing). Much more
261 then was the state of the internally farsighted! When H.M. returned from that wonderful condition, he gave thanksgivings to God, and filled the hope-skirt of the songster with rich coin.

[1] *Qawwāl* means a story-teller, a singer, or improvisatore. The name is apparently Bahjūī in I.O. MS. 236. There is the variant Bachhūī. Perhaps he is the famous minstrel of Bahādur Shāh of Gujarat, whose singing had such a wonderful effect on Humāyūn. Bayley's Gujarat, p. 388 et seq.

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One of the occurrences was the emerging of M. 'Azīz Kokaltāsh from the narrows of exclusion. From association with ignorant flatterers, and the tumultuousness of youth, he had fallen into the thornbrake of evil desires. The justice-loving sovereign had from his abundant kindness and wisdom excluded him from the bliss of doing homage, and sent him to school for increase in sense. When there appeared signs of repentance on his forehead, and the light of service revealed itself, H.M. brought him on 12 Ābān, Divine month, out of the gloomy abode of melancholy, and bestowed various favours on him, and he proceeded to redeem past times by the performance of service.

One of the occurrences was the coming of Rajah Madhukar to court. It has already[1] been mentioned that he had stirred up the dust of battle and been stained by defeat. After that he had felt ashamed, and was spending his days in distressed circumstances. Ṣādiq K. wisely took up his quarters in the country. When the Rajah fell into difficulties on account of the pressure of the gallant troops he was compelled to have recourse to humility, and made his former good services his testimonials. He came forward with a thousand fawnings and excuses. The officers answered that if preparations for war had not been made his supplications might have been listened to. The matter would now be referred to H.M. He also should send an able man and impress his wretchedness on the minds of the courtiers. Perhaps the billows of kindness might seize him and cast him from the whirlpool of despair upon the shore of attainment of desire. Accordingly he sent his brother's son Som Cand with presents to court. The envoys were received at Bhera, and as H.M. is merciful he had pity upon him and showed him kindness. When the news of the forgiveness of his offence arrived, he proceeded to court along with the officers. On 21 Ābān, Divine month, Ṣādiq K. and the other officers came and did homage, and the presumptuous one (the Rajah) gathered bliss by prostrating himself. The world's lord kept his promise and exalted him by various favours.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. at Court in chains. It has been mentioned that at the instigation of

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1 See ante p. 228 of text. He is the Bundela chief of Orcha.

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evil-disposed persons he had, in Gujarat, turned away from the court of fortune and been rebellious, and now he had become a vagabond and gone to Khāndesh. Out of kindness and sympathy Maqṣūd[1]
262 Damba was sent to bring him to court, along with the presents. The ruler of the country made delays in surrendering him, and proposed extravagant conditions. Apparently he had fallen into improper thoughts on account of the royal standards having proceeded towards the Panjab. Quṭbu-d-dīn K. sent Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah and communicated counsels (to the ruler). The report of the return of H.M. towards the capital illuminated the world. Of necessity he abandoned his unbecoming thoughts and sent him off along with the servants of the Court. Muṭṭalib K. and some soldiers from Malwa were dispatched to accompany him. On 27 Āẕar, Divine month, that wanderer in the wilderness of unsuccess was brought to court. H.M. from kindness and circumspection made him over to a keeper so that he might learn wisdom. In a short space of time there appeared signs of auspiciousness in his behaviour, the pen of forgiveness was drawn over his offences, and he was distinguished[2] by the favour of the Shadow of God. Next day, Quṭbu-d-dīn K. came from Gujarat and did homage, and was exalted by various favours from the Shāhinshāh. Also about this time Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl, Jagmal Panwār and some other strenuous ones were sent off to the Panjab. Each of these received weighty advices, a noble steed, and a robe of honour. An order was issued that they should exert themselves in service, and not depart from the counsels of S'aīd K., and should not slumber in administering the province and in maintaining their own preparedness.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to Ajmere. When it became known that the Rānā had raised the head of turbu-

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[1] The I.A. Elliot V, 410, and Badayūnī, Lowe 274, calls him Maqṣūd Jauharī, i.e. lapidary, so perhaps he was the engraver. B. 499, Maqṣūd of Herat of B. 27. The T. A. Elliot V, 408, says Rajah 'Alī was directed to send his son along with Moẕaffar H. On looking at the original and the statement in Khāfī K. I. 184, that Gulrukh B. was sent to Akbar along with her son, it appears to me likely that the word *mādar* "mother" has slipped out of the T.A.

[2] Akbar married him to his eldest daughter Sultan Khānim. B. 464.

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lence there, Ghāzī K. Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Taimur Badakhshī, Mīrzāda 'Alī K. and many others were sent off on 4 Dai under his command in order that the Rānā and others might be guided to good service. Otherwise they were to be destroyed by the flaming sword. Much treasure was sent along with them. In a short space of time that blackthoughted one was disgraced, and the general public enjoyed repose, and returned thanks.

One of the occurrences[1] was the laying the foundation of poor-houses. From abundant graciousness and kindness an order was given to the workmen that they should erect sarais in the various quarters of the capital, and make them over to benevolent and generous persons so that the poor and needy of the world might have a home without having to look for it, or to endure the pain of waiting. **263** In a short space of time the orders were admirably carried out, and those without resources enjoyed the comforts of a home in a foreign land.

One of the occurrences was the death of Khān Jahān. When he returned successful from Bhātī he took up his abode at Ṣiḥḥat-pūr. The sincerity of his soul had become somewhat clouded by the sense-robbing wine of self-love. Fortunately,[2] the veil of honour was not rent. In a short space of time he fell upon the bed of pain. The heat of fever ended in constipation (?).[3] The Indian physicians did not understand the case and gave him heating medicines, and the thread of his life was snapped. He suffered pains in his belly for 1½ months, and died on the night of Dībadīn 8 Daī, December 1578.[4] H.M. was much grieved and prayed for the forgiveness of his soul, but in accordance with the rule of the spiritual kingdom he submitted to destiny and was patient.

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[1] See B. 266 and 200, but according to Badayūnī the poor houses he speaks of were not built till 991.

[2] It is this passage which has led B. to say, p. 331, that A. F. remarks that Khān Jahān's death was opportune, inasmuch as the immense plunder of Bengal had led him to the verge of rebellion. But A. F. does not, I think, anywhere say that Khān Jahān was inclined to be a rebel.

[3] *Shikam-bastagī*. Presumably this is the same as *shikam giriftagī* and means constipation. But perhaps indigestion or dyspepsia is meant.

[4] B. gives the date 19 Shawwāl 986, which is 19 December 1578 and corresponds with the 8 Dai of the text.

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One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Sulṭan Khwāja.[1] When he was appointed to the office of the command of the Ḥāj he went off there, taking with him large presents from the Shāhinshāh for high and low, and made the natives and the strangers of that country attainers of their desires. He transacted the important business he had there and then returned with a large caravan. On the 11th (Dai) H.M. went off to enjoy the pleasure of hunting, and Sulṭan Khwājah presented himself there. He produced Arab horses and other rarities, and each of his companions enjoyed the bounty of the Shahinshah according to his degree. The Khwāja related many instances of the propitious assistances given by M., and so delighted the hearts and ears of men.

Among them was this, that during the voyage a youth fell one night from the ship's deck into deep water. The faster the ship moved on, the nearer sounded his cries, and they reached the ears of those on board. The Khwāja made a vow to the world's lord and sent off a boat (sumbuk) with sailors in it and waited in expectation of the Divine power. The crew thought this out-of-place searching to be absurd, and a long time elapsed. The tongues of the fault-finders grew long, and the good man was sunk in sorrow. In the midnight of despair those who had been sent brought safely him who had fallen into the water. The ring of devotedness was fastened in the spiritual ear of the general public. In a short time the good services of the Khwāja bestowed a new lustre on him. He was made a Tarkhān[2] and was appointed to the office of Ṣadr. At the same time an order was given that Mīr Faqīru-d-dīn of Mashhad, who had the title of
264 Naqib K., should proceed from Ujjain to the government of Patan. When he arrived there, Tarsūn K., who was governor there, came to court.

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[1] B. 423, A.N. 436, and Badayūnī, Lowe 351.

[2] An old Moghul title conveying certain privileges, and among others that of not being punished till the commission of nine offences. See B. 364 and A.N. III, 635, where A. F. has a long note. Nūru-d-dīn also had this title. See Badayūnī III, 198. B.M. Add. 27, 247, contains some sentences about Sulṭan Khwāja which are not in the Bib. Ind. text. One is that he brought greetings *taḥiyāt* from the Begams, that is, from Gulbadan Begam and Selīma Begam, and the other is that he stated as a wonderful fact that the Begam's ship and his ship had kept together from the time they left Surat till their arrival at Jeddah.

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One of the occurrences was the sending of a Mīr Ḥāj. The sole object of the sovereign is that the empty-handed and deserving poor of every country may obtain their desires. As it was manifest that on hearing the report of the distribution of money, needy persons from Asia Minor and Syria assembled in the Arab peninsula, and as the tale of the delight and the thanksgiving of the natives and foreigners in that country was reported to H.M., the ocean of his benevolence was commoved, and an order was given to the officers of the Caliphate that a generous and active-minded person should be appointed to this office, and that twice as much (money) as was sent formerly should be sent. Khwāja Yahyā was represented as worthy of this post, and he was accepted. On 26 Dai he went off with a large caravan, to deliver the great gifts. He was the great grandson[1] of Khwāja Aḥrār, and was one remove from Khwāja 'Abdullah, whom the Turanians call Khwājagān Khwāja. Though he had not much trod the arena of contemplation and piety (*naẓr u ta'ullub*), yet he knew something of medicine and had read somewhat about Sufism.[2] He was also one of the first of the age for truth and uprightness. At this time also Qulīj K. was sent to Gujarat in order that he might help the officers there in looking after the peasantry and the soldiers, and also that he might look after his own properties. Ḥājī Ibrāhīm was made Ṣadr of the province. But he did not understand the nature of this kind of education and showed the baseness of his nature and his folly, and received punishment[3] accordingly, as will be mentioned in its proper place. Also at this time Khwāja Ghiāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Aṣaf K. was sent to Malwa[4] and Gujarat. Inasmuch as it is indispensable that a ruler should send

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1 Nabīra pisarī. See Badayūnī III, 99, who says he was three removes from K. Aḥrār. Apparently by "one remove" A. F. means that he was grandson, for the Khwājagān Khwāja was Kh. Aḥrār's eldest son.

2 A. F. describes Sultan Khwāja in nearly similar terms, A.N. III, 436. Badayūnī II, 261, says four lacs of rupees were made over to K. Yahyā and that the latter left Ajmere for Mecca in Shawāl 986. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Makh-dūm-al mulkh were sent to Mecca with this caravan.

3 See text 409. He was imprisoned in Ranthambhor and tried to escape, but the rope broke and he was killed. See D.A. 702, 703, and Bādayūnī, Lowe II, 286, who hints that it was a murder and not a suicide. He died in 994.

4 The Iqbālnāma says he was sent there as bakhshī.

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everywhere able men; so that the condition of the army may be known, that skilful and eloquent man was sent off on 20 Bahman to carry out the branding regulation in Malwa, and then to proceed to Gujarat. He was to improve the army in accordance with the advice of Shihāb-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and Qulīj K.

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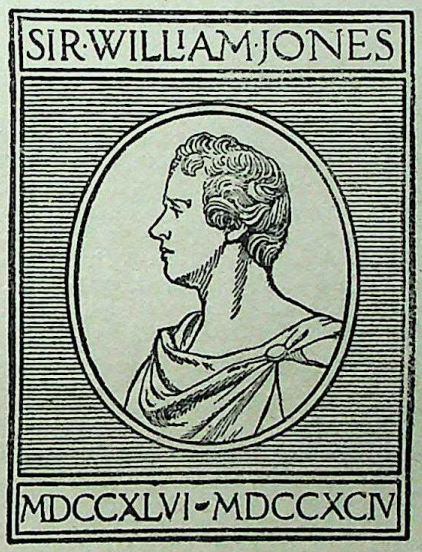

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CHAPTER XLVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 24TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ISFANDĀRMAẒ OF THE SECOND CYCLE.

At this season, when the wise throne-occupant in his ample vision and with arrangements for the quest of Truth inaugurated the **265** feast of a spiritual Spring, the material Spring also spread out the banquet of joy.

Verse.

Grace the assembly at this season, for with joyous leaves
The rose adorns the plot, and the Shāhinshāh the world;
The Alexander-like prince Akbar at attainment's feast
Like Elias drained the cup from wisdom's fountain.

On Wednesday 12 Muḥarram 987, 11 March 1589, after the passing of six hours forty seven minutes, the brightener of the temporal and spiritual world, the unveiler of wisdom and perception, the assayer of the jewels of creation, the watchman of the visible and the invisible, cast his rays on the mansion of Aries. Hearts felt the stirring of Truth, and forms received spiritual purity. The reasoning powers were refreshed by the waters of wisdom, the capital of the brains was enlarged, the flashes of light gave glory to inward and outward things, the skirt and the pocket of the Age were filled with the flowers of wish. Thousands of enchanting pictures robbed the critical and acute of steadiness. The world's lord sate on the *divan* of success, and opened the treasures of abundance. Crowds upon crowds of men attained their desires and gathered collyrium for the eyes, medicine for the heart, and the capital of life. May the Incomparable Deity keep the lord of horizons in joy in the deep shade of His permanence together with treasure-showing wisdom and a jewel-scattering disposition!

Verse.

For ever, so long as day follows yesterday,
For ever, so long as the current year follows the passed one.

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May he abide, may his heart be green, and the world at his beck,
Heaven help him, dominion support him, God be his friend.

In the beginning of the year Moẓaffar K. obtained leave to go to the government of Bengal, and H.M. bade him wipe away the grief of the oppressed in that land. The first duty of just rulers is to make over countries, where tribes of mankind and various animals abound, to farsighted and just officers of wide capacity, so that the jewel of humanity may be polished and be weighed in the balance of equity, and the administration of justice and the augmentation of dominion may have their proper place.

. . . . . .

(Some three lines of rhetoric.)

When Khān Jahān was dying, Moẓaffar K., who had an abundant share of choice qualities, was nominated to the government of Bengal and departed thither on 3 Farwardīn, 14 March 1579, after being loaded with salutary counsels. Riẓavī K. was made bakhshi. The civil business (Diwānī) was entrusted to Mīr Adham and Rai
266 Patr[1] Dās, while ḥakīm Abul[2] Fatḥ was made Ṣadr and Amīn. M. Nijābat K., Mīr Jamālu-d-din[3] Ḥusain Anjū and many others accompanied them, and they were all presented with robes of honour and select horses. An order was issued to Ism'āil[4] Qulī K. that he should make over the government to the new officer, and should himself repair to court so that the pain of his grief might be assuaged by the balsam of favour, and his disturbed heart be tranquillised. Orders were also issued to Qiyā K., Bābā K., and Jabbārī and others that they should continue to look after the army. At this time also H.M. erased the record of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M.'s offences and was gracious to him. He regarded his sedition in Gujarat as not having occurred. Though the world's lord shrinks from taking life, and always applies the remedy of kindness to the wicked, yet,

[1] B. 469.

[2] B. 424.

[3] Author of the Persian Dictionary the Farhang-Jahangirī. The text has Anju, but B. has Inju which he says is part of Shiraz. J. III. 423 n. has Īj. The Maaṣir III, 358, says the "Injuwiya are Saiyids of Shiraz."

[4] B. 360. He was K. Jahān's younger brother and probably expected to succeed him.

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with regard to this great benefaction, it appeared to him that the simple soul (of Moẓaffar H.) was not the source of wickedness, and that he had been led into strife by seditious and shortsighted persons. At this time M. 'Aẕīz Kokaltāsh retired into the defiles of obscurity on account of excessive imaginings and for some days was excluded from court. He had made over Mīr 'Alāūd-din collector[1] ('amlguẕār) to his servant on suspicion[2] of his dishonesty. The latter had a grudge against him and tortured him so that he died. The Mīrzā in his extreme justice capitally punished the daring wretch who had taken advantage of his opportunity. And this act of justice he performed, not at the request of anybody, but from piety to God. The Mīr's father came from Persia to ask for redress, and brought the oppression that had been exercised over the Mīr to the august notice. H.M., who in his court makes no difference between relative and stranger, and no distinction between a chief of chiefs (beglar-begī) and a tangled-haired beggar, ordered that the officers of justice should inquire into the matter and report the result without glozing over it. That delicately nurtured one suspected that he had lost favour and went into retirement, and won over the father by large sums of money.

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[1] J. II, 43.

[2] The variant *ba kamāl nā durustī*, "On account of complete dishonesty," is supported by I.O. MS. 236.

The story does not occur in the Lucknow edition. In the Iqbālnāma it is entered under the 25th year. The story told there is that when the Khān 'Āẕim was governor of Gujarat he, on suspicion of dishonesty, made over 'Alāū-d-dīn Yazdī his diwan to his servant named Ṭālib who beat Alāū-d-dīn so severely that he died. Though the Khān 'Āzim capitally punished his slave by way of retaliation, yet 'Alāū-d-dīn's father came from Yazd and complained to Akbar who made over the investigation of the case to Qāẕi Jalāl, the army Qāẕī (Judge-Advocate). As the Khān 'Āzīm had punished his servant, he looked upon this revival of the charge as a proof that Akbar was displeased with him. He paid a large sum to the father and so satisfied him, and then retired again to his garden in Agra. The account of this affair in B.M. Add. 27, 247, differs from that in the text. It the first place it says apparently that M. Koka's conduct was the result of drinking. Fazūnī khumār ḥāl are the words used. Secondly, it calls Mīr 'Alāū-d-din Tarafti (?) and Mīr Koka's Vizier, and says that as he had embezzled much money, the Mīrzā made him over to Ṭālib who was one of his own slaves, and that Ṭālib on account of a private enmity beat 'Alāū-d-dīn so that he died. It does not say any-

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One of the occurrences was the departure of the ambassador of 'Ādil[1] K. of Bījāpūr. Though out of somnolent fortune he did not obey orders in a proper manner, yet like the other rulers of the Deccan he always sent prudent men and choice presents and kept himself known to the august court. On this occasion also he had sent an able[2] and plausible man along with the rarities of the
267 country. H.M. granted the desires of the ambassador and gave him leave to depart. He sent Ḥakīm[3] 'Alī along with him, as the bearer of salutary advices, and to warn him ('Ādil K.) that if he did not hearken to them, he would be made war upon.

One of the events was the putting to school of Sultan Murād. Now that he had arrived at the age of eight, and had recovered from successive ailments, H.M. desired that he should learn his letters. It was signified to S. Abul-Faiẓ Faiẓī, who is singular for knowledge and practice, and who is renowned by his title of *maliku-s-sh'arā*, that he should instruct the prince. In a short time H.M.'s desire was accomplished, and the spiritual and physical window was opened.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Mīr Niẓām. It has already been stated that 'Abdullah[4] K. and 'Ābdī Khwāja had been sent off along with the ambassadors of Badakhshān. M. Shāhrukh regarded their arrival as the stock of eternal bliss. As the Khānim was ill, and the star of her life was near its setting, she sent off her daughter Mihmān B., and the Mīr aforesaid who was her son-in-law (i.e. was married to Mihmān B.), to the holy court along with the rarities of the country, in order that she might bind herself anew to the saddlestraps of fortune. Several of the courtiers met them and conducted them with honour, and on 21 Urdībihist they paid their respects. On 16 Khirdād Wazīr K. did homage,

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thing about the Kokah punishing Ṭālib. The father complained and Akbar made over the case to the Qāẓī.

[1] Usually called 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh. Also called Abul Muẓaffar, murdered 10 April 1580. He reigned for about 22 years. He was the husband of Chānd Bībī.

[2] The T.A., Elliot V, 411, gives his name as Khwāja 'Abdullah, and says that he and his son Shāhī Beg received presents from Akbar.

[3] A physician and engineer, B. 466 He came from Gīlān.

[4] *Vide* supra, text, p. 245.

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and was well received. As the government of Gujarat had been entrusted to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., he (Wazīr) had been ordered to Īdar. In a short time the Rai of that country submitted and fell to supplications. The country was given to him (the Rai) and he came to do homage. Shahbāz K. also arrived at this time. He had 268
settled the affairs of Ajmīr, and reduced the recalcitrant ones to obedience. He did homage on the 27th of the month.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

THE ACCEPTANCE BY ALL THE WISE MEN OF THE AGE OF THE SPIRITUAL PRIMACY (*ijtihād*[1]) OF THE WORLD'S LORD.

The profound and judicious had perceived, from the dawning of the Shāhinshāh's personality, that he was the epitome of the volumes of perfection and had recognized him as akin to the spirit of holiness and as a gatherer of wisdom of the Divine school. From the beginning of the flashings of his intelligence up to his being seated on the throne of the Caliphate, and from the commencement of his daily-increasing fortune, those who could read the forehead of circumstance and were acquainted with mysteries, received fresh consolation; and, while congratulating themselves on their perspicacity, they redoubled their supplications and thanksgivings. Inasmuch as the increase of temporal duties had thrown a veil over his world-illuminating spiritual beauty, it was not every one who could bring far-sighted intelligence to the point of understanding His Majesty, and there was a brisk market of inappreciation. Especially this was so with paper-worshipping scholiasts, sunk in the mire of routine, and recognizing no knowledge except the garnering of old materials and market-worn beads of small value and writings in black and white on ancient folios which had been fabricated by servile decorators.

Without indulging in the excessive panegyrics of professional encomiasts, verbal lapidaries[2] who sell words at the rate of precious stones, whoever casts a glance at the great diurnal of events, or looks with honest eyes into this jewelled volume, knows that those

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[1] See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s.v. Ijtihād.

[2] *lafẓtarāshān-i-khamāhan farosh*, lit. word-cutters who sell agates. For *khamāhan* see Vullers s.v. It is an exceptionally hard stone and according to some is agate. Being so hard it is presumably difficult and costly to cut, and apparently rhetoricians or word-cutters are represented as selling their words as if they were precious stones.

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glorious works (Akbar's) are above human comprehension, and that they furnish a splendid[1] spectacle to readers of the lines of the forehead. From the time that chooser of one-ness, adorner of multiplicity, turned his attention to scientific subjects, and to the varied pursuits of mankind, and when, by removing some of his veils, he allowed his profundity and farsightedness to deck the bridal chamber of manifestation, he scattered from his ocean heart such sublime words concerning the mysteries of vision and piety, and the apices of theory and practice, that the scorched hearts of instruction's furnace fell into amazement, and the crew of the schools sank into the abode of astonishment. It is not the case (dāstān) with revelation and vision that holy thoughts, lofty genius, sublime energy acquire by learning and experience clearness of heart, step by step. Such is the case[2] with the erudite and eloquent. To them these things come not without the alloy of effort. But those who by happy fortune obtain in the Academy of God the marks of things Divine and human without any intermediary, peruse the documents of Primary Reason and the Astrolabe of the heaven of holiness. It was fitting that 269
formalists who dwell within the four walls of routine should enter the defiles of amazement, and that the mental foot of the superficial and short-sighted should stumble, that the wide space of ignorance and little vision should be filled, and that the dustbin of their inward darkness should discharge black waters. Those who did not understand the case imagined that the whole life-time of the sovereign had been spent in study, while many in their blackheartedness and perversity plunged into the saline waste of envy, and were spiritually and physically ruined. A few, by a happy star and auspicious disposition, were guided to the forum of enlightenment and satisfied their eyes

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[1] *Ābādserāī.* But the reading seems doubtful, for if Akbar's deeds were incomprehensible by the human intellect, they could not be a splendid spectacle to the readers of his forehead. I.O. 235 has *bādserai* "cloudland," or something invisible or non-existent, and this seems a preferable reading. The Lucknow ed. omits many lines here. But abādserāī may mean place of purity, and there may be a reference here to the Abādīāns who were a sect of the Parsīs. See Dabistān, Calcutta ed. of 1809, p. 11, where the word abādī is defined as a place of purity (*jāīpāk*).

[2] *Guftugoī.* Perhaps "Such is the remark of the learned 'Without labour no learning.'"

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and their ears. Some open-eyed[1] ones who for many years had painfully striven in the quest of knowledge, and were now watching in justice's portico held a meeting to expound[2] the mystery, and after exchanging many extraordinary experiences, they all joined in saying, "It is the glory of the holy spirit which has come to the kindling point. On this day the light of saintship is casting a ray on his inner soul. It is from the right thinking of the world's lord that this great rank has been bestowed on him. Or has he in the pure temple of privacy kept burning the lamp of study, and now by the goodness of God is he exhibiting it? Or is it the result of magic and enchantment that the drum of enlightenment beats high and that the wondrous workings have shown themselves?"

Those who have by dint of auspiciousness and a happy star abandoned the following of routine, and opened the eyes of vision, and kindled the lamp of understanding, recognized the unique one of horizons as the leader (*peshwā*) of the spiritual world, and rubbed off the rust of astonishment. Nay, a set stained with the dust of routine (*taqlīd*) received a whisper of just appreciation by virtue of ancient records[3] and took the road of right thinking. "When the matted-haired of the desert of vagabondage, and the heavy-footed[4] ones of the abode of vertigo, obtain such high rank in fortune's *divan*, why should we be astonished at the success of a just and right-thinking king?" By the guidance of an open-browed fortune they became believers and made an active market for the new institutions (Āīn).

Verse.

Those cognisant of the final result of things
Made a new prayer about the sovereign:

---

[1] *Ẓāhirnigāhān*, which generally means superficialists, but seems here to have a good sense.

[2] The text has *zhāẓh goī* ژاژ گوئي "foolish talking," but both the I.O. MSS. have *rāz goi*, راز گوی "discourse about secrets," and this seems a preferable reading.

[3] I presume the reference is to some old prophecies which pointed to the coming of Akbar. See Lowe 295, where reference is made to a pamphlet by the Sharīfs of Mecca. Perhaps too the reference is to the accounts of former kings having preached.

[4] Perhaps the reference is to stationary ascetics such as Simeon Stylites. But the I.O. MSS. have for *diwār deosār* "demon haunted."

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"So long as the revolving sphere be full of stars,[1]
And matter be composed of those two things,
May the Shāh's personality be the world's lamp,
May his cheek be brighter than the moon!"

When the sublime meetings were brightened by the lights of the Unique one of Truth's banquet and of intellectual power, and the luminary of recognition shone for the distant as for the near, the acute and awakened of heart, and the wisdom-choosing seekers after knowledge, who were stayed in various religions and divers paths[2] of the ancients, and in the winding-back alleys and ruined bye-paths, and were seeking for relief from their confusion,[3] held a conference[4] with the blissfully wise and the right-thinking. (They said), "Assuredly if the rank of 'Ijtihād,' which is lower than the dignity of a pure soul (*nafs-i qadsī*), be a dispeller of the darkness of doubts, a wise sovereign shall by choice institutions become the pacifier of disturbed hearts. But[5] every one does not know the latter, while 270
every one is familiar with the first. It is fitting then that the happy hivers of wisdom should come together and refer the old, heart-gnawing pain to this new physician. The medicine suitable for the age is to address the king by the style of 'Ijtihād,' and then to represent to him the confusion of religions and creeds and to beg him to untie the knot."

When their ideas were brought to the sacred hearing, the world's lord for a while, from his love for a veil, did not accept the proposal, and the enlightened body had to have recourse to entreaty. Inasmuch as the granting of desires forms a part of the laudable character of that circumspect Seer (Akbar) and his profession is

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[1] Stars and space. Apparently the meaning is that substance (*gohar*) owes its existence to the stars and space.

[2] I.O. MSS. have the conjunction *wa* here.

[3] Both the I.O. MSS. insert the word hairat "astonishment" here.

[4] *Jirga.* But the I.O. MSS. have *jabīar* "an assembly of men convened for some important purpose."

[5] The meaning is that every one knows the powers of an *Ijtihād*, but every one does not know the powers of a just king or of one of a holy spirit. B.M. Add. 27, 247 says that some right thinkers who had studied the *Muzāhīb Khamsa* (the five religions ?) said that the rank of a *Nafs qudsī* was higher than that of the office of Ijtihād, but that he first was not generally known.

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that of a Healer, it flashed upon the vision-portico of the farsighted one, the understander of beginnings, the attainer of ends, that to come forth from the position of commander-in-chief of the spiritual world to this office and to apply his mind to it, was, in reality, an adorning of the veil and a choosing of a screen. He therefore rejoiced them by fulfilling their desire. On 20 Shahrīyūr,[1] Divine month, there was an assemblage of the enlightened, and the thoughts of the wise unanimously agreed upon this, "The world's lord is the Imām of the Time, and the Mujtahid[2] of the age." When the rest of mankind accept whatever he selects from out of the contradictions of the ancients, and from the sects upon sects of eloquent truth-

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[1] Shahriyūr is the 6th month, and corresponds here nearly to 12 August to 12 September 1579. Thus the 20th would be about 1 September 1579. Add. 27, 247, has 20 Shahriyūr, Wednesday 10 Rajab (987). This would make the date 2 September 1579. In the T A. and in Badayūnī the date of the declaration is given as Rajab 987, i.e. between 24 August and 23 September 1579. But it must have been before 16 Rajab for on that day Akbar started for Ajmere, and as that corresponds to 8 September, the latest date for the declaration is the 7th id. As the meetings in the 'Ibādatkhāna took place on Thursdays the document was probably on the first or second Thursday of Rajab, i.e. the 4th or 11th Rajab corresponding to 29 August or 3 September 1579. From the chapter which describes Akbar's visit to Ajmere we learn that he left his capital on 26 Shahrīyūr, and this therefore must correspond to 16 Rajab, the date mentioned by Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badayūnī, consequently 20 Shahriyur, the day of the declaration, must correspond to 10 Rajab—2 September 1579. From what the MS. Add. 27, 247, states it appears that the document was executed one day before the meeting, viz. on a Wednesday. The document has been translated by Blochmann, 186. It will also be found in Lowe 279 (same translation), and in Persian in the T.A. Curiously enough, this important paper is not translated in Elliot V, 413, where there is merely the entry "A legal discussion." It will be seen also that the T.A. puts into this year (the 25th according to the calculation there) the embassy of M. Fulād which A. F. puts into 22nd year, unless indeed the T.A.'s is a second embassy. The reference in Elliot V. 413 seems wrong. The letter sent with Fulād does not appear in the Inshā. I am not sure if Lowe's translation, 278, of the corresponding passage in Badayūnī is right. It rather looks as if the meaning was that 'Abdullah in this year sent back M. Fulād and Khwāja Khaṭīb with him. See text 270.

[2] See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, s.v. Ijtihād and Mujtahid.

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seekers, they will gather the Divine favour." To this statement they attached their seals, and a record of enlightenment was executed. Maulānā 'Abdullah Sultān-pūrī, who had the lofty title of Makhdūm-al-mulk (served by the country), Shaikh Abdu-n-nabī the Ṣadr, who was celebrated as the Shaikh-al-islām, Ghāzī K. Badakhshi, Ḥakīm-almulk, and other great sages signed[1] and sealed it. Those who were giddy and straying in the desert of doubts, put the bridle of fixity on the neck of discipleship, and the sitters in darkness received the light of certitude. The lamp of knowledge lighted up the interior of ignorance, and distracted hearts received new comfort.

Also at this time the pulpit was honoured by the sky-touching feet of the Shāhinshāh, and the palace of wisdom received a fresh exaltation and a new heaven was revealed to the age. Inasmuch as the endeavour of H.M. is to carry out proper actions where possible, and various good things were accomplished by the exertions of that unique one of the banquet of enlightenment, every choice act which represented itself to his mind, or which he heard of as having been performed by God-worshippers in old times, was regarded by him

[1] It is curious that A. F. does not mention his father Mubārak as one of those who signed. According to Badayūnī, Mubārak was the chief contriver of the affair, and the one who drafted the declaration. Niẓāmu-d-dīn also mentions Mubārak as one of the subscribers. It evidently was the result of a compromise, and is a document capable of various interpretations. It declared that a just Sulṭan (Sulṭān-i-'ādil) was higher in rank than a Mujtahid, that Akbar was the Sultan-al-islām' *Kahf al anām* (the Sulṭān of Islām and the Refuge of mankind), and a just prince, etc., and that whichever of the conflicting views of Mujtahids he selected, should be received by men, and that also he might issue new orders, provided they were not contrary to the Qoran, and were for the good of the people; and that opposition thereto would involve ruin in this world and damnation in the next. But the saving clause that his orders were not to be contrary to the Qoran and be for the good of the people gave a loop-hole for opposition. Badayūnī seems to have copied the document from the T.A., but he has some original remarks on its scope and effect. Apparently his allusion to Hairatī and A. F. means that they became fire-worshippers and so it might be said that A. F. preferred fire (or hell) to ruin. The cold disposition attributed to the people of Transoxians is a playful allusion to the meaning of the expression Māwārā-an-nahr (beyond the river).

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as a means of pleasing God, and was carried into effect. As at this time it came to his hearing that the guiding Imāms and legitimate Caliphs did not leave worship to others, but took this weighty matter on their own shoulders, he resolved to imitate them in this, and to reap the reward thereof. As the administration of the world and the dispensation of justice are great occupations, he did not indulge in long discourses, but was contented with what was necessary.
271 Several times he distributed enlightenment in the chief mosque of the capital (Fatḥpūr) and the audiences gathered bliss. One of the discourses (*Khuṭba*) which my most excellent of brothers, S. Abu-l-Faiẓ Faiẓī, put by his orders into verse was as follows:—

Verse.[1]

In the name of Him who gave us sovereignty,
Who gave us a wise heart and a strong arm,
Who guided us in equity and justice,
Who put away from our heart aught but equity;
His praise is beyond the range of our thoughts,
Exalted be His Majesty, Allah Akbar.

Inasmuch as his thoughts were pure, he by heart-enlightening words made an impression on the good, and communicated Divine aid to them. There were wonderful awakenings. And since saline soil depraves good seed, the hearts of the entirely bad were made yet more puckered, and the dark mirror of the disordered in brain and blackguards in action was made yet more distorted.[2] As it is an old custom that the stupid denizens of the demon-haunted[3] land of ignorance indulge in foolish talk about the pious servants of God, and that they term potsherds valuable jewels, and reckon a broken

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[1] cf. Lowe 277, Elliot V, 412, and B. 185. A. F's version is slightly different from Niẓāmu-d-dīn, and Badayūnī says that Akbar broke down in his first attempt to preach. A. F. represents him as having often officiated (*bārhā*). The date given in the T.A. and Badayūnī is Friday. Jamāda-al-awal 987, 26 June 1579. Consequently Akbar's appearance in the pulpit preceded by about two months the promulgation of the declaration, though A. F. mentions the latter first. Mr. Keene has given a paraphrase of Faiẓī's verses in his Guide to Agra, p. 61.

[2] Text, *nābtar*, i.e. clearer, but I.O. MSS. have *tābtar*.

[3] Text *devlākh*, but both the I.O. MSS. have *deosār*.

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stone as a mirror of Divinity and a night-gleaming radiancy, every faction went about in the streets of ignorance and the back-lanes of wickedness speaking foolishly and spreading calumnies. On every side there arose the dust of commotion and the black smoke of darkness. Assemblages of wickedness congregated together. One set of those base ones who are nocturnal animals and blind feelers with their feet (*pāī kobān*) in the day charged that Unique of God's servants, who is the glory of his race, with claiming the Godhead, and by such improper talk they fell into the pit of external ruin. Apparently this God-displeasing crew were led into error by the circumstances that some of the leading unionists [1] who were of the school of Nosair [2] and had the enthusiasm of Ḥusain [3] b. Manṣūr recognized and spoke of the Khedive of spirituality as the "Witness of God" (Muẓhir-i-Ḥaqq). The throne-occupant of Fortune on account of his principle of "Peace with all" did not severely rebuke the idle talkers [4] and distracted ones. The foolish ones lost the footing of bliss, and fell into the mire of futile ideas. There was a market-day for the liars and falsifiers. Some of the heated fanatics of the desert of destruction said that the Prince of the Age wished to claim to be the prophet of the incomparable Deity. The proof of this imagination of the strife-mongers was that the Shāhinshāh was continually introducing noble laws, and making verdant the parterres of realm

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[1] *Pesh qadamān-i-īkjahati*, "Forerunners of concord."

[2] Nosair is said to have been the name of the father of an adherent of 'Alī who regarded him as a divinity. According to another account Nosair was 'Alī's freedman. See D'Herbelot s.v. Nossuirioun, and also Hist. et Rel. des Noaṣairis by René Dussand, Paris 1900, p. 9, etc. The Nosairīs are a Syrian sect and still exist. They resemble the Ism'aīlis. See Reclus Asie Anterieure, p. 748. Possibly, however, by Nosair A. F. means Nāṣir Khusrau. See Schefer, "Voyage de Nassiri Khorran," p. ii, note.

[3] A famous mystic put to death at Bagdad, 309 A.H. (922 A.D.). See J. III, 354, n. 2, the Safīna-al-auliya and D'Herbelot, s.v. Hallaje. Akbar's remark at J. III, 394, foot of page, is explained by the account in D'Herbelot, s.v. Faraoun, taken from S. 'Alāu-al-daulah, of why Pharoah and Ḥusain b. Mansūr were differently treated by God. B.M. MS., Add. 27, 247, has some different readings in this passage.

[4] It is not clear whether the idle talkers here referred to are the Nosairis or their opponents. But MS. Add. 27, 247, seems to show clearly that the persons meant are Akbar's injudicious friends and not his enemies.

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and religion, and pointing out the discrepancies in the doubtful
272 expressions of the ancients. Bewildered hearts and short-sighted persons indulged in these thoughts, and the spectacle of his reciting the Khuṭba contrary to custom and his mounting the pulpit for the guidance of mankind helped the delusion. Many from acceptance[1] of hearsay and belief in idle words came to believe this. Thus there was a splendid market for strife-mongering and fabrication.

When the fact of the foolish talk of the wicked came to H.M.'s hearing, he, from his wide capacity and his contemplation of the wonders of creation, did not believe it, and said often "Good God." "How could it enter into the narrow thoughts of the ignorant that recent creatures belonging to a dependent existence and of feeble intellect should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity? And have the leaders of humanity who have by thousands of miracles expounded the prophetic office come into the world, and have cycles elapsed, that an opinion like this should be cherished and increase, and that the dust of unbelief be not yet laid? How could such a notion come into my mind? Why does such an evil thought bewilder the superficial and the worshippers of externals? Inasmuch as censure and reproach give a fresh lustre to hearts which are pure, it would be improper to reprove those black-thoughted ones who cause an increase of light." A set of evil-thoughted, shameless ones imagined that the Prince of horizons regarded with disfavour the Muhammadan religion (*dīn i-Aḥmadī*). The sole evidence which those wrong-headed wicked ones, whose understanding was rusted, had for this was that the wise sovereign out of his tolerant disposition and general benevolence, and extensive overshadowing, received all classes of mankind with affection. Especially did he search for evidence in religious matters from the sages of every religion and the ascetics of all faiths. Nor did he accept the replies of the headstrong and uninquiring. Above all, at this time Christian philosophers assailed the orthodox (*matafiqqān*, those in agreement) of the day in the sublime assemblies, and learned discussions were carried on. The calumniators[2] of the enlightened who by pretences

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[1] *Gosh bandagī*, but Lucknow ed. has *kosbandagi*, and explains the phrase as meaning obedience to or acceptance of hints. Perhaps *kos* is right and the meaning is "following the drum," i.e., sequacity.

[2] *Badnāmkanān*, All the MSS. seem to have a conjunction before

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had claimed for themselves a learning that did not exist, made a clamour in the court of sovereignty. They were put to shame in the daily market of justice and the heyday of discrimination, and lowered their heads into the folds of ignorance, but in the privy chambers of darkness they joined their confederates in the cry that they were mourning the loss of Faith, and that the king of the Age had, out of partiality, not accepted their replies. In their wickedness they cast suspicion upon that choice one of truth and that inwardly enlightened one. In their black-heartedness and shamelessness, they gave no heed to the fact that the honour and respect which this appreciative throne-occupant used to show to the family of the prophet had been rarely exhibited by other monarchs. Many good Saiyyids had been raised to dignities and high offices by the favour of H.M., and from time to time they were still farther promoted and the garden of their wishes kept watered and verdant. Nor did he permit that any member of this family should lay his head on the holy feet,[1] or rub 273
the forehead on the threshold of fortune. A set of squint-eyed, wicked people taxed him with Sh'iism; and so led astray simple-minded Sunnīs. The cause of the stumbling of this set was that in the sublime assemblies the proofs of those two sects, like those of other sects, were discussed, and that the Shāhinshāh from equity selected what was preferable.

Verse.

When a statement is strong in argument,
It is unfortunate if you do not listen to it.

His likes or dislikes,[2] the greater or lesser numbers of the disputants, their being acquaintances or strangers, raised no dust of difference. The short-sighted and irreflecting on seeing his fondness for discussion indulged in idle talk. The favour shown to Persians,

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this word. Perhaps the meaning is "Those who by their conduct brought a disgrace on the party of the enlightened."

[1] cf. B. 159. It appears from this passage that Akbar exempted Saiyyids from the ceremony of prostration. Perhaps this was why he withdrew his foot when Badayūnī wished to kiss it before going to the holy war. But the translation is not complete (Lowe, 234) or correct.

[2] *Nafrat-i-zamīr.* The Lucknow ed. has *taqarrab-i-zamīr.*

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most of whom belonged to that sect (the Sh'iā), increased the evil thoughts of the turbulent. Out of ignorance, and worship of routine, they did not remember the precept about accepting the explanation that was conformable to reason.[1] And either the promotion of Turanians was hidden from the bigoted eyes of this set, or they wilfully remained ignorant of it and sought for pretexts. An impure faction reproached the caravan-leader of God-knowers with being of the Hindu (Brahman) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that the prince out of his wide tolerance received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and increased for administrative reasons the rank of Hindus, and for the good of the country showed them kindness. Three things supported the evil-minded gossips. First—The sages of different religions assembled at court, and as every religion has some good in it, each received some praise. From a spirit of justice, the badness of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. Second—The season of "Peace with all" was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and various tribes of mankind of various natures obtained spiritual and material success. Third—The evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of the age.

By the right-thinking and truthful conduct of the world's lord, they were soon put to shame for their ignorance, and set about endeavouring to amend the days of their ignorance, but many as a retribution for their evil deeds descended into the tortures of failure.

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[1] *Dāstān-i-bar giriftan i-muwāfiq* "accepting the simplest explanations? or is it to accept a congruous statement.

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CHAPTER XLVIII.

The Honour done to Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān by his being appointed to be Atālīq to Prince Sultān Selīm.

(This chapter begins with some general remarks on humanity, and then launches out into a panegyric of Akbar and his son Sultān Selīm. After more than a page of this stuff it proceeds to relate how Quṭbu-d-dīn K. was on 22 Shahrīyūr (beginning of September 1579) appointed Atālīq, or tutor, of the prince, and received the robe of honour called a *dāqū* (see supra II, 121, l. 7; it is the *daq* of the dictionaries, B. 333 spells it *dāgū*) "which holds a high rank in the holy family" and the title Beglārbegī).

(Translation resumed). He (Quṭbu-d-dīn in gratitude for this **275** great gift resolved upon holding a splendid banquet, and begged for H.M.'s presence at it. H.M. granted his wish, and the house of the faithful became the envy of the spheres by the arrival of the sacred feet. On this occasion eternal bliss was conferred (on Quṭbu-d-dīn) by the noble prince's being placed on his shoulder.[1] There was rejoicing and there was scattering of largesse.

Verse.

There was a heaven-illuminating banquet-hall
Such as the stars seldom see in dreams
The spectators were fascinated by beholding it
Wisdom lost its tongue, and the tongue became ear.

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[1] cf. Lowe 278, and Elliot V. 413, where *for* "young prince, etc." *read* "the king and the princes honoured him with their presence"; and *for* "back" *read* "shoulder." Apparently Akbar himself put Selīm on Quṭbu-d-dīn's shoulder. Badayūnī 282 says Akbar tried to convert Quṭbu-d-dīn and failed. A. F. does not mention two things which occurred about this time, viz. a great fire at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, and the deaths of 80 women and children in consequence of overcrowding at a distribution of alms. Ferishta and Khāfī K. mention the fire, and T. A., Elliot V. 413, and Badayūnī, Lowe 272, the deaths from overcrowding.

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CHAPTER XLIX.

Expedition of H. H. to Ajmere.

The glorious sovereign from exceeding quest of truth, and an enlightened mind, pays no regard to himself and continually fares forward. From time to time he performs the part of a watchman and bestows a fresh market day on the world's market place, and irrigates the garden of faith. He looks out everything from head to foot and makes progresses in order to keep up his acquaintance (with people and places). Out of good thinking and for the acquisition of bliss he circumambulates the shrines of saints—a thing which even lofty-viewed collectors of truth little attend to. He thereby lights up the countenance of truth-worship, and
276 furnishes means of rejoicing to the superficial and the worshippers of externals. Varied delight too comes to the esoteric. At this time, when the lights of knowledge of Divine things had obtained manifestation, and the beauteous forms (of truths) were enlightening modes of life, it flashed upon his august mind that these good old customs (of pilgrimages) were not religious exercises except under certain conditions, and that royal expeditions were not meritorious if undertaken without consideration of the public weal. He made inquiries to find out if such conditions were absent and if he might, in contradiction to former years, put off his visit to Ajmere. When[1]

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[1] This was the last visit Akbar paid to Ajmere. In the following year he sent his son Daniel, but gave up his own visit. See text 316-17. Badayūnī, writing in about 1594, says, Lowe, p. 280, that Akbar had not been to the shrine for fourteen years. He adds that on this occasion Akbar traversed the last ten miles on foot, and that sensible people smiled and said it was passing strange that H.M. should exhibit such devotion to the Ajmere Khwāja when he denied the real root, from every corner of which hundreds of thousands of thousands of saints as perfect as the Khwāja had sprung. It will be observed that this year Akbar did not visit the shrine on the anniversary-day, as was his custom. It looks therefore as if the visit was an after-

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it appeared that an expedition in that direction would be a means of calming the public and enhance the submission of the recalcitrant, he, on 26 Shahrīyūr, Divine month, 8 September 1579, placed the foot of fortune in the stirrup of world conquest and set off thither. In accordance with excellent customs he enjoyed, stage by stage, the pleasure of hunting. He conferred new lustre on the administrators of justice. Crowds upon crowds of men obtained their desires and rejoiced. For some, worldly affairs and outward businesses were arranged, while many had their spiritual desires, and their wishes appertaining to the inner world, gratified. That cavalier of the field of enlightenment remained in communion with the Incomparable Deity, and adorned the external world. While involved in various employments he moved along with a free soul. From the time that the question (dāstān) of Society and Solitude made its appearance in the world, and the thread of the observance of the vestiges of one's predecessors acquired consistency, there have been few instances of such full co-existence of these two opposites in one worshipper of God. The acute of every sect on beholding the marvels of this Unique One sank their head in the folds of astonishment in such a manner as cannot be described, and does not come within the domain of audition. Every sect was convinced that the whole energies of the world's lord were expended on their special rules, and that his proficiency in them was the result of his long study of them. By God's aid, just as wondrous works appeared in the matter of calming worldly agitators, and as the glory of them reached the near and the distant, so still more abundant were his marvellous transactions in the wide sphere of the spiritual kingdom. The lamp of guidance for the seekers after auspiciousness shone brilliantly. A fresh instance, and one which adorns the pen, is the tale of the obedience of the tiger.

On 26 Mihr (about 6 October 1579) the glorious standards cast their rays on the tank[1] of Khwāṣ Khān. The landowners (*būmīān*) of that neighbourhood rubbed the forehead of supplication, and related as follows: "A traveller was passing through a dreadful

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thought devised to quiet the people. The visit was paid in Ābān and near Akbar's birthday.

[1] Five *kos* from Ajmere. Akbar arrived there on 19 Shābān, which seems to correspond to 11 October 1579 (Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Lucknow lith. ed., p. 344).

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forest in this vicinity, and a fasting[1] beast of prey rose up to destroy his life, but a remedy was found by the strong-souled, happy-hearted man. He immediately drew a line round himself and called upon the name of the world's lord (Akbar). On hearing the honoured name the beast stood still, and the man escaped from his mortal danger."[2] The awakened men of the country placed anew the neck of auspiciousness in the noose of sincerity. There was a clapping of the hands on the part of those who had found their goal,
277 and there was an increase of devotion. When H.M. heard of this wondrous working of fortune he, from the greatness of his genius, and from his keeping behind the veil, set no store by it, but said, "If the tale be true I shall never hunt this animal again, nor seek to take his life." The wondrous miracles of this Unique of the Age are higher than that the swift cavaliers of the plain of enlightenment can reach that tract, and the lofty rank of that unity-chooser, multiplicity-adorner, is too far off for the highflyers of soaring spirit to be able to spread their pinions in the atmosphere of the recognition thereof.

Verse.[3]

We, when we contemplate him,
Are the astonied ones of Creation,
What know we of his perfect substance?
We are the know-nothings of Creation.

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[1] Text ناآشنا, "Unknowing or a stranger," but I.O. MS. 236 has ناشتا "fasting," and this seems to be the true reading.

[2] The story of the tiger is told at somewhat greater length in the T.A. at the end of the 25th year, but is not translated in Elliot. Niẓāmu-d-dīn says that there are many tigers between Ranthanbhūr and Ajmere, and that the subject of the incident was coming to the latter place when he fell in with the tiger. He adds that the teller of the story swore to Akbar that he had seen the man and heard the tale from him. The T. A. adds that Khwāṣ Khān's tank is five *kos* from Ajmere, that Akbar arrived there on 19 Shabān, and that on Friday the 24th id., 16 October 1579, he walked the five *kos* into Ajmere. The text of the Newal Kishore edition is imperfect in the account of the tiger-story.

[3] The Lucknow edition has a different reading in first line, and if *gah* is for *gāh*, place, it is unusual to find it standing alone. Perhaps گه *gah* means time here, and the translation should be "When he came to contemplate him." Possibly we should read *bā bīmgah* "at the fearful place."

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On 3 Ābān (about 14 October 1579), Divine month, he cast his august shadow on that city. He performed his devotions and paid his visit to the shrine. The ministers thereof and the other wishful expectants reaped various joys from his liberality.

One of the occurrences was the sending of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṯānpūrī to the Ḥijāz. The treasure-like disposition of the Shāhinshāh desired that the empty-handed ones of the seven worlds, and the well-meaning ones of every country, might carry away an abundant provision from the table of his bounty. And he was ever sending for well-intentioned, active and skilful and honest men who would disburse his gifts in foreign parts, and would make the distribution without being sharers in oppression, and without partiality for their friends. He continually chose from among travellers every one who was distinguished for truth and righteousness, and put large sums into their charge, so that the largesse of the Shadow of God might be comprehensive, and that his gratitude for his lofty fortunes might brighten the face of dominion. As the multitude of the needy ones in the peninsula of the Ḥijāz, and the numbers of anchorites in that region, had impressed his mind, he every year sent off loads (*kharwār*) of gold under the escort of able and good men. His idea was that the ocean of his bounty should always be in motion. But as he became aware that the pushing and avaricious men of those shrines stirred up the dust of turbulence and did not make a proper division, and that no share came to the modest poor, or they only got a smaller portion, while the wicked and noisy took away large quantities by oppression, he resolved that in future his great bounties should not be proclaimed, and that the poor of that country should, like those of every other country, receive their boons in secret. Perhaps such canvassing of hearts, and such giving of joy to the melancholy, would be accepted (by God). At this time, when wisdom had obtained a high position, and there was a daily market for investigation, the veil over the deeds of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī **278** and Mullā 'Abdullah Sulṯānpūrī was withdrawn. They in consequence of fictions and phenakisms, and the backing of simpletons who did not know the facts, had taken their seats on the *masnad* of priority and were actively employed in ministering to their own desires, and in self-gratification. It was perceived that they had acquired nothing beyond the first elements of routine such as those

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on the lowest forms collect, and that they knew nothing of science and had nothing but a long tongue and a vending of stories (*naql faroshī*) as is the rule with the ignorant and the prating. With all this empty-handedness they had but a small portion of piety and of search for truth, and regarded pride and presumption as their greatness. The tolerant and benevolent prince did not, on account of his reverence and modesty, desire that this crew should be still more exposed in the assay-room of knowledge and perception for their ignorance and injustice, or that they should be disgraced and be pointed at with the finger of scorn of high and low. He allotted to them the office of Mīr Ḥāj (charge of pilgrims) and ordered them to look after the necessitous of that territory. In this way he expelled them from his empire, and he directed that they should remain perpetually at that place of worship. They were to improve themselves there and preserve their self-respect, and conduct themselves properly.

As they were slaves of money they did not appreciate this mystery and propounded a thousand objections and reasons for delay. Their base minds were set upon heaping up *dirhams* and *dīnārs*, and not on acquiring a name and reputation. But the wise world's Khedive, like a loving physician who makes ignorant patients, willing or unwilling, swallow bitter drugs, sent them away and insisted upon administering the remedy to them. Many of the empty-handed and necessitous received means for the journey.[1]

On 17 'Abān, Divine month, he commenced his return to the capital from the blissful city (Ajmere) by way of Mewāt. Meadows and mountains assumed the verdure of spring. Though in appearance he was enjoying himself in hunting, in reality he was worshipping God and cherishing his subjects. On the 29th in the neighbourhood of Sāmbhar[2] Shahbāz K. was sent off with some victorious troops in order that he might guard the laws of sovereignty in that

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[1] They both returned. Makhdūm-al-mulk died at Aḥmadabad, and 'Abdu-n-nabī died a violent death in the capital. The author of the Iqbālnāma states that Abūl Faẓl, in whose charge 'Abdu-n-nabī was, put him to death at Akbar's orders. See their biographies in Badayūnī's 3rd vol. and in the D.A.

[2] The salt lake in Jaipūr and Jodhpūr.

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province, and might exert himself in keeping the peace and in civilizing the country.

One of the occurrences was the happening of an injury to Zain K. Kokaltāsh. On 23 'Azar (about 3 December) H.M. was in Thīrah[1] and performing his devotions in private.[2] In front of the hall (*daulatkhāna*) a great tumult arose and then subsided. Bhūpat Cohān had from inverted fortune turned away his head for some time from obedience and gone off to Bengal. When that country was conquered, he of necessity took shelter at the august court. Since a bad habit with difficulty leaves a man's constitution, and especially does it not depart, if it be not regarded by him as blameworthy, that wicked one went again to his home in Etawah and took to robbery and oppression of the peasantry. As that town belonged to the fief of the Kokaltāsh, he obtained leave of absence in order that he might guide him and other arrogant ones in the right path by wise advices. Whoever did not listen was to have **279** his arrogance enlightened by the brilliancy of the Indian scimitar. When they arrived at that place the wicked inhabitants took upon their shoulders the burden of obedience, and all the headstrong had, under the guidance of the Kokaltāsh, the bliss of performing the *kornish*. That turbulent-brained one would not choose to accompany them, and an order was given that the land-holders there should arrest him; but out of terror he came to the camp of fortune and sought protection from Raja Todar Mal and Raja Bīrbar. He professed to bring forward the question of forgiving his offences and expressed a wish to serve H.M. But he was lying in wait for the Kokaltāsh and was meditating mischief. The Kokaltāsh reported his evil designs to Court, and in accordance with orders, S. Ibrāhīm[3] summoned him in order that he might be fully won over and might be appointed to some duty after the taking of security. He and some daring Rajpūts came forward about this time and petitioned,

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[1] Text Bhera, which seems certainly wrong; the variant Muttra is more likely. I adopt Thīrah as this is what is written in the I.O. MSS. I do not know the place.

[2] At this time Akbar seems to have been very devout. Niẓāmu-ddīn, Lucknow ed., 344, mentions that on his way back from Ajmere he had a lofty tent (*bārgāh*) erected and furnished with *mihrābs* or prayer niches, etc., and that he prayed there in the congregation five times a day.

[3] B. 402.

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saying that if the Kokaltāsh would admit him to terms and S. Ibrāhīm promise to favour him, he would come to court. Otherwise he was prepared to sacrifice his life. The Shaikh, in agreement with the Koka, soothed the ignorant by sweet words and wished to bring him before H.M. As the palace-ushers (*cāūshān*) do not admit armed men without orders, they in good faith put hands on his dagger and stopped him. The passionate man thought there was a trick and drew out his dagger and fought. The Koka bravely joined in the fray and was wounded. Some servants seized Bhūpat and sent him to the abode of non-existence. The Khedive, who possesses the Messiah's breath, went next day to the Kokaltāsh's quarters, and by his gracious words, etc., put balm on the wounds. By his attentions the dangerous wound was healed, and thanksgivings were offered. On the 29th [1] he alighted at Fatḥpūr.

One of the occurrences was that Yūsuf [2] K. of Kashmīr received protection at court. His father 'Alī K. Cak was ruler of Kashmīr. He was killed while playing polo (*caugān*) by a hurt from the pommel of his saddle, and the grandees chose him (Yūsuf). His paternal uncle Abdāl aimed at the throne and meditated wickedness;
280 Yūsuf acted with promptitude and surrounded his house. In the struggle and confusion he (Abdāl) was killed by a bullet. Things

[1] Shawāl, Elliot V. 413, 11 December, 1579.

[2] See J. II, 380, where he is called Yūsuf Shāh and is stated to have reigned on the first occasion one year and twenty days, and on the second five years and three months. The facts mentioned in the text are detailed at greater length in Ḥaidar Malik's history of Kashmīr. 'Alī K.'s death is described there, and the contest between Yūsūf and his father's younger brother Abdāl. Yūsuf certainly acted with promptitude for he left his father unburied and went off to contend with Abdāl. Yūsūf Shāh, the son of 'Alī Cak, is of course a different man from Yūsūf K., the son of Ḥusain Shāh (or Cak), but who was Yusūf Shāh's brother-in-law and cousin. It was Yūsuf Khān and not Yūsuf Shāh that Ḥaidar Malik accompanied to India. According to Ḥaidar, though he was wounded by a bullet, he still kept his seat on horseback, but was eventually killed by Saiyid Mubārak. Yūsuf was afterwards driven out by Saiyid Mubārak. He returned, and Ḥaidar says a slight engagement took place in the village of Bartal in pargana Deosar. But as stated in text, those who had invited him did not support him, and he again fled. This time he went to Akbar's court. The text says he went by the route of Qirmiz (?). Ḥaidar does not mention this name.

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had not quieted down when Saiyid Mubārak, Abu-l-m'aālī his son, 'Alī K., Ḥaidar Cak, 'Alī Malik and a number of others agreed that Yūsuf the son of Ḥusain K., who was his (Yūsuf'Shah's) cousin and had the title of Khān-Khānān, should be made king. He out of foresight declined. The strife-mongers raised up Saiyid Mubārak and kindled the flames of sedition. A fight took place in the plain of the 'Īdgāh. Yūsuf K. prepared a force and proceeded to an engagement. Muḥammad K., who was in the vanguard, was killed after much fighting, and Yūsuf K. fled without coming on the field. He came through the pass of Pīrpanjāl and took breath in the neighbourhood of Thāna. The evil-doers sent fraudulent letters and brought him back. At Marāj Saiyid[1] Mubārak came forward to give battle. The double-faced triflers did not advance one step to carry their words (i.e. their letter) into effect. He prudently went by the route of Qirmiz (B.M.S. Add. 27, 247, adds here "which is in Jammū"), and sought protection from Rajah Mān Singh and M. Yūsuf K. They received him and brought him by the Panjab to Court. On 21 Dai (January 1580) he performed the prostration. The hand of the kindness of the world's lord raised him from the dust, and distinguished him by various favours.

Also at this time Peshrāu K. arrived from the south. He had been[2] sent to convey counsels to the Niẓāmu-l-mulk of the Deccan. He had performed his mission in a proper manner and had impressed many wise words on the Niẓām. Although the brain of the latter was oppressed by melancholy (*saudā*) and he refrained from society and spent his time in solitude, yet he came a little to his senses, and sent Āṣaf K., who was one of his confidants, along with the rarities of the country. He was well received.

One of the occurrences was the appointing an army to capture the European ports. Inasmuch as conquest is the great rule of princes, and by the observance of this glory-increasing practice, the distraction of plurality[3] places its foot in the peacefulness of unity, and the harassed world composes her countenance, the officers of the

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[1] J. II. 368 where it is Marrāj. See his note 1. Tatta, the place where Yūsuf took refuge, seems a mistake for Thāna.

[2] He held the appointment of darogha of the farāshkhāna.

[3] Meaning that one ruler is substituted for many.

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provinces of Gujarat and Mālwa were appointed[1] to this service under the leadership of Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān on 18 Bahman, Divine month (February 1580). The rulers of the Deccan were also informed that the troops had been sent in that direction in order to remove the
281 Faringīs who were a stumbling-block in the way of the pilgrims to the Ḥijāz. They were bidden to regard this news as an opportunity for showing their loyalty, and directed to join the army with suitable equipments so that the protests of service which they were always making by their envoys might be fulfilled, and also in order that the peasantry of the southern districts might be preserved from the shock of the imperial forces.

At this time the Sarkār of Ghāzīpūr was granted to M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, while the delightful tract (khiṭṭa) of Jaunpūr was taken from him and given to Tarson Muḥammad K. The latter was sent off to that quarter and Maulānā Muḥammad Yezdī[2] was sent along with him as Ṣadr of the province. Orissa was assigned to M'aṣūm K. Kābulī. Subḥān Qulī Turk was dispatched to proceed rapidly in order to convoy him from Bihar to Orissa and to bring Qiyā K. Gang (or Kank) to Bihar.

One of the occurrences was the return of Mīr Ābu Turāb from the Ḥijāz. It has been stated that he had been appointed to the high office of leader of the pilgrims. At this time news came that he had completed his journey and was bringing an impression of the Prophet's foot; may the Peace of God be upon him and on his family[3]! He represented that this impression was the fellow (ham-

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[1] We do not hear anything more of this expedition. Evidently it failed of its object. The last sentence of the paragraph seems to imply that Quṭbu-d-dīn was not to advance into the Deccan if the rulers there did their duty. In a letter to 'Abdullah K., Akbar explains why he did not succeed in extirpating the Portuguese. The Portuguese records, Danvers II, 42, describe an unsuccessful attack on Damān by Calichan (Qulīj K. Andijānī who was made governor of Gujarat in the 23rd year) and a single combat between him and Fernando da Miranda. Mr. Whiteway informs me that the date of the fight was Easterday 1582 = 15 April O.S.

[2] Apparently this is the man who, though at first a bigoted Shiah (see Badayūnī, Lowe 214 and 267), afterwards advised that rebellion against Akbar was lawful, see B. 189. Akbar had him arrested and drowned.

[3] This prayer so usual among Muḥammadan writers when mentioning the name of Muḥammad or

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dast) of that which Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī[1] brought to Delhi in the reign of Sultan Fīrūz. Although the Asylum of the Faith (Dīnpanāh) knew that the thing was not genuine—and acute experts have shown its falsity—yet from profound observance of the veil he regarded the respect due to that nobleman[2] of lofty lineage, and gloriously exhibited his administration of justice. An order was issued that the caravan should halt four *kos* from the capital. The court-artificers prepared a delightful dwelling (for Akbar), and the Shāhinshāh came there with the great officers (*nuyīān*) and the men of learning, and

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other prophet does not occur in the Lucknow edition nor in the two I. O. MSS. and has perhaps been inserted by the piety of the Bib. Ind. editors.

[1] I am not sure if the meaning is that Akbar acted out of respect to Abū Turāb, or that he paid respect to Muḥammad.

[2] This is the Jalāl who is known as Makhdūm Jahānīān Jahāngasht and whom A. F. calls in the Āīn Shaikh Jalāl. He is buried at Uch. Apparently it is his grandfather who is more properly styled Saiyid Jalāl Bokharī, but, however, Ferishta calls him Makhdūm Jahānīān Saiyid Jalālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Bokhārī. He gives a long biography of him, but does not mention the stone. From Saiyid Aḥmad's Asār Sanādīd, p. 92, it appears that the stone is, or was, over the tomb of Fatḥ K., the son of Fīrūz Shāh, and who, according to Keene's Delhi, died in 1374. Saiyid Jalāl died in 1383. See also Beale s. v. Shaikh Jalāl and B. 507 and Lowe 320. Badayūnī's verse appears to refer to Fatḥ K.'s tomb. B. 198 following Badayūnī, Lowe 320 puts the bringing of the stone into the 27th year, 990. Badayūnī apparently follows Niẓāmu-d-dīn though the latter puts the occurrence even one year later, viz. the 28th year, 991. However A. F. is probably correct in assigning it the 24th year, 987, for it seems that Abū Turāb and 'I'timād returned in that year from Mecca. There is an account of the stone in the Mirāt Aḥmadī, lith. ed., p. 146, which gives some additional particulars. It says that Abū Turāb reported from Surat the arrival of the stone, that Akbar passed orders about its being met one stage from Fatḥpūr, that he wrapped the stone in a special mantle and carried it on his own shoulder for one hundred paces. It also speaks of the stone's having been originally in the Ka'ba and of Abū Turāb's having wrapped it in a cover belonging to the Muqām-i-Ibrāhīm (house of Abraham). The stone was deposited near the Khāṣ Maḥal (palace) at Fatḥpūr and was there for a year. Then when Abū Turāb returned to Gujarat, he begged to be allowed to take it with him. This was granted, and Abū Turāb brought it to Asāwal near Aḥmadabad and it was there for six years. Afterwards it was removed into the city of Aḥmadābād, and the writer of the Mirāt Aḥmadī says he visited it there.

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he laid that piece of stone on his sky-touching shoulder and carried it for some paces. The stages were arranged, and the officers placed the stone on the head of reverence and conveyed it in turn to the capital. In accordance with instructions they placed it in the Mīr's house. All this honour was done out of abundant perceptiveness, respect and appreciation, and wide toleration, in order that the reverence due to that simple-minded Saiyid might not be spilt on the ground, and that jovial critics might not break out into smiles. Immediately the cup of the fancy of the short-thoughted was filled with dust, and the wicked and seditious sank into the pit of shame. The vain thinkers and ill-conditioned ones who had been agitated on account of the inquiries into the proofs of prophecy, and the passing of nights (in discussion), and the doubts—of which books of theology (kalāmī kutub) are full—were at once made infamous in the market of ashamedness, while those who had spoken idly and foolishly of the semblance of religion and piety in the spiritual and temporal pontiff, became ruined in realm and religion. The agitation of that day casts no cloud on the inner mind of that banquet-adorner
282 of world-knowledge, nor has he any delight to-day from the fact of that crew's having sunk their heads in the collar of shame! The plant of the power of such a whole-hearted one increases from day to day, and from time to time fresh fortune brings the news of success. Profundity of thought always prevails, and the wonders of fortune increase watchfulness.

Verse.

Ever march along the road of nobleness,
Ever cheerfully imprint the page of Time,
Casting a frank glance on the horizons,
Regarding as a spectacle the ways of the world.

What cares the right-thinking God-fearing man for joy or sorrow? But the sincere disciples of a new devotion acquired strength, and provision for the road was furnished to the general public.

One of the occurrences[1] was the division of the wide tract of

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[1] A list of the twelve Subahs or provinces is given in J. II, 113. They were Agra, Aḥmadābād (Gujarat), Ajmere, Allahābād, Oudh, Bengal (including Orissa), Behar, Delhi, Kabul, Lahore, Malwa, and Multan

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India into twelve portions. It was unavoidable that the sovereign of lofty genius and protector of the weak should favour them by gifts and appointments (*bakhshish u bakhshāīsh*), and that he should reform the wicked and stiff-necked by the glory of counsels and the flashings of the scimitar. He distributed the territories according to suitable limits and laid out the garden of creation by appropriate methods. And he made it over to liberal and righteous guardians. He irrigated the world-parterres from the founts of knowledge. In this way did he make fitting division of the wide and fertile land of India, and in every province he appointed a viceroy (*sipah-sālār*), a Diwān, a Bakhshī, a Mīr 'Aḍal, a Ṣadr, a Kotwāl, a Mīr Baḥr (admiral) and a Recorder (*Wāq'anavīs*).

One of the occurrences was the fixing of the revenue for ten years. Inasmuch as Time produces, season after season, a new foundation for rates, and there are great increases and decreases, there was a regulation that every year some experienced and honest men should send in details of the rates from all parts of the country. Every year a general ordinance (*dastūr-al-'amal*) was framed with respect to the payment of dues. When the imperial domains became extensive, and the territories of many great rulers came under the shadow of the world-lord's justice, these reports arrived late and at different times. The soldiers [1] and the peasantry suffered loss, and there were disturbances about arrears and about excess demands. It was also rumoured that some recorders of rates had gone aside from the path of rectitude. The officers at headquarters were harassed, and were unable to find a remedy. The wise sovereign gave relief to multitudes by introducing the new system of payment of dues. The gist [2] of the invention was that the condition of every pargana

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When Aḥmadnagar, Berār and Khāndesh were conquered, the number was raised to fifteen. In Shāh Jahān's time the number of provinces was twenty-two. The number given in Bābar's rent roll, see Erskine's Bābar and Humayūn I, App. D., is thirty, but they were smaller in extent than Akbar's.

[1] Perhaps this refers to Timur's regulation that the pay of soldiers should vary according to the current price of grain. See his Institutes, White and Davey, p. 363 and note. It does not appear from the Āīn that sepoys got bāttā or compensation for dearness of provisions.

[2] The ten years' Settlement is explained in J. II. 88. The years chosen were those from the 15th to the 24th, i.e. apparently from the beginning of the 15th year to the

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during ten years, according to degree of cultivation and the price of produce, was ascertained, and that one tenth thereof was fixed as the revenue of each year. This has been explained at length in the concluding volume of this great work. Though the carrying
832 out of this great design was committed to Rajah Todar Mal and Khwājah Shāh Manṣūr, the Rajah was sent off to the eastern provinces, and it was the Khwājah who by dint of his sagacity comprehended the sublime instructions and arranged the exquisite plan.

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end of the 24th, though A.F. here puts the settlement into the 24th. Accurate figures were only obtainable for the last five years. In J. II. 69, etc., we have tables of prices for 19 years, but they are for provinces only and seem to have been superseded by the ten years' tables.

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CHAPTER L.

Rebellion of the Bihar Officers, and the Appointment of World-conquering Armies to Punish those Ingrates.

How shall the extraordinary events of the protean world be described, and by what power shall its marvels be narrated? One of its evil qualities is that it exerts itself to cherish the evil and sedition-mongering, and in furthering the prosperity of the vain-thoughted, while it increases the grief of the right-thinking and auspicious, and uses a thousand stratagems for ruining the wise and honest! The far-sighted and sage do not extend the hand of courage to unveil the countenance of this strange picture, and keep their lips closed. They plant not their foot on the coverlet of enlightenment, and open not the tongue of "Why and Wherefore." As that mystery-knower and awakened of heart sings

Verse.

I had many thoughts about the past and future,
There is no road for any one to understand His designs,
In this garden it is proper to garner up the tongue,
Silence and bewilderment are to have the first place.

Though there are few events[1] which do not give a ray[2] of light to the minds of the acute seers of understanding, yet they are sunk in the contemplation of the Divine power, and owing to the non-

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[1] Text *dārūī* (medicine). But it is not clear how medicine can cast a ray of light. I therefore adopt *wāride* "events," which is the reading of the two I.O. MSS. In Persian writing there is very little difference between داروی and وارد. Perhaps, however, "medicine" is right and the meaning is it only needs a little application of drugs, i.e. enlightenment, to explain. That *dārūī* is right seems probable from what follows where the metaphor from physic is continued.

[2] I.O. MS. 236 has apparently babakhshid, but the text nabakhshid agrees with I.O. MS. 235, and seems preferable.

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procurement of just-minded listeners they give themselves out to the world as ignorant. They choose the sleep of repose instead of the turmoil of instructing those whose ears are stuffed with the quick-silver of neglect. Abul Faẓl, into whose heart the distress of the age has entered, and to whom a power of understanding has been given, why dost thou not remove the lid of the box, and why dost thou not open the casket of truth?

Verse.

Thou hast a heart which weighs the niceties of knowledge,
Pour out the treasure from the ocean of wisdom;
The key of the door of science is in thy pocket,
'Tis thy fault if thou dost not open it for humanity.

Evidently, the unloosing the knot of this riddle is difficult when the spectators of events are shortsighted and of small capacity. Their eyes do not grasp the whole of the circumstances (lit. the heights and hollows). They think the thorn in their foot to be the calamity of a world, and they regard an individual grievance as the evil of the universe. Otherwise it is clear to the acute and truth-discerning that just as in the vegetable kingdom, poisons and antidotes (or panaceas) take growth and development, and among animals there is the production of the affectionate, and the murderous, so among men there is the appearance and the disappearance of the good and the bad. And just as in medicines for the body both kinds (i.e. poisons and panaceas) are of use, so in spiritual remedies both classes of men are beneficial. To the physicians of the age it is clear that the (eventual) success of the good and noble and happy starred, and the evil thoughts of the wicked, increase the glory of existence, and give finality to the methods of retribution. Also that the exaltation of those who disturb the world's repose is with the object of casting them headlong into the
284 pit of destruction.

Verse.

The wine which the world holds forth
Contains one revel and a hundred headaches,
If it raise thee from dejection,
Beware, for 'tis deceiving thee.

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There are many instances of the furnishing the garden of humanity with thorns,[1] and of the conferring increased refreshment on the young plants of auspiciousness. The wise man of the world recognizes that the success of the good is the ornament of God's beautiful attributes (jamāl), and that the advance of the wicked is the ornament of His terrible attributes (jalāl). And he who is acquainted with the privy-chamber of solitude is assured that the graciousness of God and the Divine Beauty display herein wonderful illustrations. It is possible[2] that the fires of the terrible attributes may not utterly consume, and that they make futile somnolence impossible.

I now leave this wondrous discourse about mysteries, and relate the circumstances of this instructive story. Though the occupant of the throne of fortune in his noble graciousness, abundant justice, and adornment of universal peace was most liberal and forgiving and like beneficent clouds rained kindness upon the fields of humanity, yet all of a sudden many of the Bihar officers—who had been reared in this dominion which is conjoined with eternity—nay, the garden of whose ancestors had been watered and refreshed by the streams of the Shāhinshāh's bounty—fell into the bitter land of rebel lion, and took the path of pride and presumption.

Time smiled[3] grimly and encouraged each one to bring forward short-enduring wishes!

The brief account of this long affair is that in the beginning of

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[1] *Khārpīrāī.* It is somewhat difficult to understand this passage. I.O. MS. 235 strikes out the khār and leaves in only the *pīrāī*, probably because the copyist did not understand the meaning. A. F. is trying to account for the affliction of the good and the prosperity of the bad, and so he says that the presence of thorns in the lot of the good, that is, their adversities, often benefits them, as a hedge of thorns helps a garden.

[2] I have only guessed at the meaning. The Cawnpore ed. has a note to the effect that the meaning is that the wicked cannot stand before the good, though they may be temporarily successful.

[3] *Zahr khandī namūda*, lit. "Showing a poisonous smile." See translation, vol. I, 394, and note, where the word is used with regard to M. 'Askarī's bearing towards the child Akbar. The Age (or the world) smiled grimly as knowing what the result would be. Cf. native proverb about God's giving the white-ants wings when He designs to destroy them.

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this year H.M. sent Rai Purakhotam, Maulānā Ṭayib, S. Mujdu-d-dīn,[1] and the eunuch Shamsher K., to Bihar in order that they might display their abilities in managing the province, and exert themselves in developing the country, in conciliating the soldiers, and in sympathising with the oppressed. Those base and narrow-minded men ignorantly fixed themselves at Patna and plunged into the wide expanse of cupidity. In the matters of reviews and drills and of branding, they exhibited harshness and malignity, and in their blindness neglected tact and the acceptance of excuses—without which the administration of the world cannot be carried on—and lost sight of prudence. One or two (of the soldiers and others) who were wont to repair to the pure temple of loyalty were saved from the narrowness of self-love by the wide expanse of the world of loyalty, and some who were leaders in the market of affairs made former favours counterbalance present disappointments and so did not convert the field of their souls into a thorn-brake of haughtiness. Other traders swallowed the saline water of toil and did not leave a stain on their garments. But many whose evil natures were only veneered (lit. gold-coated) raised the head of disturbance. They turned away from the king of realm and religion, and elevated the neck of opposition. There was no glory of loyalty in their secret
285 chamber, no distinction between loss and gain in their transactions, no right-thinking reason, no clearness of intellect, no noble courage which is the comrade of a wise heart. M'aṣūm K. Kābulī, who held Patna in fief, S'aīd Beg Badakhshī,[2] and 'Arab, the *jāgīrdars* of Sasserām, S'aādat 'Alī, who held pargana Tamodāīn[3] (?), Ḥājī Kolābī and some others whose fiefs were in Dilwāra,[4] S'aīd Badakhshī

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[1] Text. Najm, but the I.O. MSS. and Elliot V. 469, Badayūnī, Lowe, 274, show that the name is Mujdu or Mujdī. Badayūnī says he came from Sirhind and that he had been the warrant-writer of Islām Shāh. He also says that Mulla Ṭayib came from Kaithal (in Sirhind).

[2] The text has Bakhshī but the variant Badakhshī is supported by the I.O. MSS.

[3] I cannot find the place. The I.O. MSS. have Tamodī or Tamwadī. Tamūdī means Turanian or Turkish and perhaps the meaning here is "parganas belonging to the Turanian leaders." There is the variant *namūdain*, and this may mean "conspicuous, noted."

[4] There is the variant Dīwāra. There is a Dilwāra in Rajputāna but this can hardly be meant here.

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and his son Bahādur, and Darvish 'Alī Shakhrū,[1] who sat at the table of bounty in Tirhut, and its neighbourhood, and other unmanly men (*mardam-i nāmardam*) were made rebellious by the harshnesses of the officers of the province, and they led away from the path, by plausible speeches and flatteries, many men of the second[2] class, such as Shāham K. *jāgīrdār* of Ḥājīpūr, Mir M'uīzzu-l-mulk, Mīr 'Ali Akbar, and Samānjī K., who held Arrah and its neighbourhood, and so made a disturbance. On account of an evil nature, and under the guidance of a wayward and crooked understanding, they fell headlong from the portico of fidelity because their skirt[3] did not come up to the test of honest merchants. And so they fell unto an abyss of wickedness and ignorance and did not have fellowship[4] with a party who recognised nothing but a complete coparceny (*mushārakatjinsi*). If a person fall from a wall on to the ground he falls flat. What happens then if he fall from a hillock or a hill? Who can imagine the reduction to dust of the madman who falls from highest heaven upon the lowest stratum of earth? How then can we describe the ruin of those headlong dispositions which fall from the sky of fidelity to the dusty abode of disloyalty? O searcher after enlightenment, dogs and cats and the like, who are co-partners in vileness display affection and mutual help, and for human beings they have such affection and companionship that a wise man can only attain to the same degree by great effort. And the mutual affection of neighbouring nations, such as Persians, Turanians, Turks (*Rūmī*) and Indians is too well known to be described. Hence an acute man can understand what should be the feelings of acquaintances, of dwellers in one place and of those who are bound by various favours! Who can observe such degrees except a prudent and far-seeing man!

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[1] Text, Sanjar. The variant Shakhrū is supported by I.O. MS. 236.

[2] The second class has not been previously specified. It seems to mean those who were led away by others. A little lower down two classes are mentioned, viz. 1st, Those who took money and failed to provide soldiers and bribed the officials; and 2nd, those who did their duty, but were distressed by the exactions of the officials.

[3] *Dāman* in text, but a MS. of my own has *darja* "quality," which seems a better reading.

[4] Instead of *nisbatī namānd* the Lucknow seems to have *pūshtī namānd*. There remained no resting-place.

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Now that I have said something of mines of fidelity, and of fountains of purity, hear (reader) the misconduct of the ingrates of that country, who were shaped like men! When those avaricious and ignorant creatures (the collectors) came to the province they opened the door of desire and became hard upon the common soldiery. Those who from being slaves to gold gathered it instead of soldiers, laid out money in bribes and failed in providing[1] horses, while those who did spend money for military things, were driven to distraction by having to conciliate and satisfy the cravings of the greedy officials. Both groups of men got a pre-
286 text for discontent, and plunged into thoughts of sedition. Muḥibb 'Alī K, who had an ample share of loyalty and understanding, regarded obedience as the bliss of realm and religion, and exerted himself to carry out the work. He transferred those men from Patna to Muḥibb'alīpūr near Rohtās, and commenced the business of branding. He laboured to satisfy that bad lot of men. The other officers behaved with obstinacy and blindness. Whilst Muḥibb 'Alī K. was strenuously carrying on the work of the *dāgh* (branding), a large caravan[2] arrived from Bengal and the evil nature of the wicked crew now revealed itself. Moẓaffar K. had dispatched to court the accumulations (i.e. his goods and his revenue collections) of Khān Jahān, including his choice elephants. He had also sent Naulakā, the mother of Dāūd with other ladies (*aghrūq*), and the whole was under the charge of Fatḥ Chand Manklī. Many soldiers and many traders, bringing with them large possessions, accompanied the caravan. The ungrateful opportunists were lying in wait to plunder it, and were engaged in making arrangements for standing by one another. On becoming aware of this, Muḥibb 'Alī K. hastened to give them good advice: "Let not the veil of your honour be rent, and do not from ignorance and shortsightedness become dishonoured and disgraced in the retribution-halls of justice." He joined the arrivals from the eastern provinces (the convoy) at Arrah, and it appeared that the rioters had not had the courage to

[1] The text has only *sāmān*, but the two I.O. MSS. correct this by giving *ba sāmān*. What A. F. says is that the avaricious spent money on bribes and neglected to provide horses.

[2] This is the convoy which the T.A., Elliot v. 412, describes as arriving at Court in the 25th year, See also *infra*, pp. 296, 297.

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act from not having been able to carry out the scheme of a general conspiracy. As the general body of the travellers was perturbed by the activity of the sedition-mongers, Muḥibb 'Alī sent them to his own quarters (*yūrt*) under the charge of Ḥabsh K. Meanwhile, the evil-doers cast off the veil of shame and plundered the city of Patna. Their wicked designs thus became manifest. Muḥibb 'Alī hastened off to Rohtās along with Ṭaiyīb and Majdu d-dīn in order to look after the fortress. Rai Purokhotam went off to Ghāzīpūr with the idea that he might bring M'aṣūm K. Faran-khūdi to a battle,[1] and Shamsher K. went off to Benares with the idea that he would collect Rajah Todar Mal's soldiers and give battle. Meanwhile the contentious 'Arab (*'arab 'arbadajūī*) went rapidly in pursuit of the caravan. The journeyers to the true K'aaba had under God's protection crossed the Causā ferry and nothing fell into his hand except some belated elephants. Ḥabsh K. did good service in that man-testing field and was made prisoner. That tumultuous-brained one ('Arab) sought to get at Muḥibb 'Ali to join him by means of vulpine tricks on the part of Ḥabsh K. The latter replied, wisely and judiciously, that he could not manage to deceive him (Muḥibb) by plausible speeches, and that under no circumstances would Muḥibb 'Alī join him. "But," he continued, "every one knows that I dislike his company, and that I have long meditated separating from him. If you will make faithful promises to me and accept my wishes I shall go to Rohtās and win over all the garrison. The cup of the life of that governor (Muḥibb) will easily run over (i.e. he will be easily killed), a fortress which is like the heavens will come into your possession, and you will have a shelter in case of misfortunes." That friend under the guise of an enemy by his plausible words and stratagems extricated himself from his dangerous position. He reported his scheme to his master (Muḥibb) and made the jewel of his fidelity be appre- 287
ciated by the experts of the world's markets. At this time the unavoidable catastrophe of Rai Purokhotam took place, and disturbed weak souls who did not understand matters. When he hastened to Ghāzīpūr, M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī came forward with craft and deceit,

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[1] From what subsequently occurred it looks as if he wanted to conciliate Māsūm, but *kārzār* means a battle, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn says Purokotam's object was to fight M'aṣūm.

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and got rid of him by his promising him that he would join him near the Causā ferry. The simple-minded man was deceived and went off in that direction, and engaged at Baksar in collecting soldiers of that part. Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Sīstānī, Saiyid Ḥasan, Dūdrāj and some other fief-holders in that neighbourhood joined him. One day he was engaged at the bank of the Ganges in his ablutions and Divine worship when suddenly 'Arab came there with a number of wicked men. Seizing his opportunity he pushed forward. The cowardly men who had joined Purokhotam withdrew on the pretence that they were going to prepare themselves, while he stood his ground and fought bravely. By heaven's decree he was wounded and cast upon the earth. His companions put him into a boat and conveyed him to Ghāzīpur. There, after two days, he yielded up with honour this transitory existence, and his days ended auspiciously and loyally. When Muḥibb 'Alī K. heard of this he marched against 'Arab and fought a battle with him. Ḥabsh K. drank the wholesome sherbet of life-sacrifice, and 'Arab was stained with the dust of failure and went off to the wilderness of defeat.

In the middle of the month of Isfandārmuz, Divine month, these events were reported to H.M., and on the 23rd an order was issued to Rajah Todar Mal, S. Farīd Bakhshī, Mihr 'Alī K. Sildūz, Rajah Askaran, Rai Lonkaran, Naqīb K. Qamar-K., Shāh Khwāja Abu-l-Qāsim, Abū-l-m'aāli, Bāqir Safarcī[1] and others that they should hasten to that country and inflict chastisement on the evildoers. An order was also issued to Tarson K., M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, Rai Surjan, and other *jāgīrdārs* of the provinces of Allahabad[2] and Oudh that when the victorious troops came there they should join them with their proper equipment and should act with concord and harmony, and not deviate from the instructions of Tarson K. and the Rajah. An order was also given that Ṣādiq K. Bāqī K. Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Ṭaiyib K. and Mīr Abūl Muẓaffar should proceed rapidly from the neighbourhood of Chanderī and Narwar to the same spot. Although the world's lord kept an eye upon the guardianship of the material world, and made the time of retribution glorious, yet by virtue of his generalship, *isbahabadī*, over the

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[1] Probably this should be Bāqī. See B. 534.

[2] The variant Ilahabās is supported by the I.O. MSS. 236.

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spiritual world, he maintained a tranquil countenance with regard to the loss and gain of the day, and from time to time gathered the flower of joy from the garden of resignation and calm. Also during this time Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī, who was one of the singular[1] of the age for moderation and skill, was appointed to the high office of Bakhshī.

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to march to Badakhshān, and the recalling of it. It has been recorded that M. Sulaimān had from slenderness of reason, and the sway of imagination, taken leave to the Ḥijāz. Those who could read the fore- 288
head of his disposition and who could recognize the truth had perceived that he was taking the road of pretence, and that his design was to get into the hill-country, and gain his ends by force or craft, and glut his vengeance on Shāhrukh. And so it turned out. He went rapidly from the place of pilgrimage to 'Irāq 'Ajam (Persia) in order that he might gain his ends by the help of the king of Persia. Shāh Ism'aīl, the son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, who was governing the country in a violent manner, had regard to the nobility of his family and received him with honour. He gave him some soldiers to assist him and sent him away. In Herat the news came that the Shāh was dead. He (Sulaimān) read the inscription of despair on the forehead of fortune and went to Qandahar, and formed a relationship with Moẓaffar[2] Ḥusain M. As his affairs did not prosper there either, he went on to Kabul. M. Ḥakīm received him warmly. That ingrate's idea was that under the guidance of this old and experienced man he might go to Bangash[3] and cause a disturbance in India. The Mīrzā (Sulaimān) who had seen the might of the Shāhinshāh in India restrained him from such evil notions. On 10 Ābān, Divine month, 987 (20 October, 1579) in the midst of rain and snow they set out (for Badakhshān). When news came to H.M.'s court of this event, he resolved to assist Shāhrukh M. as he had allied himself to eternal dominion. S'aīd K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās,

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[1] Badayūni gives a different character of him. See Lowe 296, and also 282.

[2] B. 313. He was grandson, not son, of Bahram M. See Maaṣir III, 296. Sulaimān gave him his daughter in marriage.

[3] J. II. 407. This cannot refer, except by an anachronism, to Shahrukh's marriage with Akbar's daughter Shukru-nisā, for that did not take place till 1002 (1594). See A.N. III. 644.

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Mān Singh, M. Yūsuf K. and other officers of the Panjab and Multan provinces were ordered to proceed to that country. They were preparing to march when a report came that the ruler of Kabul had stopped and gone back. They represented this and stayed their departure. The brief account of this is that the Mīrzās had a battle in the neighbourhood of Tāliqān. Though Shāhrukh M. stood his ground bravely, yet, owing to the chatter of double-faced ones, the want of concord, and his inexperience, he was not successful. Idle talkers suggested that Mir 'Imād, who was the head of his officers, was on good terms with M. Sulaimān and wished to seize M. Shahrukh in the heat of the engagement and make him over. They stained the skirt of the loyal with suspicions. A party of the Badakhshīs also joined their old ruler and so increased his (Shahrukh's) suspicions. Before a decisive battle had taken place (?) Shāhrukh turned his rein and hastened to Qundūz. The army of Zabulistān (Kabul) which was apprehensive and in the thorn-brake of hopes and fears was delighted at this desertion and pursued him for some steps. The Mīrzā strengthened the fort of Qundūz and then went on to Kūlāb. He took Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī from the straits of
289 a prison and made him his minister (*vakīl*). The Mīrzās halted twenty days in the neighbourhood of Tāliqān. When they ascertained the condition of Shāhrukh M., they came to Rustaq by way of Qila' Ẓafar. Muḥammad Qulī craftily proposed an agreement. He joined with Farīdūn [1] and made a compact, and from foresight and vigilance M. Shāhrukh did not come to pay his respects to Sulaimān. By the wise arrangement of right-thinking and pacific persons the country from Tāliqān to the Hindu Koh, which had been the fief of M. Ibrāhīm, was assigned to M. Sulaimān.[2] He (Sulaimān) agreed

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[1] Maternal uncle of M. Ḥakīm.

[2] It seems to be Sulaimān in all the MSS., but I am inclined to think that either A. F. or his copyists have made a slip here and that we should read Shāhrukh for Sulaimān. It was natural that Shāhrukh should get his father's fief, and it seems strange that Sulaimān, who presumably claimed the kingdom and was Shahrukh's grandfather, should be content with Ibrahīm's fief. Moreover why should Sulaimān go off to Kūlāb, which is in northern Badakhshan and not in Ibrahim's fief, which extended south from Talikān to the Hindu Koh? That it was Sulaiman who went to Kūlāb and not Shahrukh appears from the grammatical construction and from the mention at

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to these terms and went off to Kūlāb. M. Ḥakīm waited for some time at Khwāja Cārṭāq [1] near Qundūz in order to complete the arrangements. When talk assumed the aspect of action he returned to Kabul.

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p. 441, second last line, of Sulaimān's going to Kūlāb. Moreover, we find Sulaimān asking, at p. 442, that Tālīkān and its neighbourhood should be added to his share, whereas the passage now under consideration, p. 289, seems to include them in the share already allotted to him.

[1] This is probably the Chahardāk of the maps, a little west of Qundūz.

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CHAPTER LI.

The wonderful good fortune of the Shāhinshāh at the time of the rebellion of the Bengal Officers, and their punishment.

Certainly, Fortune rises up to assist every one whose dominion is helped by Divine aid, and whose prestige is furthered by the stewards of Fate. She addresses herself to the doing of two things: 1st—To remove the veil from off those base and evil ones who, with vulpine craft, pose as the good; 2nd—To cleanse the garden of empire from weeds and rubbish and to exalt the virtuous and truthful who, by the unpropitiousness of the times and the vogue of the wicked, are obscured by the dust of irrecognition, and to make them joyous and successful. She develops the rosarium of dominion by watering it with the streams of appreciation. In general, Fortune works by making men prosperous and by heaping on them the materials of pleasure, and by granting them disastrous advancement, and (then) plunging them into the torments of evil. Thus she completes what she has begun. He in whom a right understanding is united with propriety of conduct is not misled by her malice (*talkhkām*), or removed from the pleasant abode of calm to the troublous home of discontent, nor is his wakefulness injured by abundant wealth and glory. Rather in these two seasons of trial he places the diploma of obedience and service on his head, and rejoices, and puts to silence by truthful speeches the spirit of foolish prattle. Whoever is radically wicked and of slumbrous fortune eats no fruit of the grove of knowledge. Or if he does become a partaker thereof, no breeze comes to him from the rose-garden of deeds. In the time of prosperity he exposes the lamp of wisdom to the draughts of the wind, and becomes infatuated, and in the day of adversity he turns aside from the highway of bliss, and takes the path of immoderation. The story of the Bengal officers illustrates this. The instructive tale is the inscription on the portico of enlightenment.

From success, the development of fiefs and increase of wealth,

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the night-gleaming jewel of vision became gradually darkened. From ignorance and crookedness they thought what was their loss was their gain, and gathered gold, while they neglected the army. Evil thoughts found their way to their hearts, and they opened their eyes to lie in wait for a disturbance. At the time when Mozaffar N. established himself, he did not recognise the measure of greatness, and did not exert himself to manage the country and the army. He gave up finance—which was his strong point—and always had the forehead of his heart full of wrinkles. Why then need I say that the brow of his head was full of knots? Nay he also blackened the tablet of his tongue with calumnies and rudenesses! When he was exalted to the government of Bengal, H.M. had, out of abundant graciousness, appointed a Diwan, a Bakhshi, and an Amin to assist him. He from short-sightedness regarded them as partners and was displeased, and withdrew his head from business, and assumed grand airs. He left affairs to them and withheld himself from conciliating the soldiers and the peasantry. In private or in public he did not return thanks for favours received, but made complaints. That ruined intellect did not know that in administrative work the more one is helped and helps, the better is the work accomplished. Apparently, inward cupidity carried him to the house of trouble, and from darkness of heart he did not perceive what was proper for the time. I admit that there was loss in his profits, and that the rank of his glory was diminished. How was such a mode of life suitable in such a hotbed of strife, and how could he arrive at his goal if he put on the garb of practical life and yet did not take the path of forbearance.[1]

The country of Bengal is a land where, owing to the climate's favouring the base, the dust of dissension is always rising. From the wickedness of men families have decayed, and dominions been ruined. Hence in old writings it was called a Bulghākkhāna[2] (house of turbulence). The Commander of the forces (Moẓaffar) was haughty and did not conciliate friends and strangers. The other

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[1] The meaning seems to be: "I admit that Moẓaffar lost profit and position by having co-partners assigned to him, but when he had entered upon practical life, literally 'when he had assumed the scarf of association,' how could he expect to succeed if he did not take the path of self-suppression and compromise?"

[2] See B. 331 n.

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officials were greedy, and passing from gathering presents they had recourse to violence. Would that in their cupidity—on their heads be dust cast—they had not entirely departed from the path of shame and that they had been so far moderate as not to break the thread of practical wisdom! Whoever destroys the house of the weak and makes it the material for adorning his own abode soon loses respect and destroys the foundation of his life! Tactless officials began the disturbances by making inquiries into the accumulations of Khān Jahān. Ism'āīl Qūlī K. and the other Turkamāns rose up in arms. But as he[1] had a share of skill and loyalty they endured disagreeables and chose the remedy of satisfying the hungry craving of those avaricious men. A wolf's peace (i.e. an insincere peace) was made, and they proceeded to court. Afterwards the officials vigorously set themselves, after the manner of the Bihar officers, to demand gold from all the Turkamāns in the country and to use severity towards them. Accordingly the head of the malcontents, Bābā Khān, frequently expressed his griefs by saying, "Up to now I've spent Rs. 70,000 in
291 presents, and not one hundred horsemen have had the branding effected, and the condition of the other fief-holders of this province is still worse." When the heartless officials opened the halls of demand, and from blackness of soul set themselves to procure their own enrichment and the loss of other people, the turbulent and mercenary, who felt themselves aggrieved, turned away their necks from obedience. On 8 Bahman, about 19 January 1580, they crossed the Ganges[2] near Tānda the capital, and separated themselves. On the 17th, which was the 'Īd Qorbān (10 Zī l-ḥajja—28 January 1580), they brought out their inward wickedness and stirred up the dust of strife. I admit[3] that the constitution of the world is grievous to the soul, and that the noble mind is trained by it, but why did they play away the coin of fortitude? Why were the obligation for favours

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[1] Lit. "They chose to breakfast the greedy stomachs of that crew." When they had gone, the officers proceeded to pillage the Turkamāns in general.

[2] This was apparently the old bed of the Ganges which flowed between Tānda and Gaur. It is known as the Bhāgīrathī.

[3] This is an obscure sentence, but apparently the meaning is that the rebels had grievances, but why did they not practice patience and remember former benefits? Perhaps for *farmān rawāī-'ālam*, "the rule of the universe," we should read *farmān rawāī 'āmil*, "the rule of collectors."

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received forgotten, and fidelity left out of sight? Why should a sore injury conduct the sincere to annihilation? From what wine did prudence, which teaches self-interest, choose infatuation? The heavens had for some revolutions stretched, for various designs, a veil over these wicked men and had kept some well-intentioned and loyal men under the dust of irrecognition. When the time came that by the glorious dispositions of the world's lord, the darknesses of the temporal and spiritual world should be illuminated, the managers of the halls of creation withdrew the veil from the inwardly darkened ones, and made the lord of their earthly elements, that is, right-thinking reason which loves honour, a despised ruin, while making it a source of favour to many who were unknown, but were honest. The ringleaders of the Bengal rebellion were Bābā K. Jabbārī and Wazīr Jamīl, but S'aīd Toqbāī, M. Ḥājī Lang, 'Arab[1] Bakhshī, Ṣālḥ, Mīrakī K. Martaẓa Qulī Turkamān and Farrakh Irghalīq[2] nourished the flame. Qīyā K. in Orissa, Murād K. in Fatḥābād, and Shāh Bardī in Sonargāon, spoke about concord, but had not the grace of doing good service. They did not vigorously bring the jewel of effort to the market.

The first cause of the defection was crookedness of reasoning. This led to extending the foot immoderately and to thinking that what was loss was gain. The second was innate wickedness which increased the darkness of the heart, and took no light from the lamp of beauty. The third was increase of wealth which lowers the tone of the wise and good, so what cannot it effect with the foolish and bad? Fourth, the misbehaviour of Raẓavī[3] K. in Jaunpūr. He had stayed there to make up the accounts of the exchequer-lands (*Khālṣāt*) which were for some time in his charge. Before he rejoined (headquarters) the affair of the branding had been started. When the title of Bakhshī was conferred on this wicked man, his beggar-like disposition was stirred up. Instead of revising the former 292
settlement, he made a new one. Things became more difficult for the mercenary, and they fell into bewilderment. Fifth, the retirement and sitting in obscurity of right-thinking men who could have by

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1 The variant Balkhī is supported by the I.O. MSS.

2 There is the variant *pūr-i-ghalīq*, i.e. son of Ghalīq. The name is spelt Farrakh Yrghalīq at p. 20. Here it is written Yūrghalīgh.

3 B. 439. He was also called Mīrzā Mīrak.

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ability and good ideas suppressed the disturbance. No such person appeared in that market of discussion. Nor did the slumbrous and avaricious search for such a jewel. The active-brained seekers after knowledge cannot do without such leaders. Man's nature does not always receive wisdom. An independent counsellor is required who, without consideration of his own interest, will represent in private chambers what is proper for the time without any mixture of flattery. How will other men be desirous of undertaking this task? Happy-constitutioned, fortunate men are indispensable, who by virtue of right-thinking and magnanimity will not swerve from their principles, and who shall withdraw the foot of search from the college and the monastery, and exert themselves in the occasions of society, and meetings of daily life. They will also enquire among the matted-haired, bare-footed ones of the fields and of the street. Mayhap they may meet with a stranger who is a friend and there may be thus good results. They will also choose one or two of their servants and acquaintances in order that the matter may be completed, and that they may remind them of the things proper to be done, and make suggestions in proportion to their knowledge. Their correct suggestions should be well rewarded. At critical times remedies should be chosen earnestly and with an open brow. Skilful alchemists by such means bring out brilliant jewels from the unregarded dust, and in the year of scarcity of truth heap up joy, and are sheltered from the evils and injuries of the Age.

The sixth cause was the dishonouring of Khāldīn K. Jalesar[1] was assigned to Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Ānjū and taken from his fief. As Khāldīn had collected a sum of money from it, Moẓaffar K. broke the thread of moderation—on which the management of the social state depends— and tortured him by having him hung up by one arm. All lovers of money were terrified. They formed long plans

[1] Jaleswar or Jellasore. A Sarkār which comprised Midnapur. I.G. XIV, p. 27, Elliot V. 414. It was the rent for the autumnal crop, i.e. the *Kharīf* that Khāldīn took. The T.A says he was scourged and bastinadoed. The Iqbālnāmā says that M. Najāt, the son-in-law of Moẓaffar, insulted and ill-treated Khāldīn. Stewart in his history of Bengal remarks with justice that the historians of Akbar's reign have endeavoured to throw the blame of the rebellion upon the governor, who, in fact, appears merely to have obeyed the orders of his court.

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for cultivating their fiefs and suppressing[1] their soldiers. Also at the time of Khān Jahān's death Ism'aīl Qulī K.'s fief had been increased without H.M.'s order, for the purpose of conciliating the base and wicked. Moẓaffar K. demanded restitution in both cases. From somnolency of intellect he did not take note of the circumstances of the time. The seventh cause was the capital punishment of Roshan Beg. He was one of the collectors of the exchequer-lands. He embezzled and fled to Kabul. At the instigation of strifemongers he came from there to Bengal, and engaged in increasing the disturbance and in giving evil counsel. When this came to the august hearing, an order was issued that he should be put to death. Moẓaffar K. did not understand the times and thought that by putting him to death at the beginning of the rebellion he would induce men to be submissive. But it only enhanced their turbulence. From love of money and the instinct of self-preservation they set about taking vengeance. The eighth cause was the injudicious increase of the revenue by the Diwān Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr. When **293** Bihar and Bengal had been conquered by the might of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, the discipliner of mortals (Akbar) from knowledge and foresight, because that country is by its climate inimical to horses, and some parts of it also are injurious to men, had ordered for the encouragement of the army that the pay of the soldiers should be increased by 100 per cent. in Bengal, and 50 per cent. in Bihar. The Khwāja did not understand the situation and took upon himself the responsibility (*jawāb girifta*) of issuing an order to the effect that in Bengal the increase should be 50 per cent. and in Bihar 20 per cent. Moẓaffar K. was bound by the order and made out the accounts from the beginning[3] of the year, and so instituted heavy demands.

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[1] Text *gam namūdain*, but perhaps *kam namūdan* "to reduce the number" as in the Lucknow ed., and also perhaps in the I.O. MSS., is correct.

[2] T.A. says the order was that Roshan Beg should be put to death, and his head sent to court. Moẓaffar had him publicly executed "at the head of divan," says Badayūnī, and it was apparently in mourning for Roshan that the soldiers shaved their heads. Moẓaffar admittedly only obeyed orders here, but perhaps A. F. means that he should have had Roshan secretly assassinated after the manner that M'aṣūm Farankhudī was got rid of.

[3] Manṣūr reduced the pay, and apparently Moẓaffar made the reduction take effect from the beginning of the year and so demanded

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The avaricious and seditious got a pretext for wickedness. But if they had had a little sense of justice, they would have done nothing except petition the Shāhinshāh. What cause was there for ingratitude and rebellion? The ninth cause was the establishment of the principle of universal toleration (*Ṣalḥ-i-kul*). It has been mentioned that the throne-occupant of fortune from his abundant quest of truth, brought together the sages of different religions and tested them. By the irrigation of insight that comprehensive genius and profound observer watered the four-square garden of concord. Base-minded people cast suspicions on the unique one of creation and fabricated materials for disturbance. They, out of cupidity and avarice, framed a pretext and ruined themselves for ever.

When the veil of reverence had been torn and they had become turbulent, Mozaffar K. sent against them Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Raẕavī K., Timūr K., Raī Patr Dās, Mīr Adham, Ḥusain Beg 'Itrāt [1] Alī, Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Jāfar Beg, Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān, Qāsim 'Alī Sīstāni, 'Iwaẕ Bahādur, Zalf 'Alī Yezdī Yaka-āwez (attacking singly), Saiyid Abū Isāhaq Ṣafavī, Moẕaffar Beg, Ḥusain Beg Gurd and others to the bank of the Ganges with the design of giving battle. Nijāt [2] K., in spite of his relationship, failed, from cowardice, to join them. Wazīr Jamīl did join them, but played a double-faced part. The rebels were now in a measure aware of the injury they had done themselves and proposed a reconciliation. The imperial servants did not trust them and paid no attention to the proposal. The rebels were in expectation that some well-intentioned servant would represent to H.M. their embarrassments and convey a gracious order. Inasmuch as in the court of the Caliphate an intermediary (wasīla) is not required before the forgiveness of offences, but pretexts for the

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repayment of the excess. The Maaṣir I 655 understands the passage to mean that Manṣūr ordered that the reduction should take effect from the beginning of the year, and that Moẕaffar had no resource but to obey. But surely no one would try to get back from sepoys what had already been paid to them.

[1] Ghatraghalī in text. But the proper reading is of the family of 'Alī. Lane, p. 1946, col. b.

[2] H. was Moẕaffar K.'s son-in-law (Iqbālnāma). See also B. 439. Nijāt and Ḥusain K. were brothers. The latter was killed in this year.

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acceptance of apologies are sought[1] for, an order[2] was issued, censuring Moẓaffar K. and making joyful those who had gone astray by the news of forgiveness. In the heat of the contest Qāsim Naula[3] arrived by post horses. The imperial servants had their eyes opened, and they set themselves to use soothing language and to accept apologies, while those who had gone astray got fresh life from the royal order and held a feast. As they had deviated from the right path they expressed the wish that Moẓaffar K. would, through the intervention of some officers of the army, confirm the promise of giving their case favourable consideration so that they might be freed from apprehensions and might return to service. In the first place Mīr[4] Abū Isāḥaq was sent to see what their intentions were. As he saw signs of repentance in their demeanour, next day Raẓavī K., Rai Patar Dās, Saiyid Abū Isāḥaq, Mīr Aḥmad Munshī were 294
sent to comfort the ashamed wanderers. Their leaders prepared in a submissive manner the privy chamber of supplication and spoke about fixing the foundations of concord. Inasmuch as the Divine decree was against their wishes, and the time was evil, the friendly meeting became contaminated, and the dust of dissension sprang up. It occurred to Narain Dās Ghelot[5] and some Rajputs belonging to Rai Patar Dās that there could not be a better opportunity for getting the upper hand, and that the proper thing to do was to put the handful of ingrates to death. One of them whispered[6] this to the

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[1] The text has a negative *namī-jūīnd* "did not seek," but the I.O. MSS. make it an affirmative. The clause refers to Akbar and not to the rebels, and the meaning is that he was so gracious that he needed no intercessor before pardoning, but ultroneously sought out excuses for forgiveness.

[2] According to the Iqbālnāma, two orders were sent, one to Moẓaffar censuring him, and telling him that the Qāqshals were old servants, and should be confirmed in their *jāgīrs*, and the other to Bābā K. and the other Qāqshāls, containing gracious expressions. It seems singular that Akbar should have written direct to the rebels. He cannot have known how far they had gone.

[3] Variant Nauja, Naula means a young man.

[4] The Iqbālnāma calls him the son of Mīr Rafī'. See B. 523 and *supra*, p. 245.

[5] Text Khilote. The Ghelots are a Rajput tribe living in Gujarat. See J. II, 247 and 268.

[6] The Iqbālnāma says nothing about this plot. It throws the blame of the failure of the conference on the Qāqshāls, and so do the T.A. and Badāyūnī.

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Rai, and he from simplicity and inexperience of mankind communicated this to Raẓavī K. That wicked coward conveyed by hints and signs the proposals of the devoted followers to the perturbed brains (of the Qāqshāls). In a short space of time every one of them made an excuse for leaving the meeting of peace, and commenced a disturbance. Raẓavī[1] K. and Saiyid Abū Isāḥaq were admitted to quarter, and that ignorant renderer of the veil (Raẓavī K.) was imprisoned. Upright men who loved honour fought bravely and drank the last draught. On every side there was a fire of sedition, and the dust of strife rose high. The alert and wakeful of heart will draw from this story the moral that the breaking of promises, cowardice, disobedience, and the failure to recognize the proper place for telling secrets, build a house of evil and heap up the materials of ruin. Apparently the time had come for tearing away the veil over the double-faced, and for cleansing the earth of the dust of the lives of the wicked! When the news came to court, those who had the right of audience represented, and the opinion of the loyal and well-wishing was, that the royal standards should proceed thither. That far-seeing diviner of mysteries said to some of the courtiers, "It flashes upon our soul that the dust of rebellion will, in a short time, be laid by the good services of our loyal officers, and that every one of the rebels will meet with his deserts, and that these futile people will not be honoured by the movement[2] of our retinue. It is clear that the audacity of the rebels is being backed up by the ruler[3] of Kabul. It is not unlikely that flatterers may bring that light-headed, evil-thinking one into India. If the royal standards be transferred to the eastern provinces what will be the condition of the generality of my subjects? It is right that we remain at the centre of the Caliphate and address ourselves to supplicating the incomparable Creator. We shall make justice and equity our secret army and contemplate the spectacle of fortune. Our sagacity will be impressed
295 on mortals, and our sentinelship will be conspicuous." In a short

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[1] It appears from the I.O. MSS. that the conjunction has been omitted in text. But I am now inclined to think the text is correct.

[2] Meaning that it would not be necessary for Akbar to take the field in person.

[3] The rebels afterwards proclaimed M. Ḥakīm emperor. See *infra*, 305.

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time what he had said was proved, and a collyrium was applied to the eyes of the short-sighted.

Verse.

In this centre of hopes and fears
They kept watch with awakened hearts.

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CHAPTER LII.

Beginning of the twenty-fifth year, to wit, the year Farwardīn of the third cycle.

Praise be to God that the second cycle has been gloriously completed, and that the third cycle has begun. It is an occasion when I should raise a hymn of supplication to the World-Adorner and Giver of life, and should indulge in praise to the extent of my abilities. But what strength or courage has a clown from the country of contingent existence to strut like a peacock in this ever-verdant house-garden, or to advance the foot of recognition whilst receiving the kicks[1] of confusion in front, and the buffetings of ignorance from behind.

Verse.

In that place where there is meditation concerning God
Our supplications have no substance,
O heart, refrain from words as far as possible
Thy foot is on an eminence, be careful, be careful.

On the night of Friday (i.e. Thursday), 24 Muharram 988, 11 March 1581, after 37 minutes had passed, the sun cast his rays upon Aries. There was a New Year's day for joy and delight. The rosebush of equity blossomed with the flower of fortune. Heaven became gracious to earth, and earth put on the grandeur of heaven.

Verse.

There was a new ornament to the Spring of Reason,
Understanding was assured of existence,
The world had a period of growth,
The earth gave substance to the sky,
The mode of youth was renewed for the world,
Happiness returned to many lives.

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[1] Cf. the last line of the verse at p. 6 of translation, vol. 1.

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Inasmuch as awakened hearts and active brains read the writings of the stars on the forehead of the beginning and perceived the beautiful conclusion from the preamble, the lights of the daily-increasing dominion of the august cycle brightened hearts and eyes. They (the astrologers) conveyed the news of the ruin of the seditious, and of the suppression of the rebellion.

One of the occurrences was the remission of the taxes (*bāj u tamghā*). Though in the beginning of the reign an order had been 296
given for this great boon, yet, as the world's lord remained behind the veil, and from the avarice of the guardians of the commands of the Caliphate it did not come into effect, for a long and dangerous disease is not cured without great exertions of the physician. Especially is this so if there be an element of avarice and cupidity, and if the spiritual physician be under a veil. At this time, by virtue of his mighty energy the order was issued anew, and he set himself to have it carried out. Though the wrath of the Ruler, and the Majesty of world-sway had reduced the rebellious to submission and supplication, and no one had the courage to transgress the sacred orders, yet, from abundant graciousness he treated and cured the long-standing disease by gentle words and said, "Ancient rulers and former pontentates exacted those dues in order to procure the materials of world-conquest and for administrative purposes. Now that the Incomparable Creator has put under my control the territories of so many great princes, and has made me the keeper of such vast treasures, how can this demand be right, or how can it be weighed in the scales of justice? Truth-gathering Reason had allowed the impost as the guerdon [1] of world-wardenship. Now that owing to the glory of right-thinking, great treasures are in my hands and that there is no need of this, it would assuredly be a deviation from the highway of obedience to Sultan Wisdom to demand it, and would be treading the path of cupidity with the foot of ingratitude." In accordance with this well-founded idea, a general order was issued from the

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[1] Text *nuzl-i-jahānbānī*. The variant *bazl* is probably right. I.O. MS. 236 has *bazl-i-jahānyetāqī*. The reward of world-watching. Akbar's regulation does not seem to have been very effectual for Jahāngir takes credit to himself, Price 5, for remitting three taxes, one of which was the *tamgha*, and which yielded his father a large revenue. See also Rogers' translation of Jahangir's Memoirs, p. 7.

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abode of graciousness of the effect that *Bāj*[1] and *Tamghā*—which yielded more than the revenues of climes—were remitted, and that the arm of demand should be shortened and should not reach the hem of traders.

Hail to the strong heart and capacious genius which rayed for the generosities beyond the comprehensions of this Age, and made worlds upon worlds of men eternally grateful. Where are Ḥāṭim[2] Ṭāī and M'aan, the son of Zāīda, and other illustrious scatterers of gold, that they may learn something of the degrees of generosity and rub the foreheads of bliss on the prostration-court of ashamedness?

Verse.

For wondrous products it was Spring coming with Autumn,
For donations of treasure it was Autumn dressing Spring.

Assuredly the parterre-adorners of Fate give development from time to time to the nurslings of the dominion of a bright-starred

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[1] *Bāj u Tamghā* were taxes on merchandise, but it would appear from Badayūnī, Lowe, 284, that the Jizyah was also included. According to A.F. the Jizyah was abolished in the beginning of the 9th year. See Elliot VI. 29 and A.N. II. 253. The decree abolishing the *Bāj-u-Tamghā*, then called Zakāt, is given in the first book of A. F.'s letters and also in the Mirāt Aḥmadī. In both copies the date given is the seventh year of the 2nd Qarn. The author of the Mirāt Aḥmādī makes this the year 999 A.H., i.e. 1591, and the commentator on the Letters, Nawal Kishore ed., gives a similar date, viz. the 37th year from the Accession. But Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 413, puts the remission into the 26th year, and A. F. and apparently Badayūnī put it into the 25th. I think, therefore, that the Mirāt Aḥmadī is mistaken, and that the Qarn meant is not the Qarn from the Accession, though the decree seems to say so, but the Qarn from Akbar's birth. We know that Akbar ordered the second Qarn or period of 30 years to be calculated from his birth (see A.N., vol. III. 3). The 1st Qarn according to this calculation ended in the 17th year of the reign, and so the 7th year of the 2nd Qarn would correspond to the 24th or 25th year, i.e. the year mentioned in the text. Seven articles, chiefly live-stock, were excluded from the remission.

[2] Ḥātim Ṭāī is well known. See D'Herbelot and the Bāgh u Bahār etc. M'an or M'aan was also a celebrated Arab. He was an officer in the service of Ommayad Caliphs, and afterwards served the Abbasides. There is an account of him in D'Herbelot s.v. Man which gives an anecdote preserved by Mīr Khwānd.

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seeker after power, the clouds of whose bounty pour out in this manner. The keys which open the world fall into his hand, and the treasures of the Age direct their countenances towards his threshold. The arrival at the court of the Caliphate of the revenue of Bengal is a new proof of this. It has been mentioned that Moẓaffar K. sent the collections made by Khān Jahān, together with many rarities of that country, to court along with Fatḥ Cand, and how they emerged in safety from the whirlpool of the base wretches of Bihār. They were now conveyed to the Treasury under the guard of celestial watchmen. A hundred and seventy-one noted 297
elephants took their places in the royal stables. There was a murmuring of joy upon the perusal of the writing of daily increasing dominion on the frontispiece of the Age.

One of the events was the appointment of M. Khān, the son of Bairām K., to the high office of Mīr 'Arẓ.[1] Though on each day of the week one of the principal servants was promoted to this weighty service, yet on account of the number of suitors, the increase of work, the brisk bazaar of cupidity, and the augmented stateliness of the august court, it occurred to H.M. that a choice, high-born officer of high ability who possessed profound insight, disinterestedness and honesty should illustrate this great employment. By the glory of his being at peace with all, he was to make no distinction between acquaintance and stranger, friend and foe, but to lay before H.M. all proper requests, and at a fitting time to receive the replies to them. If by the accident of fortune — which is inevitable in the world's tavern — he did not receive a gracious (*pasandīda*) reply, he should not allow himself to become melancholy, but should have the courage to repeat the request at another time. For in this world, which is full of evil, most things are not done wisely (*bamaghzkār*), and if they are so done, yet many things which ought to be said do not emerge from the defiles of the bosom on account of fear, cupidity (*andokhtanipāra*) and a non-observance of a fitting time, whilst many futilities are brought forward. The wise sovereign perceived the notes of praiseworthy qualities in that loyalist and advanced him by this great office. Every auspicious one who by wisdom and right-thinking has erased the marks of cupidity and hypocrisy, and by far-sightedness and judiciousness is not contented

[1] B. 257.

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with his own knowledge, and always seeks for good principles, and commits the affairs of the people to good men, will ever have the stream of fortune full, and the garden of his fortune will be ever verdant.

Verse.

Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons,
Who bear away the ball in realm and religion,
In this land there is one of those cavaliers
For whom much praise is little.
Two words sum up the praise I give,
By qualities, Āfẓal (most excellent), by name, Akbar.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Quṭbu-ul-mulk. Though the rulers of the Deccan were not happy in their manner of service and obedience, yet they always, by sending petitions and presents, considered themselves to be bound to the saddle-straps of dominion. At this time the ruler[1] of Golconda showed fawning and submissiveness, and sent a petition along with the rarities of that country. Inasmuch as it was the age of increasing love and of acceptance of apologies, the ambassadors were well-
298 received and frightened hearts were soothed.

Also at this time there came the news that 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr had prepared a collection of the rarities of his country and wished to send[2] it when Ḥakīm 'Alī, who had gone there on an embassy, should depart. Suddenly the cup of his life was spilled. The brief account of this is that this man of rusted[3] intellect and corrupt nature did not properly obey commands and was ever guarding himself by vulpine tricks from the onset of the armies of fortune From self-indulgence he quitted the road of auspiciousness and chose impurity, and conducted himself in ways unpleasing to God. He continually was staining the skirt of his chastity. Inasmuch as it has held good from old times that whoever lets the night-gleaming jewel of wisdom be fouled in the dustbin of carnality, works his

[1] That is, Quṭbu-l-mulk just mentioned.

[2] Apparently the verb is wanting in the original.

[3] *Ān zangīn khirad.* The Lucknow edition has *rangīn* "elegant," but the context shows that *zangīn* is right, though it is not in the dictionaries.

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destruction by his own efforts, that ignoble creature by great endeavours procured from Malik[1] Barīd—one of the rulers of the Deccan—two eunuchs who had the reputation of being of fair countenance. When the object of his desires approached, he became possessed with immodesty and baseness, and in the darkness of a private chamber stretched forth the arm of improper lust against one of them. That pure jewel of propriety, from purity and a love of honour, did not yield his body, and killed him with a dagger which he had the foresight to bring with him. Ibrāhīm his brother's son was made his successor by the exertions of Amīr Fatḥ Ullah[2] of Shīrāz—that compendium of former sages—and the leading men of the country.

One occurrence was the imprisonment of M. 'Alī 'Alamshāhī[3] and some others. Some wicked men of perverted fortune such as Mīrakī, 'Īdī Kor, Shihāb Badakhshī and Kocak K. Yesāwal had conspired together and, in forgetfulness of the favours they had received, were engaged in gathering together scoundrels and strifemongers. Their intention was to take a favourable opportunity for performing

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[1] Ruler of Bīdar. He is called by Ferishta, 'Alī Barīd. An account of the circumstances of 'Ādil Shāh's death is given by Ferishta in his history of the Bījāpūr dynasty, and also of the rulers of Bīdar. See also the Māaṣir I, 569, where it is pointed out that according to Ferishta Ḥakīm 'Alī Gīlāni had left before the murder and that it was Ḥakīm 'Ain-al-mulk who was there then. The date of 'Ādil Shāh's death is given by Ferishta as Thursday eve (Wednesday), 22 Ṣafr 988, 10 April 1580. I regret to say that this 'Ādil Shāh was the husband of the heroic Chānd Bībī. The Iqbālnāma says that the eunuch was put to death, and that next day Ibrāhīm was appointed 'Ādil's successor.

[2] B. 33n. and Māaṣir I, 100. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 325, who says that Akbar married him to the younger daughter of Moẓaffar K. and also gave him the pargana of Basāwar (Badayūnī's birth-place) with an exemption from the branding regulation. The expression *tazkira ḥukamāi pīshīn* تذکرهٔ حکماء پیشین is explained by A. F.'s remark, A. N. III, 401, that Fatḥ Ullah's learning was so great that if the works of former philosphers were destroyed, he would be able to start science anew. The text wrongly puts *tazkira* after *ḥukamāī*, but this is corrected in the Errata.

[3] B. 482. It seems to be Qalmshāhī in Iqbālnāma. From the account there it appears that the plot was to kill Akbar and then join the Bengal rebels.

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some exploit and then to proceed to the malcontents in the eastern provinces. Alert and truthful men discovered their evil intentions and brought them to notice before they had been carried into effect. The matter was first inquired into by far-sighted persons, and then it was investigated by the Shāhinshāh. As H.M. regards the body as having been built by God, he is not ready to dissolve the connection between it and the soul, and so he sent to prison this crew who were worthy of annihilation. But as the marks of incorrigibility were perceived in the forehead-lines of Mīrakī—who was the foundation of the conspiracy—he was capitally punished. This was a lesson to many of the turbulent.

299 One of the occurrences was the death of Moẓaffar K. As the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune of the world's lord shows itself in the victories of the imperial servants, so also does it sometimes show itself in their defeats. It has been mentioned how the executants of the royal commands had opened the divān of cupidity in Bengal, and how from presumption and ignorance their intellects had slumbered, and how the fief-holders had left the highway of submission. When there had been on the banks of the Ganges an interchange of shots, and when the malcontents, in spite of their numbers, had met with the shame of failure, and the avaricious officials had acquired fresh courage, it occurred to the confused minds of the rebels that they should send a force to Tānda[1] the capital, and so trouble the minds of the imperialists. With this evil idea M. Beg Qāqshāl and Hamzabān crossed the river at a distance from the imperial army, and stirred up strife in the direction of that city. Moẓaffar K. sent off Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Mīr Rafī'u-d-dīn of Nīshāpūr, Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī, Ḥusain Beg Gurd, and others to remedy this evil. They bravely hastened there and defeated the enemy, sending many of them to annihilation. All at once the generality of the malcontents lost patience and they turned towards entreaties. But at this time when apologies should have been accepted, the obstinacy of the officials increased, and the supplica-

[1] See an article by translator, "Notes of a Holiday Trip to Maldah and Bihar" in *Calcutta Review*.

Tānda is locally called Tārrah and was washed away some forty years ago. It was west of the Bhagirathī. See Rennel's Mem. quoted by Stewart. Hist. of Bengal, 149n.

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tions had no effect. Though they heard of the troubles in Bihar, they did not take them into account, nor reflect on the contingency of the rebels of that quarter joining with those of Bengal. As the drunkenness of arrogance is followed by the crapulousness of failure, these rebels did join the malcontents of Bengal and troubles began afresh. The haughty by their own action ruined the country. When there was a report of the coming of the imperial army to Bihar, the wicked wretches fell into the abyss of confusion. They could neither think of fighting nor of flying. While in this state, they became aware of the disobedience of the Bengal officers, and of the confusion of affairs in that province. By means of emissaries an agreement was come to between them, and they hastened to Bengal. When this became fully known, the good advisers of Moẓaffar K. induced him by thousands of expostulations to send off Timar K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, J'aafar Beg and others in order that they might protect Garhī, which is the gate of that country. But the rebels took possession of the place one day before this party arrived. Though it gave battle, yet Timar K. and most of his 300
companions behaved with cowardice. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and some others who loved their honour distinguished themselves and returned wounded. At this time Babā K. Qāqshāl and a number of evil doers crossed the Ganges at Akmaḥal (Rājmaḥal), and joined the Bihar malcontents. Moẓaffar K. sent Ḥusain Beg, 'Itrāt 'Alī and a number of brave men to take possession of the head of the cutting[1] from the Ganges and to stop the passage of the rebels. This cutting is a channel which the ancients had cut from the river. The loyalists were stationed there, when one night, when there was rain and tempest, and the sentinels were asleep, the rebels crossed the canal (*jūibār*), and made a disturbance. The other rebels, who were facing Moẓaffar K., joined them, and the imperial servants destroyed (*barhamzada*) the entrenchments on that side, and returned to their own side. Every day there were gallant fights, and there were hot struggles. Lives were lost in guarding honour, and the jewel of courage received fresh lustre.

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[1] *Sir-i-khārī*. Khārī is a Hindustani word meaning a creek, but apparently the true reading is sir-i-kātī. Presumably the cutting meant was an inlet from the old Ganges or Bhagirathī, and leading to Tānda.

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Verse.

The ocean of war grew tumultuous,
The combatants raised shouts,
Swords from the blood were like wine cups,
They made the earth drunken from quaffing these.
The birds of the bow flew swiftly,
They opened their beaks to drink blood,
The blood of the swords strained brains,
They cast the heads of head-men under foot.

One day a party of the rebels crossed the river and attacked 'Itrāt 'Alī. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn with some brave men gave new lustre to the battlefield. By the might of daily-increasing fortune the hand of conquest prevailed. Though in this engagement Ḥusain Beg was slain, yet the enemy was stained with the dust of defeat. For nineteen days fighting went on between the two forces, and every time defeat fell upon the rebels. They were distressed by disaster upon disaster. They were also troubled by the news of the approach of the imperial troops. They held futile and dispirited councils and said: "The heaven-aided troops have not yet arrived, and we are in this condition! When the world-conquering armies shall have joined together, what will be our position? We must of necessity proceed to the Ganges by this stream (rūd) and take shelter in the direction of Orissa. But if we get a chance we shall lay the hand of daring upon the entrenchments." On the night of the 20th they set off with this evil design. Qāsim 'Alī Sīstānī and a body of men who were in the farthest entrenchment regarded this movement as desertion (wairānī) and quickly seized some boats. On getting the news Moẓaffar K. beat high the drums of joy, but
301 prudently stood ready for battle lest perchance the rebels were practising some stratagem. In the morning the predominance of the enemy overcame the endurance of high and low, and the retribution[1] of cupidity and presumption was complete!

The brief account of this warning story is that when the scoundrels were in confusion and had raised their anchors, the Qaqshāls and many other rebels came by the said channel to the

[1] The meaning seems to be that the government officers were punished for their greed and obstinacy.

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Ganges, and some boats were plundered. This gave rise to negligence. When M'āṣūm came there and, on account of the understanding he had with the rebels, began to fire cannon at the imperialists in the entrenchment,[1] the latter lost courage and became stained with the dust of defeat, without a contest. Zulf 'Alī Badakhshī, and Kocak Qundūzī, who were leaders, and many other base wretches, cast the dust of disloyalty on their heads and joined the enemy. The ingrates gathered together and rejoiced. On receiving this news, Moẓaffar K. lost the thread of counsel and became foolish from suspiciousness and want of heart. He had neither the guidance of reason, nor the power of listening to advice. Though right-thinking and experienced men represented, saying: "What loss have you sustained[2] from the departure (wairānī) of that handful of short-sighted men, and what good will the enemy get from this success? The proper thing is not to give way to discouragement, and for the army to fight according to proper methods." Their sound advice was of no use, and his perturbation increased.

Owing to his wrong ideas, the slipping away of his reason and misplaced fancies, irrecognition of enemies and love of life, his actions became disordered. He neither would himself arrange the troops nor would give permission to engage to the officers who were everywhere ready for service. After much talk he allowed some soldiers to go under the command of Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn in order that they might hasten to the spot, and render assistance and bring news of the state of affairs. Many, from thought of their families, and some from cowardice, had not the bliss of accompanying them. Many out of a wicked disposition took the road of dishonour. When the heart of the commander does not remain steady, what firmness can there be among the commanded?

The Khwāja related: "When I had gone a little way, I saw that men were going over to the enemy from every side, and that from

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[1] *Mūrcal*, but the Lucknow ed. and MS. No. 238 have būdāl بودال which is given in P. de Courteille's Dict. as meaning a place. The Lucknow ed. says it is the name of an officer. *Mūrcal* occurs in the Iqbālnāma. MS. No. 235 omits the word.

[2] *Cah ṭarf barbandad*. Perhaps the meaning is "what advantage have you gained from the capture of a few boats?" or it may mean "what harm has happened to you by this handful of men joining the rebels, and what gain have the latter obtained from their success?"

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time to time my companions were leaving me. In a short while no one remained except Muṯṯalib[1] (who had ties of association with him). It was evident that the warnings of God were administering kicks in front and buffets from behind to the arrogant, self-seeking crew, and that humility and entreaties only encouraged the wicked. Of necessity I became disgusted with life and set my face towards
302 fighting in company with that loyal hero.[2] Accordingly, that unique one of the arena of valour received several wounds and fell on the ground, and sold his life for honour. Meanwhile, Muḥammad 'Alī Arlāt (who had friendly relations with him) came up. I thought that he would help me, but the faithless and contemptible fellow hit me with a spear, and I fell and was nearly dead. Suddenly, M. Muḥammad, from whom I had no hopes, received me kindly and took me to M'āṣūm K. who encouraged me and made me over to the Qāẓīzāda.[3] In that field of instruction, when I was on an elephant where they had fastened me, I was a spectator of the marvels of the unveilers of fate, and was listening to the flattering speeches of fortune, and was gathering instruction. Though there was no contest, and their success was increasing from time to time, the wicked rebels were in a state of great dismay. Suddenly, a large force appeared, and they were nearly dispersing, when it appeared that it was Waẓīr Jamīl who was coming with friendly intentions. Their courage returned, and there was a murmur of joy." This ten-tongued, two-faced man on this night which was pregnant with evil, took selected men along with him and, under guise of combating, became an idle talker. He spent the time of action in futile declamation, and confused many hearts that had been tranquillized. At last he became full of the dust of dishonour and displayed his real nature. He placed long-standing obligations on the shelf of forgetfulness, and joined the enemy. In spite of this the enemy was in trepidation and did not know how the affair would end, and how they would carry on the war with Moẓaffar K. Meanwhile, that commander took refuge in the fort,

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[1] The Cawnpore ed. and the Iqbālnāma have Muṯṯalib Ḥajālātī or Khajālātī. I.O. MSS. 236 has Khajakatī and I.O. 235 has Khajālātī which, however, has a line across it. The Bib. Ind. has the variant *ḥajám* "barber."

[2] Tahamtan, a name of Rustam.

[3] He was killed in the 28th year. See below p. 400.

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and gave away his opportunity in seeking what he ought to do. He was in such a state of dull-heartedness that no one stayed with him except Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Injū, Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, J'aafar Beg, Bāqīr 'Anṣārī, Tardī Beg Yekkāwez, 'Isā Turkaman and some of his servants and comrades. At last, from evil fortune he preferred a wretched life to selling it boldly, and entered with the persons abovenamed inside the walls of Tānda. He now began to scatter his accumulations. What profit comes of good nature and liberality at an improper time: and what advantage is there in scattering gold and the distribution of goods unseasonably? The enlightened and prudent have, in the time of misfortune, conquered the hearts of tigerlike men by gifts and kindness, and have found a remedy for life-threatening evils by foreseeing them. The ungrateful cowards regarded his being shut up as something excellent and raised the palace of success. They took the path of courage and proceeded to besiege him. They represented to him that if he took compassion on himself and should join them, they would give him a high position, otherwise they would let him go and allow him to proceed to the Ḥijāz. As he had not the courage to sacrifice his life, he replied that ingratitude and evildoing were destructive of realm and religion. Let them preserve his honour and make him a voyager so that 303
he might go to the holy shrine and rub off the blackness of neglect, and atone for his faults. They replied by promising that they would let him keep one-third of his goods. As he had no reliance on their words, and the defence of the fort was beyond his power, he secretly sent some of his confidants to M'aṣūm K. and reminded him of old times when he had assisted him. He also sent him 20,000 ashrafīs, and begged his protection. He represented, "It was not the part of wise and enlightened men to blaspheme at the Divine decree (meaning what had happened to himself), and that he now begged that in return (for the 20,000 ashrafīs) he would take upon himself the preservation of his honour so that no misfortune might happen to his household: in the confusion of plundering there would be no opportunity for grasping the collar of petition." M'aṣūm accepted his entreaties and replied by promising him protection. During a night which was pregnant with disturbance, M. Sharfu-d-dīn Ḥusain fled from

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the fort and came to M'aṣūm K.'s quarters. H. M.[1] had in the middle of the previous year released that man who was worthy of death and sent him by river with the instruction that if he showed marks of penitence he should receive a fief in that country, otherwise he was to be dispatched to the Ḥijāz. No signs of contrition were seen in the Kẖwāja's son. On the contrary he was continually engaged in strife-mongering, and was evil-thoughted to the extent of madness. Moẕaffar K. put him in prison and was waiting for the season for sailing when this typhoon of evils broke. On the second day, he intrigued with some of his guards and descended from the fort. A number saw this and discharged arrows, and he joined the enemy in a wounded condition. He informed the besiegers of the terror of the garrison and increased their courage. At dawn the wretches forgot their compact and proceeded to make disturbance. The Qāqśẖāḷs were foremost and stirred up the dust of plunder. Each set hastened to the fort and plundered it. M'aṣūm K. observed his promise and went quietly to Moẕaffar K.'s quarters so that the rioters might not dishonour him, and that the bulk of the property might come into his own hands. Moẕaffar K. stood with some of his slaves. They were all armed, but could think neither of fighting, nor of fleeing. M'aṣūm K. came with one or two of them and showed the zeal of double-faced people. Just then a noise in the female apartments robbed Moẕaffar of patience. He gave away such an opportunity [3] and hastened in that direction. That chief of strife-mongers and slumbrous-witted one (M'aṣūm) became awake to his situation and escaped with his life. He always blamed himself for his temerity. Though the empty-handed and shameless ones had their pockets filled, and they seized the accumulations of the servants of God,[4] yet it was M. Sẖarafu-d-dīn who by good luck got abundance of gold. In the time of confusion Moẕaffar K. sank

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1 Badayūnī II. 282 says he had been in the custody of Qāsim 'Alī K. Baqqāl, governor of Kālpī (not Ḳabul as in Lowe 290).

2 The month is not mentioned. Perhaps it is Rabī I, but more probably it is Ardībihisẖt. Or it may be the second day after Moẕaffar took refuge in the fort.

3 Of killing M'aṣūm.

4 This expression is often used for Muḥammadans, but comes in curiously here. I.O. MS. 235 has kẖudāīgīr.

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80,000 rupees in a tank that they might be of use at the time of welfare. Sharafu-d-dīn came to know of this and got possession of the treasure. He filled the chests with stones and put them 304 into deep water. He used the treasure as a help to rebellion. During the plundering Mozaffar K. was kept under observation in his house. Some persons were bound and sent to prison. Many from wickedness took refuge with the enemy. Ḥakīm Abūl fatḥ [1] and Rai Patr Dās by courage and skill obtained their release. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was protected by Sáíd Beg on account of acquaintanceship. He saved his life, but was tortured in order to the production of money. Jáfar Beg by cleverness and plausibility was released [2] from such demands. The manner in which he had been sent to that country also contributed to his escape.

On 8 Ardibihisht [3] Mozaffar K. was put to death, and then appointments and territories were distributed, and the Khuṭba was recited in the name of M. Ḥakīm. On the first Khurdād the arrangements were made. The tent (bārgāh) [4] of Khān Jahān, which had been prepared for the receipt of presents (peshkaṣh), was erected, and it was adorned by awnings and carpets of various colours. They began by distributing honours and territories. There were disputes, but these were settled by ingenuity. Every one got something and was satisfied. The distribution of titles was as follows: M'aṣūm K. was made Vakil and chose the title of Khān Daurān; Bābāī Qāqshāl was styled Khān Khānān and was appointed to the government of Bengal; Jabbārī was styled Khān Jahān and made a commander of 10,000; Wazīr Jamīl was styled Khān Zamān and appointed to the office of Tūzak Begī; Khāldīn became A'ẓim Khān, Jān Muh. Bahsūdī became Khān 'Ālam;

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[1] His brother Nūru-d-dīn who was a poet and known as Qarārī was less fortunate and killed. Badayūnī II. 290 and III. (text) 312.

[2] B. 411. He is Āṣaf K. No. 3. The Iqbālnāma explains that his having been sent to Akbar to Bengal as a punishment was in his favour. It would also go to show that he had no money. See Maaṣir I. 107, 103. He was a poet. See extracts B. 572.

[3] About 19 April 1580. It was Rabī' I. 988. Badayūni says Mozaffar was tortured.

[4] See description of a bārgāh in B. 53.

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'Abdu-l-Bāqī, Khudāwand K., and M. Beg, Bahādur K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was made Lashkar K., and Jáfar Beg Āṣaf K. Those two adroitly postponed their acceptance to another time. 'Arab was, in his absence (ghaibāna), made Shujā'at K., S'aīd K. Toqbaī was made Khān and a commander of 1,500. To every one there were granted a jāgir, a standard and a drum. M. Ḥajī Lang, Farrukh Irgāhlīq Farīdūn, Taimūr Tāsh, 'Azīz Dastam Beg, Muḥammad Toqbai, Muḥammad Qulī Turkaman, Ḥamza Beg Turkaman, 'Abdullah Beg Badakhshī, 'Alī Qāsim Barlās, Maṣqūd 'Alī Kor, 'Iwaẓ-Bahādur, Mīrzā 'Arab, Dost Muḥammad Tolakchī, Murād Qāqshāl, Tāsh Beg, Zulf 'Alī Lang, Khuda-bardī, Ghaẓanfar Beg, were made commanders of one thousand and received the title of Khān, as well as
305 a flag. Mīr Kalān, Wafā Beg, M. Kīcak, Yār Beg Muḥammad, Sheram Bahādur, Laṭīf Ḥusain, Ilān Caq, Bābā Dost Muḥammad, Mihr 'Alī, Muḥammad Beg, Qorbān Beg, were made Khāns and received flags and a command of 500. Several other vagabonds got the title of Sultan. It occurred to these lost ones, who had neither head nor foot, that they could, by heaping up money and by audacity, attain the dignity of Amīrs. They forgot that grandeur befits not the bad, and that designs cannot be carried out without the aid of the executors of fate.

Verse.

Khāqānī, those who follow in your footsteps
Are crows, and crows desire the gait of the partridge.
I admit that asparagus [1] is shaped like a snake,
One is poison for foes; the other an antidote for friends.

When the talk of appointments and fiefs had come to an end, they considered that they would recite the Khuṭba in the name of M. Ḥakīm, and would then spend their days in pleasure. The wonder-working of the Shāhinshāh's fortune became glorious. A storm arose, and the clouds poured cataracts. The "Avaunt" of the

[1] *Mārchoba*, asparagus. Its shape resembles a snake (hence the name which means "snake-stick"), and it is supposed to be an antidote to snake-poison. Perhaps the meaning of the last two lines is 'There is a likeness between asparagus and a snake, for the latter poisons foes, and the former is an antidote (or bezoar) for friends.' That is, both do good. The allusion in last line seems also to be to rain-drops falling into the ocean, which are said to produce pearls in one month and snakes in another.

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Divine wrath rose on every side, and the structure of the grand tent, the canopies, the carpets, were scattered and cast into the mire. Each one of the wretches crept away to a corner. The auspicious and profound of sight read the failure of the wicked ones in the writings of the celestial aids, and raised the song of joy.

Verse.

At this time there was a great rumour of the coming of the victorious troops. They left off adorning[1] the pulpit (of M. Ḥakīm) and fell into a long cogitation. From being drunk with gold, and from evil thoughts, they marched out from that country to fight. In appearance M. Sharaf-ud-dīn Ḥusain was the leader, but in reality the leaders were Máṣūm and Bābā K. They left many of the scoundrels in that cultivated country.

Having brought the story so far, I proceed to describe the events in Bihar up to the arrival of the victorious army. At the same time that the evil-doers in this part were stirring up the dust of strife, Bahādur was separately and earnestly prosecuting a course of ingratitude. He was the son of S'aīd Badakhshī. That black-hearted one (the father) had on account of his wickedness come out of his home, and had by feline tricks expatiated in the wide territory of India. At this time he was collector ('amilguẕār) of Tirhut. **306** When the Bihar officers raised the head of ingratitude, he left his son there, and joined the rebels, and exerted himself to help them. Meanwhile, folly took possession of the brain of Bahādur, and he used the exchequer property in conciliating the fly-like scoundrels. He raised a disturbance and assumed[2] a great name to himself. When M'aṣūm Khan heard of this, he sent S'aīd Badakhshī to him in order that he might give him fatherly advice and lead him to act in unison (with the other rebels). The wretch did not accept the advice and sent his own father into prison! In a short space of time

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[1] I.O. MS. 236 has *ālāyish* instead of *ārāish*, as if meaning that the pulpit was contaminated by the proclaiming of M. Ḥakīm.

[2] The Iqbālnāma states that he assumed independence and had the Khuṭba read and coins struck in his own name. He gave himself the title of Bahādur Shāh. See Badayūni, Lowe 307, where the verse composed for his signet is given. He adds that he was afterwards killed by A'ẓim K.'s servants. The Iqbālnāma also gives the quatrain.

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he, from ignorance and cowardice, became still more arrogant. During this confusion the report of the coming of the imperial army became prevalent, and M'aṣūm K. with many of the disaffected hastened off to Bengal. He left 'Arab and some scoundrels in Patna, in order that he might exercise sway in that province, and might set about plundering. Shāham K., from innate auspiciousness, broke his promise [1] and hoisted the standard of loyalty in Ḥājīpūr. In order to prove his feelings to the imperial servants he sent a force against Bahādur, but it was defeated and returned. Bahādur's presumption was increased, but afterwards Shāham K. led a force in person and was victorious, and S'aīd (Badakhsī) was killed. Muḥibb 'Alī K. prevailed over 'Arab who had come out of Patna. When he was defeated and came back, Sa'adat 'Alī K., whom he had evilly instructed and had left in charge of his household, had the auspiciousness to turn away from him. That slumbrous-fortuned one went to his camp and made a fight, but was wounded and had to fly. About this time Muḥibb 'Alī K. took possession of that city. The troops spent some days in preparations, and then set out. Within the confines of Jaunpūr, Tarsūn K., Ṣādiq K., Ghāzī K., Ulugh K. and many other officers joined the army. At a distance of two kos from Ghāzīpūr M'aṣūm K. Farunkhūdī joined the camp. As his babbling and futility were known to all, it was decided that he should go one or two stages in front as a vanguard so that they might be free from his molestation and might come to understand him. On the banks of the Ganges they heard of the catastrophe of Moẓaffar K., and fools opened the mouth of
307 folly. Though some were disheartened, the acute and comprehending understood the depths of his (Moẓaffar's) misconduct and read in the writing of the age the rolling up of that carpet of presumption, and perceiving the breeze of victory to be blowing from the four portions of the earth, they raised the pæan of joy. Also near here Muḥibb 'Alī K., Shāham K., Samānji K. and Bāqī Kolābī joined the army. There was an assemblage in the vicinity of Patna, and the grandees made vows of concord and harmony. When their minds had been set at rest by this, they discussed the plan of action. Each one recognized his proper place. In the centre

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[1] See text 285. Shāham had at first joined the rebels.

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were Tarsūn K., Rajah Todar Mal, Rai Surjan, Rajah Askaran, Mihtar K. and others. In the right wing were Muḥibb 'Alī K., Shāham K., Mīr Abu-l-Moẓaffar and others. In the left wing were Ṣādiq K., Ulugh K., Naqīb K., Qamar K. and others. In the vanguard were M'aṣūm K. Farankhudī, S. Farīd Bokharī, Saiyid Abu-l-qāsim, Saiyid Abu-l-m'aālī, Saiyid 'Abdul Wāḥid, Saiyid 'Abdul Hādī and others. As some of the chief officers were faint-hearted and some were inclined to brigandage, so it was arranged that from this stage they should march armed, and prepared for battle. When 'Arab and Ḥabīb, and the other rebels who were stirring up the dust of strife in that neighbourhood, heard of the coming of the army, they retired. The traitors in the great camps—of whom the imperial servants were suspicious—did not get their opportunity. On 7 Khurdād the army encamped at Monghyr. M'aṣūm K. Farankhudī, who had long cherished evil thoughts, meditated the killing of Rajah Todar Mal, so that obedience might lose its head, and that he himself might advance some steps to his goal. He equipped a number of vagabonds for the purpose of a review,[1] and expressed the wish that the Rajah should come to inspect them. That auspicious one was apprized of the plot and made excuses, and did not tear away the veil over his (M'aṣūm's) conduct.

At this time the ill-fated and wicked ones of Bengal passed on from Garhī with the intention of fighting, and there was an engagement between some of the scouts of the victorious army and the advanced party of the enemy. Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'aūd, Jai Tawacī-bashī and some others distinguished themselves. Rajah Todar Mal held a council to deliberate on what should be done. Many brave men said that they should trust in God, and give battle. Some **308** prudent and profound observers represented that a storm of sedition had arisen on every side, and that fidelity and singleness of heart could not be distinguished from double-facedness, and that they were not satisfied about M'āṣūm K. Farankhūdī, who had received various kindnesses from H.M. It was proper that they should fortify themselves and be on their guard. Some persons who had of necessity joined the rebels, now came to the camp, and gave infor-

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[1] The text has *ba āīn shāyān*, but the variant *ba āīn sān* (i.e., review) is supported by the I.O. MSS.

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mation about the circumstances of their companions. From skilfulness and caution the last-mentioned opinion was approved of. On the 16th entrenchments were made, and the officers exerted themselves in raising a wall and digging a moat. In a short time four high and broad walls were constructed, and the fortress of the city became a citadel. On the 24th the rebels raised the dust of disturbance round about the place. The imperialists replied by cannon and muskets. The brave men on both sides continually engaged in combats, and there were great deeds done. During these struggles many of the besieged threw the dust of disloyalty on their heads by joining the enemy. The ring-leaders were Tarkhān Dīwāna and Humāyūn Qūlī and Shāh Dīwāna.[1] By celestial aid the dust of destruction was soon laid, and crowds of the rebels came and made submission.

One of the occurrences was the favouring of M. Koka, and the sending of him to the eastern provinces. When H.M. heard from his confidants in the harem that the Kokaltāsh was ashamed and repentant, he accepted his apologies and increased his dignity. He conferred on him the high rank of a commander of 5000. At this time the report of the zealous servants arrived. The fortifying of themselves, the evil conduct of their companions, the predominance of the foe, and requests for assistance were mentioned. H.M. gave his attention to the management of the army, and the Kokaltāsh begged for this service. "Perchance he might do good service and redeem his faults." His wish was granted, and on the 29th he was exalted by the title of Khān A'ẓim, and given leave to depart. Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Qāsim K., Mīrzāda 'Alī K., Ishqī K., Mukhtār Beg, Yūnān Beg, Sikandar Caknī, Ḥaidar Dost, Qādir 'Alī, Ustā Zakariya, Qambar Sahārī and others went with him. They were honoured by receiving khilats and horses. An order was issued that when the Kokaltāsh should join the army, the officers should act
309 according to his advice.

Also at this time Ḥakīm Abu-l-fāṭḥ came to court and represented in eloquent terms the confusion in Bengal, and the disaffection of the soldiers there. He also related how he had thrown himself out of the fort (of Tanda ?) and had travelled with blistered feet,

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1 See Badayūni, Lowe. The Iqbālnāma has Humāyun Qūlī and Shāh Muhammad Dīwāna.

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and had arrived at safety by the help of the holy influence (Akbar's). He represented that though Mīr M'uizzu-l-mulk had at first, from wickedness, joined the rebels, yet he had afterwards, out of foresight, separated from them. The strange thing was that at this time, when the predominance of the rebels was being broken, and the lights of fortune were increasing, this turbulent man was talking foolishly in Jaunpūr and was collecting the evilly-disposed. Maulānā Muḥammad Yezdī[1] was acting, shoulder to shoulder, with him in foolish talk and in strife-mongering. An order was given that Asad K. Turkamān[2] should hasten thither from Mānikpūr and bring the wicked ones to court. That loyal servant obeyed the order and arrested these men who were worthy of death. In the confines of Etawah the boat carrying the wicked men sank in the waves[3] of the Jumna, and the world was cleansed somewhat from the stain of the evil and crookedy-walking ones. An order was sent by Rām Cand, to the Khan A'ẓim that Mu'izzu-l-mulk's younger brother Mīr 'Alī Akbar should be sent to court in chains from Zamāniya. Though he had not joined the rebels, yet he continually, by messages and foolish utterances, fomented the rebellion. He behaved with disobedience and tricks to the Kokaltāsh. As the latter was acute and experienced, his (Mīr 'Alī's) wiles were not successful. Rām Cand and Ḥaidar Dost brought him to court. The king's kindness made him withhold his hand from capital punishment, and so he sent him to prison.[4]

One of the occurrences was the tearing away the mantle of deception of S. Qutb.[5] In Jalesar, which is a dependency of Agra,

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[1] Tabrīzī in text, but Yezdī, the variant, is right, and has the support of the I.O. MSS.

[2] Apparently this is the Asad Beg of Elliot VI, 150. He was in the service of Abul Faẓl. Asad K. was jāgīrdār of Mānikpūr, B. 382.

[3] A. F. seems to represent the affair as an accident, and in this he is followed by the Iqbālnāma. But Badayūnī roundly asserts, Lowe 285, that they were drowned by Akbar's orders near Fīrūzabād (24 m. E. Agra) in the Jumna. He says they were put into an old boat by themselves, i.e., separated from their guards, and that the boatmen were told to drown them. He adds that Qāẓī Y'aqūb met with the same fate shortly afterwards.

[4] Maāṣir III. 231. B. 383 says he was imprisoned for life, but this does not appear from the text.

[5] Evidently this is the S. Quṭbu-d-dīn of Badāyūnī, Lowe 308. Both he and Jamāl belonged to Jalesar.

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he had a hermitage of hypocrisy. He took advantage of the simple and spent his days in comfort. Suddenly, S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār fell into his snare. He thought his tricks were miracles and reported them at court. Inasmuch as H. M. is a seeker after excellence in man, he wished to see him. As the Incomparable Deity is his guardian, it occurred to him to send in the first instance some acute persons who could judge of the inner mind from outward actions, and could read hidden secrets on the tablet of the forehead. If the report was favourable he would visit his cell. If not, a large number
310 of men would be converted (from credulity); M. Khān and Ḥakīm Abul-fatḥ were appointed to this service. They ascertained that he was bad within and without, and reported to this effect. The world's lord tried him in a strict balance and sent him to prison that he might abstain from deceiving men, and that truth might not be associated with folly; S. Jamāl returned thanks and became circumspect again. That empty-handed one and seller of deceits became ashamed of his actions and set himself to amend his ways.

God be praised for that by virtue of H. M.'s knowledge of spiritual and physical mysteries many of the tricksters of the age and employers of fraud left off their evil ways, and became travellers to the pure inn of auspiciousness. They turned their faces from the prayer mat of hypocrisy to the dust of supplication, and departed from egotism to worship of the Truth. The great men of former times exerted themselves chiefly in cultivating the false and superficial; on account of the difficulty of the task, and their inability, they paid less attention to the patronizing of the spiritual smiters of lies. At the present day, by the glorious Divine knowledge of the Lord of enlightenment this difficult task also approaches to completion. The wise and just man knows that the spiritual and material

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Badayūnī 299 calls him a *majẕūbī ḫharābī* and B. takes the latter epithet to mean that he was a wicked man. Mr. Lowe, however, thinks it means that he was intoxicated with Divine love. Most probably B. is right, and the words seem best translated by a drunken enthusiast. If the maxim 'noscitur a sociis' be correct he was a drunkard, for his friend and fellow-townsman Jamāl was a noted toper. Quṭbu-d-dīn was the man who challenged the Padres to enter the fire, knowing, it is said by the Jesuits, that his offer would not be accepted. Badayūnī says Akbar sent him, out of jealousy, to Bakkar.

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adornment, and the inward and outward cultivation of so many crowds upon crowds did not suggest themselves to any man in former times, and that the various classes of men did not emerge from the arid desert of imitation to the city of inquiry. Formerly, speech came forth from the privy-chamber to the court of publicity in proportion to the intelligence of the person addressed (mukhaṭab). At the present day it appears in proportion to the understanding of the speaker. How admirably has my noble brother sung in his description of that world-seeing one!

Verse.

(He is) A light-handed bearer of the flagon,
A breaker of the goblets of infatuated rivals,
A cambist who tests the forgers,
An assayer of the hearts of the alloyed.
In wisdom and vision swift as the spheres,
Testing the Ka'aba and the church,
Seated on the masnad of greatness,
Breaking hundreds of idol-temples of hypocrisy.
Closer of the stalls of deception,
"Opener of the veil over earth, and elixir (i.e., the philosopher's stone).
On the throne he is content with poverty,
He joins silk to the blanket (of the dervish),
O'er the crown he spreads the sleeves (of the dervish),
On the throne he practises the Quadragesima.

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CHAPTER LII.

The Appointment of Sharīf K. to be Guardian of Prince Sulṭān Murād, etc.

(The first two pages of this chapter are taken up with a disquisition about education. There is nothing valuable or interesting in it beyond the use at p. 312, l. 4, of the curious word "*Babrīān*" which has been supposed to refer to Bābur, but which is really a Turkish word, properly spelt Bāirīān, and meaning "old servants." Sharīf K. received his appointment on 8 Amardād, 18 July 1580. See B. 383. He was a brother of Shāmsu-d-dīn Atgah K.)

313 One of the occurrences was the death of Shujā'at K.[1] At the time when the wicked men of the eastern districts were making disturbance, some loyal servants and experienced men were summoned from distant provinces, and an order was issued that the officers of Gujarat and Malwa should give up the expedition to the Deccan, and prepare themselves for service. Wajahī (?) Yasāwal set off to bring Shujā'at K., and he set out in the beginning of Tīr from Sārangpur to do homage. At the first stage the cup of his life was spilled, and the star of stability descended into the hollow of annihilation. 'Iwaẕ Beg Barlās, Muḥammad Qāsim, Hazāra Beg, Khusrū, Khudā Qulī, and many shameless and ungrateful servants plotted together, and made Ḥājī Shihābu-d-dīn their leader. They gave him a high-sounding name, and lay in ambush. At the end of the night most of the people started with their families and goods, and some marched on more quickly. The evil-doers made a disturbance, and there was a great outcry. His son Qawīm K. went out in search of news, and was killed. Shujā'at K. came out, and began to lament. He found that he himself was made a target and had to fly to his tent. On the way he received several wounds. There was

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[1] B 371. Lowe 292.

[2] The name is doubtful. Elliot V. 418 has Ḥasan Tawācī bāshī, but a MS. T. A. has Jai Tawāci bāshī. This is probably right (see text III. 307), the *wa* being a conjunction and not part of the name.

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still a breath of life in him when his faithful servants put him into a haudah (*'amārī*) and set off to Sārangpur. From prudence and tact they travelled in such a way that many thought he was alive, and some, from this idea, marched along with them. In a short time these rightly-acting persons took refuge in the fortress of the town. They gave out the good news of deliverance and beat high the drum of joy. The wicked went off into retirement. More wonderful still, in that unprotected plain, they did not lay hands on his family and household, and they reached the place of safety without molestation. Many of the ungrateful slaves of gold had thought that the affair was completed and had stretched out their hands for rapine. When the news of his being alive came, some took steps to protect property. The wicked grew frightened and took the road of obscurity. In a short time they were seized by the wrath of justice and received various kinds of punishment. The chief cause of the disturbance was the evil conduct of the servants (*quluqcīān*) and the harshness and unworthiness of the master. He withheld the payment[1] of the soldiers' wages without reason, and abused them in bad language. He did not show loyalty and right-thinking. How could the heart not be alienated under such circumstances, and the **314** rosebush of gratitude not lose its leaves?

When the news came to court, H.M. craved forgiveness for this traveller to the holy land, and set himself to arrange the province. He dispatched Sharīf K. to gather together the dispersed ones, and issued an order that his son Bāz Bahādur should come from Gujarat and assist, and directed that the other fief-holders should not depart from his counsels.

Also at this time Shahbāz K. came to court. He had been sent to chastise the presumptuous ones in the province of Ajmere. Owing to his energy and good service Rānā Pertāb became a desert-vagabond, and fell upon evil days. He thought every morning would be his last day, and blistered his feet with running about in

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[1] *Sirbārī mūājib bāz dāshta.* "He withheld the extra pay (of the soldiers)." An obscure passage in Badayūnī, text II. 285 top line, seems to refer to his rejection of a soldier's request. Probably *sirbāri* here means "extra pay" (batta?). It means an additional load, and is so used in text III. 273, l. 8, where *sirbārī-i-badgumānī* means "increase of suspicion."

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terror. He (Shāhbāz K.) also made a successful attack on the abode of Tejmāl Sesodiah. Many of the wicked were slain, and his houses were plundered. That neighbourhood was cleansed of wicked persons and made a military station. Great fear of him fell upon the ill-fated ones. When the dust of dissension rose high in the eastern districts, he was sent for in order that he might be dispatched thither. On 7 Tīr he did homage, and gathered material and spiritual advantages. About this time there came representations from the eastern army to the effect that in the absence of H.M. the settlement of the disturbances would take a long time. Though the prescient mind knew that this raw rebellion had not the leaven of stability, and that it did not require another army, and still less the presence of the royal standards, yet, to soothe the imperial servants, and from motives of caution, he ordered the dispatch of reinforcements. These left on the 15th. Bābūī Mankalī, Selīm K. Sarmūr, Qāsim Badakhshī, S. Adam, Naṣīb Turkamān, S. Kabīr, Ḥakīm Moẓaffar, 'Abdu-l-Qaddūs, Bahādur 'Alī and many others accompanied them and took with them large supplies of money.

315 One of the occurrences was the falling of the enemies' fleet into the hands of the brave men of the eastern army. The presumption of the enemy had increased on account of their numbers, of the fewness of the imperial soldiers, of their being shut up in a fort, and of the double-dealing of some of them. As the food for the besieged came by land and water, M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain and M'aṣūm K. went by way of Patna and seized the land-route. They also fitted out their fleet and meditated closing the other means of access. When news came that the boats were nine kos away from the evil crew, Ṣādiq K., Ulugh K., Naqīb K., Bāqir Safarcī and many other brave men hastened by land, while Rai Patr Dās was sent with some brave men by water. Mihtar K. and a body of men were taken across the river in order that they might march rapidly on that side. The skilful and active men moved rapidly, and got possession of nearly 300 boats full of the munitions of war. There was a great accession of strength to the imperialists, while the enemy had their heads knocked against the stone of destruction.

Also at this time Khwāja-Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī escaped from the rebels. When Moẓaffar K. was killed, M'aṣūm K. took the Khwāja into his own keeping on the suspicion that he had money. When

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he did not succeed by gentle means, he made him over to wicked, shameless men, and he was nearly dying under torture. By good luck 'Arab Bahādur, on account of old friendship, rose up, and took charge of him on the pretext that he would induce him to give up his accumulations. He took the chains off his feet, and set himself to soothe him. The Khwāja got his opportunity and escaped along with some others. He joined himself to Rajah Sangrām in Gorakpur. On account of the roads being closed, and there being little open country, he could not join the army, but he became a great cause of harassing the enemy. He continually attacked their convoys, and laid hold of their cattle when they came out to graze. In a short time Ḥasan 'Ali 'Arab, Āfāq Diwāna, M. Ḥusain Nīshāpūri, 'Alī Qulī, 'Azīz and many well-disposed persons, who had joined the enemy out of helplessness, waited upon the Khwāja. Nearly 1200 men collected together, and the assemblage of the enemy slackened, and there was some dispersion of them. Their prosperity suffered diminution.

One of the occurrences was the imprisonment of Shāh Manṣur Diwān. From his practice in accounts, and seeking after profit (for the government), he looked narrowly into the transactions of the army, and giving his attention to one side only of a Vizier's duties he pressed forward the rules of demand. He is a Vizier, who by acuteness and the strength of honesty preserves the revenue, and **316** also looks after the servants of God (i.e. Muḥammadans, or here probably men in general) and considers the mean between liberality and rigour,[1] and between severity and softness, to be the highway, and regards the living with friends and foes on the same terms, as the middle course of truth. He does not abandon what is suitable for the time and place, nor does he regard the collecting of gold as the finest of occupations, but lives with an open brow, a sweet tongue, a strong heart, a gracious soul, and a constant justice. He closes the eye of envy and opens the door of wide toleration. He shuts the shop of fastidiousness[2] and hard-bargaining and drives away from men dealings at a high tariff. Mayhap, by this noble course

[1] The text and the MSS. have *dād-u-dihish*, which generally means liberality, but I think that the true reading must be *dād-u-dahshat* "graciousness and awe," otherwise there is no antithesis.

[2] Text wrongly has *makashad* instead of *mashkal*. The sentence is

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the tribes of mankind may emerge from the market of loss and gain, and gather eternal bliss in the garden of devotion. Also the accountant (*mastaufī*) should have something else to do besides clerking,[1] and stirring up of strife, and collecting arrears, and increasing the revenue. He should remove interested motives and watch over the account-department. The Khwāja went out of his proper course and set himself to increase the revenue. Nor did he consider the disturbances of the time and the crisis of the age, but demanded payment of arrears. Rajah Todar Mal reported that the imperial servants were engaged in a hot war, and that the market of sacrifice of life (*sirbāzi*, lit. playing with one's head) was active. The government-officers were at such a time of contest acting without consideration or knowledge of the times, and had closed the purse of liberality and were demanding the payment of revenue[2] that had already been levied (?). What name could be given to this kind of presumption? And to what set could he belong who made demands out of reason? The just sovereign deprived him of employment and made him over to Shah Qulī K. Maḥram. He bestowed the high office of Vizier upon Wazīr K. The combatants in the eastern provinces bound anew the girdle of devotion on receipt of this great favour, and advanced the foot of courage. Many abandoned ingratitude and made submission. Would that they had also entered the pure spot of loyalty, and retired from soul-injuring wickedness and evil thoughts!

One of the occurrences was that Prince Daniel—the jewel of the throne of the Caliphate—was sent off to Ajmere. The[3] wise

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obscure and metaphorical. Badayūnī, Lowe, 287, tells us that Akbar was fond of using the word "shop" in an allegorical sense.

[1] Text *nek basīcī*, "good thoughts." But the I.O. MSS. and the context show that the true reading is *bitikcīgīrī*, from *bitīkcī* a Turkish word meaning a clerk. See J. II. 47.

[2] Perhaps this means that the officers alleged that the payment had been made to the wrong person. Cf. Elliot V. 419. where an abstract of Todar Mal's report is given. It is there said that Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī was appointed to assist Wazīr K.

[3] A. F.'s object is to explain why Akbar ceased to make his annual pilgrimage to Ajmere. He, therefore, tells us that there are two kinds of religious worship. One is, good deeds (works), and the other is ceremonials, the visiting of shrines and the like. As Akbar was a sovereign he practised both, but as at this time spiritual religion was on the increase,

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sovereign fashions and adorns, in the workshop of inquiry and enlightenment, the palace of dominion, according to two kinds of religious worship. Firstly, he, from enduring perception, bestows the glory of truth on the auspicious record of his deeds, and by the assistance of wisdom, which is the house-lord of this variegated dwelling (viz., the palace of dominion)—and the controller of the market-places of social intercourse—he holds his nature in check. In this kind of worship there is no topsy-turviness. But as the mastery of the transitory world has been made the veil over the leadership of the spiritual world, he also makes use of what the superficial regard as the worship of the incomparable Deity, and out of consideration for the feelings of contemporaries takes accounts of its defect and excess. For all his thought is how to preserve the simple from devious paths and wrong ideas, and to keep the 317
world clear from the mist of shortness of thought. The visiting the tombs of departed men of awakened heart he considers as an instance of such shallowness. If union with the spirit of the saint be the object, then nearness or remoteness does not matter. If the idea be to reverence worn-out dust then it is polytheism[1] and idolatry. At this time, when there was an increase of spiritual worshippers, and of the gatherers of truth, and those who saw into the substance of things had obtained vogue, and the short-sighted and superficial had put on the garb of true worship, the idea of the necessity of this kind of worship (visiting shrines, etc.) became erased from the mind of the world's lord. Moreover at this time there was no administrative work to be done in that quarter (Ajmere), and there were various things to be transacted at the capital. Of necessity he withdrew from his intention (of visiting Ajmere) and devoted his valuable time to what was fitting. But as that bounteous shrine (Ajmere) was an opportunity for displaying abundant liberality, and many indigent persons attained their wishes thereby, it occurred to his celestial mind that one of his

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and also he had many weighty matters to attend to, he desisted from going to Ajmere in person. Daniel seems to have timed his visit so as to be present at the anniversary of the saint's death, which according to J. III. 362 occurred on 6 Rajab. In this year (988) that date corresponded, or nearly so, to 4 Shahriyūr, i.e. middle of August.

[1] *Sharīk-m'abūdī*. See Hughes' Dict. Islam, 579.

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children should visit the place, and gratify the wishes of expectants. On 19 Amardād, about 30 July 1580, the luminary of fortune's heaven (Prince Daniel) was given leave to depart. S. Jamāl, Mādhū Singh, S. Faiẓī, Jamāl K. and other intimate courtiers went with him. On 4 Shahriyūr he distributed various properties, and a world ran over with gifts.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Ḥakīm-al-Mulk [1] to the Ḥijāz. His avaricious heart was tied to the world, and this idea did not occur to him. He was given leave as a retribution for his vacillations. The means he tried to avert it were unsuccessful, and he left on the 5th (Shahrīyūr, August 1580) with all his accumulations, looking backwards with the eye of regret.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the prince from Ajmere. He had reached that place quickly, and had scattered bounties. All the indigent reaped joy. On the 8th he did homage.

Also at this time one came to court who had no shape of ears and no orifice.[2] Yet he had heard perfectly what was said to him. Apparently, the melodists of the palace of fate communicate to mortals the glories of the dominion conjoined with eternity, and the wondrous, daily-increasing fortune quickens the audition of the earless ones of the Age!

One of the occurrences was the increase in the responsibility of I'tmād K. Gujrātī. H.M. always desired to reward him for his good

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[1] Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk, who is distinct from Ḥakīm 'Aīnu-l-Mulk, was from Gīlān and his name was Shamsu-d-dīn. Badayūnī has an account of him, III. 161, which has been copied into the Darbār Akbarī, p. 758. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, pp. 283, 293. He was given five lacs of rupees to distribute to the poor at Mecca. According to Badayūnī, Akbar asked Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk to come back, but he refused to do so, and died in Mecca. Probably the "vacillations" *laghzashhā* referred to by A. F. mean that at first Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk signed the famous document acknowledging Akbar as a Pope, and that afterwards he opposed A.F. He was distinguished as a physician, and is included in the list of physicians at p. 542 of Blochmann's Ain. He is also mentioned under the 26th year in the T. Akbarī.

[2] The T. A., Elliot V. 420, states that Akbar made the man a daily allowance. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 296, who connects the establishment of the "Dumb House" with this incident. It would appear from A.F.'s remarks that he refers specially to the man's hearing the words that Akbar addressed to him.

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behaviour at the first conquest of Gujarat. At this time, when inscription of auspiciousness and happy augury was read on the tablet of his forehead, H.M., the granter of desires, showed him favour, and gave him the Sarkār of Pattan in fief. The care of the **318** crown-lands in Gujarat was entrusted to him. Thirty elephants and one hundred horses were given to him when he was sent off, and Mīr Abū Turāb was sent with him as his counsellor.

One of the occurrences was the return of Yūsuf K. Cak to the government of Kashmīr. It has been described to what distress he had been reduced by the wickedness of the people of that country, and how he had, by the guidance of good fortune, come to the court of fortune. Saiyid Mubārak came to the throne by the plausibility and magical strains of sedition-mongers. Before two months had elapsed, evil and shameless men had consigned him to the cell of obscurity and had raised to power Lohar Cak the cousin of Yūsuf K. When he (Yūsuf) had done homage, he received various favours, and was given leave to go to Kashmīr. An order was issued that the Punjab officers should give him the convoy of a suitable army. The Kashmirians awoke from their sleep of neglect, and proceeded to adopt remedies. From fear of the victorious troops, they had recourse to entreaties. They impressed him with the thought of the evil that would be caused by the coming of the army and sent for him to come alone. Before the force had been arranged, and before communicating the secret, he went off quickly, and was received in Baramgala[1] by several of the noted men of the country. The new ruler got information of this, and appointed Shams Cak, Ḥaidar Cak, and many others to effect a deliverance. They came forward in battle-array. He (Yūsuf) did not see in himself the power of fighting, and left this road, and went off to Sonpūr.[2] Lohar Cak opposed him with some troops. As the flower of his army had gone off to the other place, Yūsuf K. took him at a disadvantage and on 28 Ābān, 8 November, 1580, crossed the Bihat (the Jhelam or Vitasta) and dispersed the opposing force without a

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[1] Paramkala in text.

[2] There is the variant Sūīpūr. The Iqbālnāma seems to have "the defile of Sūīpūr, *garwa-i-Suipūr*, but perhaps it is *garūwa sūīwār*" by the route of defiles. Apparently the place is Sopoor near the Wular lake. Ḥaidar Malik calls it Sonpūr.

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serious engagement. Lohar Cak fell into his hands. From foresight he deprived [1] him of the light of his eyes, and in consequence of the great help thus received, the water that had strayed [2] fell into its channel, and he attained the government of Kashmīr.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Candar Sen the son of Māldeo. Though this foolish wretch had had the bliss of kissing the threshold, he out of short-sightedness and perverse fate took to insubordination, as has already been related. He went off to the corner of obscurity in terror of the world-conquering army and waited for an opportunity of making a disturbance. Then he came out from the defiles, and stirred up strife in some of the estates of the province of Ajmere. An order was issued to Payinda Muḥammad K. Moghal, Saiyid Hāshim, Saiyid Qāsim, and other fief-holders of that neighbourhood that they should be alert and harmonious, and should inflict due punishment on that turbulent fellow. They
319 obeyed the order, and turned their faces towards executing the service. That ill-fated one confronted the army of fortune, and a severe engagament took place. He suffered thousands of losses and retired into the desert of failure.

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1 The Iqbālnāma enables us to make an important correction here. The text has ره نوردیده بگرفت *rah nawardīda bagirift*, but neither the Cawnpore ed. nor the two I.O. MSS. have the word *rah*, and it appears from the Iqbālnāma that Yūsuf blinded Lohar Cak—*mīl dar casm-i-ao kashīda*. The word then is *nūr-dida* and not *nawardīda*, and A.F. plays on the word *peshbīnī*, foresight. The account of Yūsuf Shāh's success is given at great length by Ḥaidar Malik. He mentions the blinding of Lohar Cak and two others.

2 The Lucknow ed. explains this as meaning that success came at a time of despair. But there is nothing in Ḥaidar Malik's account of the contest to support this view.

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CHAPTER LIII.

The Defeat of the Rebels in the Eastern Provinces.

From the time that they lay opposite to the victorious army, and had removed the veil and taken to crooked ways—as has already been related—the lovers of fame came out every day and with fortitude and bravery brightened the faces of joy. They laid the dust of the battlefield with the lustre of a fresh countenance. The audacious and futile had their honour spilled, and sate in the dust of shame in retribution for their evil thoughts. Though Tarsūn K., Rajah Todar Mal, Muḥibb 'Alī K., and M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī observed the rules of leadership, and did not sally forth, yet Ṣādiq K., S. Farīd, 'Ulugh K. and other energetic combatants brought new jewels to market, and the trade of the taking and giving of life went on briskly. The wise sovereign kept a watchful eye on the wonders of Divine providence, and sometimes from abundant love and graciousness had compassion on the ignorance and sufferings of those who had gone astray, and sometimes rendered thanks to God for the approaching retribution of the evil-doers and the progress of the right-thinking which his knowledge of mysteries had imparted to him. On account of his ruling the spiritual kingdom he often gave that crew the go-by, and without any change of purpose, did not give his mind to redress matters. But as the incomparable Deity had left to the shoulders of the genius of that unique one of creation the adornment of the outer world, he, of necessity, gave some attention to the laying the dust of disturbance. He sent one army after another under the command of firm loyalists, and also sent much money and so gave renewed strength to the hearts of the public. He constantly sent chosen servants of his court such as Peshrau K., Jamīl, Ṣāliḥ, Zainu-d-dīn,[1] and Tārā Chand, by relays of horses, and so increased

[1] Badayūnī 291, who says that Zainu-d-dīn was a relative of Shahbāz K., and that he brought a lac of rupees to Rajah Todar Mal. Tārā Cand is perhaps the son of the treasurer Bhagwān Dās.

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courage and activity. The water of the powerful Fortune cooled the ardour of the enemy, and the deluge of annihilation destroyed the cohesion of those headless and footless ones. During the two months that the wicked rebels came and sate round the fortress, their condition daily grew worse. Though the Khān A'ẓīm, Shahbāz K. and other officers did not arrive, yet the rebels were alarmed by the news of their coming, and their position ceased to be prosperous. The cautious and far-sighted, who had not decided for a pitched battle, determined to come out of the fort and bring the
320 jewel of bravery to the market, and to adorn the battlefield by deeds of valour. On hearing of this, the wicked and empty-headed rebels set themselves on 15 Amardād (25 July 1580) to take flight and went into the desert of vagabondage. Some of the victorious soldiers thought this was a stratagem to encourage them and induce them to come out. They were not aware that the rebels had lost their power, and were hastening away to put themselves in safety before the arrival of the imperial troops. Though the far-sighted ones of the camp knew the real facts, yet, out of caution, they did not put their foot outside. Next day, after much discussion, they came out of their entrenchments. Muḥibb 'Alī K., Mihr 'Alī K. and other brave combatants formed the vanguard. From want of knowledge, and from circumspection, they moved forward in an irresolute manner (with two minds). At length, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, who was in the hill country, and was seeking for a means of joining, as has already been mentioned, arrived with 1200 horse, and represented the confusion of the enemy. The miserable plight of the foe became patent to the whole army, and another kind[1] of apprehension occurred to them. In spite of abundance of evil thoughts, the small amount of feeling, and the active bazaar of double-facedness, the heavenly aid brightened their countenances. When the brilliancy[2] and the victoriousness of the imperial officers, and of the pious servants came to the august hearing, he returned thanks to God and joined devotion with joy.

Now that the narration has come thus far, it is necessary that

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[1] Presumably that the enemy would not stand.

[2] The word *bahrūzī* بهروزي, which is not in the dictionaries, occurs again here. See above, p. 250, and below, p. 331.

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the pen should write something about the condition of Bengal, and that the book of instruction for the seekers after enlightenment should be completed.

Events of that Country.

When the work of the makers of counterfeit had been tested, and their unjust balances had been detected, the ill-fated ones regarded the depth of their fall as the height of their ascension. Some of them stayed in the country and ended in eternal ruin, and many hastened to the damaging field of battle, as has been related. Qīyā K.[1] in Orissa, Murād K. in Fatḥābād, and M. Nijāt K. in Satgāon, had the words of good service on their tongues, but they made not a single step from the wide expanse of talk to the pure spot of action. Before the veil of his honour was rent, Murād K.[2] died a natural death. Mukund, the landholder of that part of the country, invited his sons as his guests, and put them to death, and laid hold of his estate. Qīyā K.'s days ended in failure, for they mixed[3] the poisonous herbs of annihilation with the draught of life. The landholders of that country got the upper hand. Qatlū marched against M. Nijāt, who made an unsuccessful fight in Selīmābād and fled to the protection of Partāb Bār[4] Firingī. Time instructed the double-faced ones by punishment, and suitable retribution. About this time Bābāī Qāqshāl was smitten with a sore disease, but in spite of his dangerous condition he sent Hamzabān to help (*bar sū*) M. Nijāt. He heard in midway of the success of **321** Qatlū and hastened thither. Near Mangalkot[5] he had an engagement with Qatlū. He was defeated, and with blistered feet departed

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1 A sentence very similar to this occurs at p. 291. Nijat or Niyābat K., as we learn from the T. M'aṣūmi, Malet 135, had been married to Nāhīd Begam's daughter, but was separated from her. She afterwards married M. Bāqī of Sind and was killed.

2 B. 374 and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 229.

3 It appears from the Iqbālnāma that he was poisoned. But this does not agree with the account given at p. 341 of text. But it does agree with A. F.'s language here. Perhaps both Qīyā Khāns were in Orissa, viz. Qīyā K. Gang and Qīyā K. Ḥasan. See B. 343 and 464.

4 If this is Tavares, he must have left Akbar's service. See. B. 440, n. 1. The Iqbālnāma calls him Tāb Bār.

5 A town N. E. Bardwan. B. 440.

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to the desert of ruin. Bābā prepared for revenge, and Qatlū came forward with plausible speeches and wiles. As the stewards of fate bring one misfortune after another on those who are disloyal to eternal dominion, the illness of that ringleader of sedition, and capital of the family of turbulence, ended in the incurable pain of cancer.[1] Every day they put two *sirs* of flesh into the wound to feed the maggots (*jānwarān*). When he had awakened somewhat from the long sleep of neglect and infatuation he said constantly, "My wickedness and faithlessness to my salt have brought me to this wretched state." When the Bihar rebels heard of his mortal disease, they dispersed. M. Sharafu-d-dīn Ḥusain and Jabbārī and some evil-doers went to Bengal. M'aṣūm K. Kabulī and a set of ill-fated ones went under the guidance of the zamindar of Gidhaur to Bihar. 'Arab Bahādur and Nūram, the son of Tarkhān, and some others, applied themselves to brigandage. Soon their reputation was spilt by the might of Fortune. Caudhrī[2] Kishna was conveying treasure for the assistance of the prosperous (the imperialists). 'Arab, Nūram and others hurried off to plunder it, but he (Kishna) skilfully hastened on and arrived at the fort of Patna. They invested the fort, Bahādur[3] K. defended it loyally. At this time, when the officers were praying for victory, and were proceeding slowly in pursuit of the enemy, they got this news, and left the route of M'aṣūm K. and went off to Patna. They agreed that the main army should proceed, stage by stage, according to proper rules, while some active men should press forward. M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī begged for this service. As Rajah Todar Mal was distressed by his evil thoughts he granted him leave, but from farsight he appointed Muḥibb 'Alī K. and Mihr 'Alī K. to follow him with some loyal troops. At a time when the rebels had taken the outworks[4] of the fort, and the position of the garrison had become

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[1] *Khūrah.* Cancer in the face, B. 369 n. 1, qu. lupus, or leprosy? A.F. describes it as if it were the morbus pedicularis.

[2] Caudhrī was a name apparently for those in charge of the mints. The I.O. MSS. have kishta. This agrees with the Iqbālnāma which has "Kishta Mangāl, one of the trusty treasurers (Khazancīān) of the king." He was conveying the money from the court.

[3] B. 495.

[4] The text has *nakhastan qil'a* without any iẕāfat. I have taken the phrase to mean the outworks.

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critical, the above-named arrived and opened the hand of valour. The rebels made some resistance and were defeated, and by the Divine protection, no harm came to the forts or the treasure. Though M'aṣūm K. had done good service, yet without the approval of the imperial servants he cherished evil thoughts and went off to Jaunpur. On the way he took Ḥājīpūr from the servants of Bahādur.[1] On the day when fortune was adverse, and the victorious army was hotly engaged, that evil-doer had come out of Tirhut and seized many places. From that time Sarkār Ḥājīpūr was in his possession.

But perhaps the meaning is they had nearly taken the fort.

[1] This must be the Bahādur son of Badakhshī, who set up as a king in Tirhut. The I.O. MSS. have no conjunction before the words "on that day" *ānrūz*, though the text has *wa ānrūz*. I suppose that Bahādur's taking of Ḥājīpūr refers to some earlier period. See the author of Iqbālnāma's remarks about Bahādur at end of his abridgment of this chapter. Near the same place he mentions that the name of 'Āsī was given to M'aṣūm Kabulī by Akbar, and that he shall henceforth call him by that name. It appears from Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, etc., that Todar Mal caused the dispersion of the rebels by inducing the zamindars to refuse their supplies.

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CHAPTER LIV.

322 M'aṣūm K. Kabulī makes a night attack, and is defeated.

At the time when the disturbance caused by 'Arab Bahādur was put down, the victorious army departed from Serāi[1] Rānī to Bihar in order to settle the affair of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī, and to clear the garden of the land of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion. Owing to the continual occurrence of clouds and rain it halted on the bank of the Pun-pun. When the weather moderated, it proceeded onward on the road of service. The rebel came out of Bihār and proceeded towards the foot[2] of the northern hill country. On 15 Mihr (end of September 1580) the army reached the town of Gaya. At dawn the enemy left that place and halted at the flourishing city[3] of Bahīra. Next day the imperialists marched four kos and encamped. On account of the great amount of water the arrangements for encamp-

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[1] This must be the Rānī Serai of Tiefenthaler I. 420. He says it is six kos (miles) from the town of Bihār and also six kos from the south bank of the Ganges. It must then be to the N. of Bihār.

[2] *Ba damana-i-kohistān-i-shimālī.* By the northern hill-country is meant hills south of Gaya and in Hazārībāgh, etc. This is shown by the 'Ain text I. 416, J. II. 149, where the breadth of the province of Bihār from North to South is stated as extending from Tirhut to the northern hill country, *shimālī kohsār.* M'aṣūm had gone off from before Monghyr to the South and West of Bihār under the guidance of the Rajah of Gīdhaur, text, p. 321. But he was unable to maintain his ground against Todar Mal and so was marching southwards towards Hazārībāgh. The imperialists pursued him, and did this somewhat too hastily and carelessly for he turned back upon them near Shergotty(?) and made a night attack in which he was nearly successful.

[3] *M'amūra-i-shahr Bahīra.* There does not seem to be any place of this name at the present day. But I conjecture that it is Shergotty, the name of which is properly "Shahr ghātī," a large and well-known place at the foot of the ghats or mountain-passes leading from the Highlands of Chutia Nāgpūr to the plain of Bihār. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, I. 169. In the Ain it is called Ghātī Bihar (not Ghātisār as in J.). It may, however, be Pahra or Kātī Bahra, both of which places are entered in J. II. 154.

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ing were not carried out. The impetuosity of the combatants, and the paucity of the enemy led many into neglect. That sedition-monger was two farsangs off. Though rumours of his evil designs were current, and experienced and alert men spoke about keeping the soldiers in order, they were not successful. But Rajah Todar Mal in his quarters and Ṣādiq 'Alī in his, did not lose the thread of foresight, and remained ready for battle. That night was the watch of Ulugh[1] K. Ḥabshī and his force. The leader slept on the bed of negligence, and sent his somnolent servants to be watchful! The enemy who had lost courage, recovered it on seeing the ill-timed cautiousness of the imperialists, and their slow-marching, and set themselves to make a disturbance. As they did not find in themselves the power to fight by day, they thought of behaving like owls and of making an attack in the darkness of night. When a watch of the night had passed, they attacked with a large force. They defeated the neglectful vanguard, and Māh Beg and some Abyssinians were slain. Their presumption increased, and they laid hands on the imperial camp, and the deluge of turbulence reached the quarters of Ṣādiq K. He stood firm and behaved bravely; the heroes who loved their reputation devoted their lives.

Verse.

I'll not call them two armies, but two mountains of Qāf.
They stood drawn up in the arena.
So hot was the engagement
That steel swords made the rocks soft.

At this time when things were in the balance, and loss showed its face from afar, Kamāl K. faujdār brought up two elephants swift as the wind, and imparted lustre to the battle. The evil-doers fell into confusion, and the breeze of victory began to blow on the rosebush of the hopes of the good servants. The roses of the battlefield bloomed from being watered by the cheerful of countenance. Great deeds were done by the courageous, and by the sky-high elephants. Every arrow that reached the elephants was **323** regarded by them as an incitement to activity and increased their spirit. They cast down with their trunks the enemy's horsemen.

[1] B. 437. See Badayūnī, Lowe 292, and Elliot V. 418.

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Eighty-two arrows stuck in one elephant, and fifty-five in another. Many of the imperial servants were wounded, but owing to the Divine protection none were fatally injured. By the help of heaven a great victory revealed its countenance. If the narrowness of their energy had been a little widened, and they had followed up their victory, this would have been the last revolution of the heavens for the enemy. But the country was full of water, and their enterprise was at a low level, and the roads were full of jungle. The victorious troops were on their guard till morning. When the sun took possession of the earth, they came out of camp and halted near the city of Bahīra, and though they knew that the enemy was three *kos* off, they did not pursue them.

One of the occurrences was that the Khān 'Āzim joined the army. Inasmuch as the incomparable Deity increases the fortune of the world's lord, the great rebellion had subsided before the armies effected a junction. The daily increase of dominion was impressed on high and low. The cause of the delay in the arrival of the Kokaltāsh was that when he crossed at Causa, he was detained by the rebellion of Dalpat Ujjainiya. His short-sighted companions represented his power in exaggerated terms, and he listened to them and set himself to punish that presumptuous one. About the same time Shahbāz K. arrived, and the Khān 'Āẓīm also kept him back, and represented to him the necessity for punishing the landholder. As the celestial superintendents were engaged in displaying [1] the wonders of daily-increasing fortune, the plannin s of the imperial servants were not happy, and the effects of their energies were stayed by the performance of this part of their work. Jagdespūr, the seat of the rebel, was plundered. The forests which also contained miry places were a help to the rebels. The imperialists halted there, and tested their valour in daily engagements. Meanwhile babblers caused a dissension between the Khān 'Āẓim and Shahbāz K. and the light of concord became dark. The Kokaltāsh withdrew his

[1] The meaning is that heaven was showing the wondrous good fortune of Akbar by allowing his servants to make mistakes and yet producing eventual success. Dalpat was the successor of Gajpatī. Apparently he was Gajpatī's uncle. He is reckoned as the 74th Ujjainiah chief, Gajpatī being the 73rd, Dalpat, or Dalpatī, or Dulīp Shah is said to have been Rajah from 1577 to 1601. See B. 513 and n.

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hand from the work, and went off towards the army, on the 18th, i.e. the day after the night-attack, he joined the camp, and a fresh lustre was given to affairs.

One of the occurrences was the death of S'aādat 'Alī K. 'Arab Bahādur and some rebels marched against Shahbāz K. The officers out of caution sent S'aādat 'Alī K., Qamar K., Payīnda and Rustam with auxiliary troops. On their arrival, the rebels dispersed. **324** Shahbāz K. placed troops here and there for the protection of the country, and he assigned the fort of Kant,[1] which is a dependency of Rohtās, to S'aādat 'Alī K., Payīnda, Rustam and the landholder Rūp Narain. 'Arab and Dalpat had their opportunity and made an attack. A great engagement took place. Though they could not guard the fort, they guarded their honour and staked their short lives in a worthy manner. Though S'aādat 'Alī K. had, at the beginning of the rebellion, been a kindler of strife, yet he spent his last breath in loyalty. 'Arab, from his depraved disposition, drank some of his blood. He stained his forehead with some of it, and gave new lustre to villainy.

One of the occurrences was the departure of many rebels from the province of Bihar. When the Khān 'Āẓim joined the army of fortune there was great rejoicing. The evil-doers relinquished the idea of battle and hastened off in failure to Bengal, though, owing to the evil thoughts of some, they were not pursued, nor was an expedition made into Bengal, so that the ingrates might have had their wings and feathers burnt off and have received the retribution due to their deeds. But proper steps were taken for the reducing Bihar into order, and there was profound peace in that territory. On the[2] 20th Muḥibb 'Alī K. was sent off and the country was made over to his watchfulness from Shahr Bahīra to Rohtās. Saiyid Moẓaffar and Mīr M'aṣūm[3] of Bhakar and other servants accom-

[1] So in text. But apparently it is the Kot of the Ain J. II. 157 which is described as having a stone (*sangīn*) fort. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 181, thinks that Kot must be the "well-known hillfort of Bijaygarh on a high platform overlooking the Sone." It is up-stream from Rohtās, fifty miles S Benares and nine from the Sone, and is in the Mirzapūr district. It is the fort which was occupied for a time by Chait-Singh.

[2] The I.O. MSS. support the variant "the 8th," in which case presumably Ābān is meant.

[3] The well-known historian and writer of inscriptions. B. 514.

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panied him. On that day the army halted in Gaya, in the neighbourhood of Rajgarha. Dost Muḥammad[1] Bābā Dost—who from his evil fate had colluded with the rebels—became, by a happy star, ashamed and repented, and joined with 200 men. When the victorious army came near Ghīāṣpūr, the news arrived that 'Arab had been defeated by Shahbāz K. and was going to the province of Sārangpūr,[2] and that he was oppressing the weak. Accordingly Shāham K. and a number of men who had fiefs in that part were sent off in order to inflict punishment on him. Ghāzi K. Badakhshī was left with a body of troops in Bihar.[3] When a report came of the seditiousness of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, Tarson K. was sent off to Jaunpur. Ṣādiq K., S. Farīd Bokhārī, Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Ṭaiyib K. and others were sent off to Monghyr in order to clear that country of rebels, and to give peace to the peasantry. The Khān 'Āẓim, Rajah Todar Mal and others proceeded to Patna and Ḥājīpūr. At this time Shahbāz K., before the officers joined
325 him, set up a shop of his own. As he had chastised Dalpat and 'Arab, and had taken Ḥājīpūr by force from the servants of Bahādur, he became self-conceited and presumptuous. When M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī went to Jaunpur, Bahādur had shown activity and taken possession of it (Ḥājīpūr). If his common-sense had not been injured he should have joined the imperial servants and acted in concert with them. By working together they would have carried matters through. Success, which in the pure soul brings with it humility and supplication, had the contrary effect on him, and led him to commit the acts of an enemy. The first thing was that he made some delay in surrendering Ḥājīpūr, which had been assigned from the sublime court to the Kokaltāsh. He was induced to give it up by the tact and skill of Rajah Todar Mal. The Khān 'Āẓim and the Rajah took up their quarters in Ḥājīpūr, and Shahbāz K. stayed in Patna. The former spent their time in trouble (*sirgirānī*) and in using blandishments[4] (*'ashūfaroshī*), while that newly-

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that he had formerly been the *vakīl* of Mun'im K.

[2] The I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have not the termination *pūr*, but only Sarang. Is Sārangarh in Sambhalpur meant, or is it Sāran?

[3] The city of Bihar, says the Iqbālnāma.

[4] I suppose this refers to attempts to soothe Shahbāz. Or it may mean

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infatuated one employed himself in adorning his shop[1] and in managing matters. From his increasing dignities and giving of fiefs, many of the officers turned towards him. The Khān 'Āẓim was disgusted with everything (withdrew his heart from everything) and the Rajah postponed[2] everything. The whole of the affairs of the province devolved upon Shahbāz K. Though right-thinking persons intervened, in no way could the thread of unity be duplicated,[3] or the path of conciliation trodden. Though they represented that by the wondrous working of fate, the imperial troops had been divided into two portions, and had indulged their own wishes and not taken the path of concord and that the indispensable thing now was that one portion should take upon itself the charge of Bengal, and another the guarding of Bihar up to the capital, yet inasmuch as self-interest had let fall a veil over the eyes of truth-seeking, and broad and right-thinking was hidden, the remarks had no effect The Khān 'Āẓīm and the Rajah and some officers went off to Tirhut. Though the pretext was that they wished to put down Bahādur, but in reality they sought to get away from Shahbāz K. When they had gone a little way, they sent Ghāzī K. in advance. The rebel (Bahādur) made ready for battle, and was defeated, and his home and family were captured. Shāhbāz K. went off with a large army to Jaunpūr. Though he too was moved by a desire for separation, and for being free from daily discussions, yet he gave out that he wished to guide M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to service.

One of the occurrences was the dying of Sharafud-dīn Husain M. Though the leaders of the victorious army were self-willed, the wondrous fortune (of Akbar) still displayed her countenance. When

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that they did nothing, but only practised amiable speeches.

1 This metaphor about keeping a shop and setting off the wares to the best advantage was a favourite with Akbar and A. F.

2 Lit. threw things into the foundation or into the reserve (*ṭarḥ*).

3 A. F.'s language here is tortuous and his metaphors obscure. Apparently, the phrase *rishta-i-īkjahatī dotāī nagirift* means that the thread of singleness of action and concord could not be made of two strands, i.e. Shahbāz, and the K. 'Āẓim and the Rajah. And this, although it was suggested to them that circumstances favoured them, by allowing them independence of action, for there were two distinct fields for their energies, viz. Bengal and Bihar.

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M'aṣūm K. Kābulī fled to Bengal, dissension broke out between him and the Mīrzā, and each lay in ambush for the other. The Mīrzā
326 became haughty on account of abundant plunder, and of the pressure of flatterers (lit. dog-flies). That fox (M'aṣūm) had recourse to deception and blandishments, and by craft contrived to poison him. The Mīrzā had an Indian boy named Maḥmūd whom, from a regard to externals, and ignorance of human nature, he loved. M'aṣūm corrupted him by money, and he mixed poison with the Mīrzā's opium (*khashkhāsh*). In a short time he died and his contemporaries were quit of his troubling.

One of the occurrences was the death of Dastam K.[1] In the previous year he had been sent to put down the disaffected, and to support the oppressed in the province of Ajmere, and he had performed the task with zeal and devotion. At this time, Ucla the son of Bhalbhadr, Mohan, Sūr Dās and Tilūksī, the brother's sons of Rajah Bihārī Mal, came thither from the Panjab without permission, and stirred up strife in the town of Lūnī,[2] which was their home. That excellent (*farohīda*) man out of respect for the Kachwāhas tried the effect of advice. Inasmuch as a rough file is of use for an unfinished article (*angāra*) and a smooth one for a polished surface,

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[1] See B. 398. Bayazīd Biyāt calls 99*b* Dastam or Dostam's (B. 620) mother Tūkhta, and tells how Akbar on one occasion borrowed a needle from her to take thorns out of his feet.

[2] B. has an elaborate note about the sites mentioned by A. F., p. 398, n. 1. There is a Lūnī entered in the Ain as belonging to Sarkār Delhi, J. II, p. 288, but I suppose it cannot be the place alluded to here. Ranthanbor is now in Jaipūr. There is a Bolī entered in Sarkār Ranthanbor, J. II. 274, which B. supposes to be the Lūnī of text. There is a Sherpūr marked on the Govt. map of Jaipūr, between the Banās and the Cambal. These are the variants for Lūnī of Lūlī and Nūlī. I think it is almost certain that B. is right in identifying Lūnī and Bolī. The latter, besides being mentioned in the Ain, is referred to in Bābar's statement of the revenues of India, where we have Sarkār Ranthanbor including Bolī, etc. See Erskine's Hist. of India, I. 274. The place where the fight took place is called in text Thorī, but the Iqbālnāma has Bhorī, and this seems to be the correct reading, for we have Bhorī Bhara in J. II. 274 and Bhorī Pahārī in *id.* 102. It would seem from Akbar's remark that Dastam and he met when the latter was only three years old, and presumably, therefore, when Akbar was with his uncles in Kabul or Qandahar.

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gentleness and conciliation did not suit those turbulent ones, but increased their wickedness, and put a new head to their refractoriness. At this time Ādam Tājband brought an order from court that Dastam K. should bring them into the road (of submission) by warnings and threats, and that if they did not accept these, he was to punish them. He did not make plans and acted hastily. Without collecting soldiers he hastened to their abode. On 10 Ābān he fell in with the enemy in the village of Thorī and engaged them. Mohan Dās, Sūr Dās, and Tilūksī attacked the vanguard, which was commanded by Miskīn 'Alī. He fell from his horse, but got up and fought bravely. Dastam K. on perceiving this sent forward most of his companions. There was a hot engagement. Mohan Dās and Sūr Dās were killed, and Tilūksī fell in another part of the field. Ucla, who was the ringleader, took refuge in a field of millet (*jawār*) and was watching his opportunity. Suddenly he came out of his ambush, and calling out "Dastam Khān," came to the battlefield. He turned to fight, and did not regard the fewness of his men. The scoundrel inflicted a severe wound on him with a spear, and Dastam, in spite of the dangerous wound, killed him with his sword, and himself fell senseless on the ground. Just then some of his men came up and set him upon his horse. As the engagement was hot, he said nothing about his injury, but encouraged his men. They addressed themselves to the fight and slew many. The rest of the **327** enemy fled, and the houses of the rebels were plundered. By the blessing of daily-increasing fortune a great victory was gained. When the fight was done they halted near the same place. Next day at the time of return he died in the town of Sherpūr. He yielded up his life in good service and with the beauty of loyalty and bravery, and, by the spilling of a short life, acquired an eternal name. The world's lord lamented for a while, but from his lordship of the spiritual world he moved to the garden of resignation. By various acts of kindness and by cordial words he soothed somewhat the agitated mind of his mother and said, "From the beginning of the springtide of my existence I spent (only) three years without him, but with that exception he held a place in the ante-chamber of favour. He did his work and understood my position (or perhaps men's dispositions). All are aware that secluded, chaste one has spent many years without him. It appears that his loss is harder

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for us,[1] and that it is she who should minister comfort to me." He spoke many choice words. May the incomparable Deity preserve him on the throne and make him successful spiritually and temporally. He bestowed many favours on the survivors of the deceased, and the sorrowful had a new joy. He sent M. Khān to manage the country and bestowed Rantanbhor on him as a fief. He hung many jewels of counsel on the ears of his reason.

Also at this time Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr was distinguished by the royal favour. It has been mentioned why he had been removed from the Viziership and sent to the prison of schooling. As it appeared that in the writing of accounts and demanding of arrears there was no fault of the Khwāja's except the thought of increasing the revenue and a failure to recognize the circumstances of the time, he was again exalted to that high office, and the jewel of his understanding was polished by good counsels.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Vizier (Wazīr) K. to Oudh. As that province was without a great officer, H. M. ordered that the peasantry and soldiers should be succoured. He went off in the end of the month, and many choice servants and soldiers accompanied him.

One of the occurrences was that Niyābat K. received punishment. That base man was the son of Mīr Hāshim of Nīshāpūr, and had the
328 name of 'Arab. He had been brought up from an early age in the service of the world's lord, and been exalted by great confidence. For some time he managed the crown-lands. The accountants brought a charge of arrears against him, and the slave of gold preferred disobedience to service, and by his own acts fell into eternal ruin. He made long the arm of sedition and besieged the town of Kara. Ilyās K. Lankā[2] with a few servants of Ism'aīl Qulī K. fought a battle, and bravely drank the last draught. Many could not believe in his shamelessness, and some rejoiced in it. On hearing of this, H. M. sent off, on 3 Āẕar, Isma'īl Qūlī K. 'Abdulmaṭṭalib, S. Jamāl, Bakhtiyār and other loyal servants. Wazīr K. and the other officers of the province were ordered to act with concord and activity, and to inflict retribution on him. When the

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[1] Text has *bar ao*, but I.O. MSS. and Cawnpore edition have *bar mā*.

[2] Perhaps Langā.

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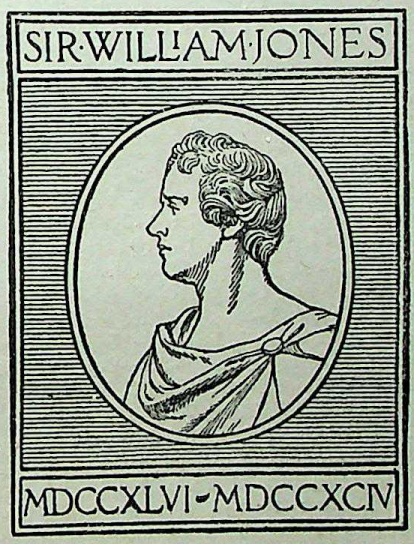

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army approached, and opened the hand of superior strength, that futile fellow strengthened some of the forts and went off to Arail. Wazīr K. and some brave men addressed himself to the taking of it, and in the first place proceeded to take Ilahābās (Allahabad). Ism'aīl Qūlī K. and others followed up Niyābat K., and near the river of Kantīt,[1] Muṭṭalib K. and S. Jamāl arrived before the others and adorned the field of battle. From every side brave men met together, and bought with their lives the valuable goods of honour. Friends and foes praised each other's strength of arm.

Verse.

First with arrows from both sides
They made a single hair into a hundred strands.
When they wearied of the cuirass-splitting arrow
They drew their swords from the sheaths.

The victorious army was nearly suffering loss. Suddenly Ism'aīl Qūlī K. arrived with some brave and experienced men and the fire-temple of battle was rekindled. By the help of God, matters were changed and victory ensued. Many of the enemy were killed, and that turbulent one trod the desert of failure, and sate in the corner of disgrace. Various kinds of plunder were obtained, and his houses were soon seized.

One of the occurrences was (the display of) the physical might of the world's lord. He had ordered that every day distinguished[2] wrestlers should contend in his presence. This gave pleasure to many who were present at the public audiences. One day Jag Sobhā and Haibat Tahamtan contended, and astonished the spectators. Haibat, who was strong, abandoned the rules of wrestling and in a **329**

[1] The text has Kasht, and Badayunī has Gasht, a dependency of Patna, Lowe 298. But as B. has pointed out, 425, n. 2, Gasht is a mistake for Kantīt in Allahabad Sarkār, J. II. 161, and Patna for Pannah. The river "āb" of Kantīt must be the Ganges. The mistake also occurs in Elliot V. 420. Badayūni says Niyābat dismounted Jamāl Bakhtiyār and then spared his life. After his defeat Niyābat went off to Oudh to M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. Kantīt is entered under Sarkār Ilāhābās in J. II. 161. For Karā or Karrah, often called Corah, see I. G. XIV. 416. It is 42 miles N. W. Allahabad.

[2] See the chapters about pahlwāns or wrestlers in B. 253.

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demon-like fashion applied his strength, and tore off the fingers of his antagonist. Inasmuch as the administration of punishment rests in the first instance on the holy personality of kings, the world's lord put his fist into the face of that misbehaver. By the might of the shadow of the hand of God that gigantic form fell senseless like a weakling. The powerful of body were amazed, and the superficial had their attention directed to realities.

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CHAPTER LV.

The tearing of the veil of reverence by M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, and his soilure in the dusthole of failure.

It has been stated that that wretch separated, in his presumption, from the army of fortune, and kicked against fortune. He came to Jaunpūr and occupied himself in evil thoughts. Fly-like beings and slaves of gold gathered round the poisoned honey. Though for a long time past sedition had been oozing out from his behaviour, and he used to make evil speeches, yet, on this day when the disturbance caused by the rebels in Bengal and Bihar had subsided, and their power had been scattered, and when it was time for him to weave a screen over his evil deeds, he, from innate wickedness, and a demoniacal disposition, totally severed the woof and warp of shame, and seated himself in the melancholy abode of misfortune! Sound reason is withdrawn from those for whom the time of retribution has arrived, and their eyes of warning become dim. The counsels of the time do not give them clearness of vision: they think loss is gain, and proper what is bad! The circumstances of that turbulent man illustrate this view. The increasing of eternal fortune (Akbar's) and the losses of the rebels, together with the report of the coming to the Panjab of Ḥakīm M. and the design of H. M. to proceed thither, called forth his ingratitude and presumption from the straits of his bosom to the open ground of demonstration. He forcibly took Jaunpūr from the servants of Tarson K. For a long time his misconduct was not credited at Court. How could a head on which so much bounty had been shed, be the bearer of so much unpleasantness? And how could a brain which had received so much truth be filled with the smoke of delusion? But when fortune is darkened, the lamp of wisdom grows cold, and safety is sought in nothingness, and repose in loss. Obligations of old standing are placed in the privy chamber of oblivion. The weight of desires, and the levity of wrath, cast the man headlong 330
into the dark ravine of failure.

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Verse.

Wherever lust sets a firm foot
The pleasant place of life is disordered,
When desire is firmly fixed in the heart
Fidelity's foundation remains not in her place.

When successive instances of his wickedness had occurred, the noble graciousness of H.M. decided that some prudent men should be sent to bring him to the station of bliss, so that he might either join the army, or turn the face of supplication towards the court. But advice only increased his madness, and his excuses became materials for strifemongering. Inasmuch as it is the rule of H.M. to walk circumspectly, an order was issued that if M'aṣūm could not bring himself to do either of those two things, he should withdraw from Jaunpūr and proceed to Oudh, and regard it as his fief and look after it. That evil-starred one thought he was saved, and hastened off to that province. In appearance he obeyed the order, in reality he got an opportunity for accumulating the materials of disturbance. Though the imperial servants reported some of his misdeeds, they were not listened to on account of its being the market-day of graciousness! Shagūna Qarāwal and some intimates were sent to inquire into his condition, for many well-meaning persons have become objects of suspicion on account of the negligence of rulers and the malignity and self-seeking of their servants, and been ruined in their reputation and their lives. They (the servants) have made the matter a means of selling their own goods and so have developed another market.

The envoys, owing to their small wisdom and great covetousness, represented the wicked seller of wiles as loyal and serviceable and said that he was in some unsteadiness on account of the untrue reports, but that if one or two magnanimous courtiers were sent to him and soothed him, he would come to court and produce thousands of the goods of submissiveness. The world's lord from his noble nature credited these representations and sent off on this service Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Rajah Bīrbar. When they arrived in the neighbourhood, they, from foresight, sent a conciliatory letter, conveying the news of H.M.'s graciousness. That man, whose fate was somnolent, came out from behind the screen of respect, and

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used improper language. Perceiving that the affair was past remedy, they returned. Before they reached the court Shahbāz K. arrived with the army of fortune and laid the dust of sedition. The presumptuous one became a vagabond in the desert of defeat. Every one to whom the Incomparable Deity grants reason-increasing auspiciousness obtains long life and happiness, and those who wish ill to his fortune are stained with the dust of failure. Whoever peruses ancient records, or holds reasonable converse with the guar- 331
dians of speech—who adorn the library of the heart—perceives this. Or he can do so by opening the eye of enlightenment and studying with a fair mind a portion of the record of the World's Lord. A fresh example is afforded by the circumstances of the overthrow of this man of turbulent brain. Owing to the disappearance of the department of skill, and the absence of any enlightened intermediary, the abundance of sedition-mongering sophists, the friendship of flatterers, and the fault-finding with others, there was no banquet of concord among the officers of the victorious army. Why should I say this? There was not even any tact, which is indispensable in the social state. The prosperity of the imperial servants was without any such regulating principle! The Khān Ā'ẓim and Rajah Todar Mal went off to Tirhut, and Shāhbāz K. hastened to Jaunpūr. The conquest of Bengal and the chastisement of the rebels became hidden under the veil of delay. Owing to daily-increasing Fortune, that which might have been a matter of loss to prestige became the material of increased victory (bahrūzī) and auspiciousness. When Shāhbāz K. reached the town of Bihīya[1] the news came that 'Arab Bahādur had been defeated by Tarson K.'s men and was in that neighbourhood, and was oppressing the weak. Some active men were sent and they inflicted suitable punishment on him. From thence he went to Jagdespūr and set himself to punish the refractory in that quarter. At this time it became certain that M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī had gone wrong, and that Niyābat K. and 'Arab were backing him. Of necessity he hasted to Oudh, and sent a wise

[1] There is a variant, but probably Bihīya is right. It is in the Shahabad district and now a railway station. Shahbāz might pass through Bihīya on his way from Patna to Jaunpūr if he kept to the south side of the Ganges.

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letter (to M'aṣūm) along with an acute man. Its purport was that he should arrest 'Arab, Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna, and go with them to court, or go himself in advance so that the veil over his actions might not be discarded and that his evil actions might be turned into good ones. Inasmuch as the lamp of his wisdom had grown cold, and his fortune had gone to sleep, he regarded the counsel as fiction, and increased his folly. He sent his family and household across the Sarū (the Sarjū) to a difficult country, and prepared for war, in company with distracted Turks.[1] Shāhbāz K. prepared for battle. He himself was in the centre, Tarson K. was on the right wing, Mihtar K., Pahār K., Saiyid Ābdullah K. and Qamar K. were on the left. Mihr 'Alī K. Sildoz, Jīwan K. Koka, Mīr Abul Qāsim, and Mīr Abul M'aāli took front rank in the van. Mufākhar Muḥammad and some experienced soldiers formed the reserve. The sagacious enemy chose a difficult ground. 'Arab commanded the right wing, Shāh Dānā and 'Ābdī the left wing. M. Qulī Toqbāī and a party of ill-
332 fated ones were in the van. Niyābat K. had his place in the *altamsh*. He himself (M'aṣūm) remained in ambush.

On 13 Bahman (22nd January 1581) when a watch of the day had passed an engagement took place near Sulṭānpūr[2] Bilahrī, 25 kos from Awadh (the city of, i.e. Ajodya or Faiẓābād).

(*Quatrain*)

The van of the victorious army pushed forward, and the *altamsh* supported it, and the enemy was defeated. M. Qulī stepped towards the abode of annihilation, and carried off his life to the lodging of dishonour. The combatants of the right wing, also, by great efforts, drove off the foe. At this time M'aṣūm K. approached the centre (Shahbāz's) and stirred up the dust of battle. Shahbāz K. lost heart, and took the road of flight. On receiving this news the right wing and the van turned back. By the wondrous work of the adorners of fortune (i.e. Akbar's mystic helpers) a cry arose

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[1] There is the variant buzurgān and it is supported by I. O. 236. M.S. 235 has zarbandagān. It is not likely that Turkān is right.

[2] Bilahrī and Sultānpūr are mentioned separately in J. II. 174. B. in Errata corrects his Bilkarī to Bilahrī. See Oudh Gazetteer III. 428. Bilahrī is now known as Barausna. The old pargana of Sultānpūr is divided by the Gumtī into S. Barausna and S. Mīranpūr.

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that M'aṣūm K. had been killed, and the enemy's opportunity was dissipated. When that brainless one (M'aṣūm) had gone some distance he came (back) to the field of battle. He could see no trace of his men and sank into the depths of bewilderment. Suddenly an army appeared, drawn up in battle array. The confused man thought it was his own troops and joyfully proceeded towards them. He found that it was the left wing of the victorious army. His bewilderment and despair increased. The beginning of the battle had taken place on low ground, full of trees. When the enemy[1] had been routed, the troops proceeded to plunder their camp. The Bacgotī clan who were attached to that body (the left imperial wing) also joined in the plundering. Like a flood they swept away the quarters of the foundationless wretches. The plunderers[1] had come to the field of battle when that rebel came there. Though his comrades represented to him that those men (the left wing) were not aware of the condition of Shahbaz K., and that the suitable thing was to pause a little, as when the facts were known, they would disperse of themselves; he did not listen to them and proceeded to attack. He was unsuccessful, and returned wounded. He drew rein on some high ground, which really was low (past, i.e. base). Though the field had been gained by the strenuous servants of fortune, yet they had not the energy to take a few steps and seize the loitered. That ill-fated one recited the verse of despair and went to his camp. As he could see no sign of it, he was overwhelmed with grief. With a darkened mind and in wretched plight externally, he went off to Awadh. The victorious left wing heard of the rest of the troops having[2] given way and encamped at Akbarpūr[3] twelve *kos* from Awadh. They sent swift messengers to convey the news of victory to Shahbāz 333
K. and the other leaders. Shahbāz K. in his alarm had drawn rein

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1 *Ghanāīm*. I take this word to refer to the imperial troops who had just plundered M'aṣūm's camp. The author of the Iqbālnāma seems to have so understood it for he has *baghanaim nā maḥṣūr*, with boundless plunder.

2 *dil bāī dādan*. This is the phrase which occurs in Vol. II, p. 53.

3 In the Faizabad district. See I.G.V. 180. It is E. N. E. Sulṭanpūr. See "Oude Gazetteer," I. 14 and 15. It seems to have been founded by Akbar and had a bridge which was apparently built in 976 (1568-69) under the supervision of Muḥammad Muḥsin.

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at Jaunpur thirty *kos* from the field of battle. The right wing and the van halted in Surhirpūr twelve *kos* from the battle-field. It was solely by H.M.'s good fortune that such a great defeat[1] fell upon the enemy. As the leader of the victorious army was exalted by the world's wine, such a crop-sickness of sorrow fell upon him. On the 21st the celestial news reached H.M and he returned thanks to God. The worthy servants were rewarded by divers favours. There was abundant collyrium for the eye of the heart, and the clearness of vision acquired fresh lustre.

One of the occurrences was the Shāhinshāh's giving special attention to Divine matters. No time passed without his taking into consideration the world of bliss, or without his giving a penetrating glance to the acts of the ancients. The whole of his noble energies was directed towards the subsidence of the turbulence of schisms, and to the removal of the mists of contest. In the holy temple of his head—which is an explanation of the Divine privy chamber—he was grieved by the varieties of religions, and he was in search of what was pleasing to God. He stepped aside from the untruthfulness of the religion-splitting deceivers and hypocrites. The heart and tongue of this Unique of the world of creation always sang this strain of supplication.

Verse.

O God, show the way of approach to Thee,
Show one glory of that heart-entrancing beauty,
Write on the heart the letters worthy to be read,
Show us the picture worthy to be seen.

On the 25th he removed the veil from many secluded verities and brought out the truth to the hall of manifestation, and said with his wondrous tongue, "If this repose should be effected, and

[1] A. F.'s account of the battle is confused and he does not, like the T. A. and Badayūnī, ascribe the victory to Tarson Muḥammad. He makes him command the right wing, but it is to the left wing that he ascribes the victory. Cf. Elliot V. 421 and Badayūnī, Lowe 298. B. 400 has Shahbāz fighting all the way to Jaunpūr, but I think that the word fighting is a clerical error, and that B. wrote "flying." Neither A.F. nor the Maaṣir says anything about Shahbāz fighting his way up to Jaunpūr.

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it should be impressed on all that the doing the will of God was an indispensable duty, how could sufficient thanksgiving be paid therefore? Where is the strength to give praise for this? But in accordance with the saying of the wise of old." 'If all cannot be effected, all should not be abandoned,' it occurs to us that we and all those around us can do one thing in proportion to our strength, and can regard that as the material of bliss. Therefore it appears to us that as our ancestors made a twelve years' cycle, in every year, one good action may be performed. (1) In the[1] Sicqān year, mice should not be injured. (2) In the Ud year, endeavours should be made to strengthen oxen and they should be presented to cultivators. (3) In the Pārs year, one should refrain from capturing leopards, and from hunting with them (4) In the Tawishqān year, one should refrain from eating or hunting hares. (5) In the Loiy year, one should adopt 334
the same practice with regard to fish. (6) In the Yīlān year, one should not injure serpents. (7) In the Yūnt year, horses should not be killed or eaten, and presents should be made of them. (8) In the Qūī year, the same with regard to sheep. (9) In the Mūcūn[2] year, apes should not be hunted, and those caught should be set free. (10) In the Takhāqū year, cocks should not be killed, nor used in fighting. (11) In the Yīt year, dogs should not be employed in hunting, and attention should be paid to the nurturing of this faithful animal, especially the friendless ones of the streets. (12) In the Tangūz year, hogs should not be injured. Likewise, some good work after this fashion should be done in every month of the lunar year.

(1) Muḥarram. Living creatures should not be killed. (2) Ṣafr. Prisoners should be set free. (3) Rabī-al-awwal. Thirty selected needy persons should be given presents. (4) Rabī-'al-akhir. The bodily elements should be kept cleansed, and pleasures not be indulged in. (5) Jamādī-al-awwal. One should not adorn oneself in gorgeous raiment nor in woven silk. (6) Jamādī-al-ākhir. One should not use leather. (7) Rajab. One should according to his

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[1] A.F. gives an account of the Turkī era in the Ain. J. II. 20. In the Persian text of the Ain I. 273 the names of the years are spelt, letter by letter.

[2] So in text, but a mistake: the true reading is either Bīj or Bīch as in Lucknow ed., or Maimūn.

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ability help forty persons of his own age. (8) Sh'abān. Every day one should put away oppression by oneself or by others. (9) Ramẓān One should feed and clothe thirty indigent persons. (10) Shawwāl. One should repeat 1000 times every day the names of the Creator. (11) Ẕīq'ada. One should watch the first night, and every day one should make presents to and cherish some persons of another Faith than his own. (12) Ẕīḥajj. Thirty useful buildings should be erected. Continually, such good practices should be kept up according to years and months." The farsighted and intelligent person well knows that these institutions of the world's lord are intended for the tribes of mankind who have left the way of bliss and are sunk in the pit of formalism and evil ways. His world protectiveness keenly feels this desire. As for the ocean of enlightenment and treasure-house of wisdom, he, as regards the sovereignty of the outer world and the Caliphate of the spiritual universe, holds a continual darbār in the temple of wisdom.

Verse.

O God, do Thou exalt this enlightened King,
The exalter of diadem and throne.
Build his throne on the top of the sky,
Do what he and his fortune desire.

One of the occurrences was the death of Bahādur Baskī.[1] He was at the head of the rebels of Bengal. In the province of Bihar he, in league with Jān Muḥammad Bihsūdī and some reprobates, practised tyranny. When the mist of dissension (lit. two colours) arose among the officers, and the march of the victorious army to Bengal was postponed, Ṣādiq K. and some gallant men took their stand in the neighbourhood of Monghyr. Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Bābūī Manklī, Abā Bikr, and Bāqir Anṣāri went to Bhagalpur, and spread out the carpet of neglect. Those ill-fated ones (Bahādur and his companions) became bold and attacked them, and they were unable to resist and returned to Monghyr. Ṣādiq K. sent some alert and

[1] The text has بسکی. I.O. MS. 236 has *paskī*. There is the variant Khweshgī. This is not the son of S'aīd Badakhshī. He did not die till the 26th year when he was executed by Akbar. See text 374. I believe the word to be Bangī, a chewer of bháng. One MS. has *bangī*.

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experienced men to give them battle. By good fortune, Bahādur, **335** who was the ringleader, was killed, while the other rebels fled to Bengal. The pleasant land of Bihar was swept and cleansed of weeds and rubbish. The mandrake[1] grew up instead of the thorn, and the season of joy became active.

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[1] *mardam giyā*. The plant is supposed to resemble a man, and possibly the word is here used metaphorically for man. Cf. Isaiah lv. 13. The mandrake is also called mihrgiyā, and is regarded as an aphrodisiac.

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CHAPTER LVI.

Expedition to the Punjab, and the failure and return of Ḥakīm M. to Kabul.

Assuredly the stewards of the privy chamber of fate impel him who is of wide capacity, and great kindness, and who is possessed of great power together with right thinking, to leave to the Deity the amendment of the evil and seditious. If the latter are of a good nature they recall them from their wickedness and send them to make supplications at the Court of the world's lord. Otherwise they confound their evil wishes and deliver them over to failure. The case of this young man of disturbed brain illustrates this. Although reports of his misfeasance reached the ears of H.M. he did not address himself to punish him. He used to say to his servants, "He is a memorial[1] of H.M. Jahānbānī. A son can be acquired but how can a brother be obtained?" He from drunkenness and the intoxication of youth was inflamed of mind, and nourished the thought of contending against God-given dominion. He did not know that a great fire could not be put out by a little water, and that the medicine for a scratch cannot be the plaster for an old gangrene. At the time when the rebels in the eastern provinces were stirring up the dust of dissension, as has already been described, though the imperial servants urged an expedition to that quarter, this did not find acceptance. The reason why it did not obtain assent was because it had flashed upon the holy heart that that evil-wisher would stir up strife in the Panjab. So it turned out, and mortals obtained collyrium for their vision. The Mīrzā desired in the previous year to make confusion in the tranquil land of India. M. Sulaimān diverted him to Badakhshān, and his success there increased his audacity. The idle talk of the rebels of the
336 eastern provinces added to this In the middle of Āẕar (December 1580), he sent a body of troops under the command of Ḥājī Nūru-

[1] See J. III. 383, where this remark is repeated.

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d-dīn, and the latter crossed the Indus. M. Yūsuf K. the fiefholder in that country sent an army under the command of Ḥasan Beg. S'aīd K. Gakkar and some strenuous men joined this force. As owing to the rapidity of movement a large army had not arrived, it was thought that battle would be given after some days. But who can restrain the augmenters of fortune? In a short time a battle took place, and the enemy was defeated. When the imperial army was about to encamp, a herd of deer suddenly appeared, and Ḥasan Beg was seized by a love of sport. He shot one with an arrow and hastened after it with some companions. On the other side, the fates had stirred up the leader of the other army to come out to see the spectacle. Ḥasan Beg and Ḥājī Nūru-d-dīn encountered one another, and by good fortune the latter was wounded and put to flight. All at once the disturbance ceased. Some of the ill-fated ones were captured, and many lost their lives in the river. The leaven of the rebellious ones was chilled [1] in the neighbourhood of Peshawar and became extinct. He was one of the base wretches of Ḥiṣār. For a time he had behaved ungratefully to the court of Muḥammad Ḥusain [2] M., and when the latter died, he, by a thousand efforts, flung himself among the evil-thinkers of Kabul and acquired some measure of trust.

Though the warlike servants received the reward of their good conduct, yet as it was clear that M. Yūsuf [3] K. did not use foresight and prudence in the management of the frontier: he was removed, and the administration of the neighbourhood of the Indus was made over to Kuar Mān Singh. He marched from Sīālkot to manage the country, and from foresight and skill he sent some troops in advance under the charge of Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī. At Rāwalpindi he heard of the arrival of Shādmān on the bank of the Indus. He quickly proceeded to engage him. A battle took place, and by the strength of H. M.'s fortune the enemy was punished. When the Mīrzā heard of the catastrophe of Nūru-d-dīn it did not awaken him from his

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[1] *gazak shuda.* Gazak means a relish to wine, and also the turning cold of a wound. I presume the latter is the meaning here.

[2] Son of Sulṭan Ḥusain M. the governor of Qandahar and nephew of Ṭahmāsp. Muḥammad Ḥusain went to Persia and was put to death by Ism'aīl II. See Maaṣir III. 246.

[3] Apparently this is the Yūsuf K. who was afterwards thought fit to govern Kashmīr. B. 346.

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somnolence, and he dispatched Shādmān, whom he regarded as the sword of his army, with a large force. On 6 Dai that presumptuous one crossed the Indus and proceeded to besiege the fort of Nīlāb.[1] Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī and other servants of Kuar Mān Singh exerted themselves to defend it. When the Kuar arrived, he made over the van to Alū Khān Kachwāha and the *altamsh* to his own brother Sūraj Singh. The enemy was in the slumber of neglect. They were aroused by the sound of the kettledrums and sought to engage. On the 12th the battlefield was adorned. The lovers of honour and
337 enemies of their lives strove with one another in a marvellous manner. By the strength of daily-increasing fortune the breeze of victory began to blow. It appears that in the hand-to-hand combats which test men, Rājah Sūraj Singh discomfited the enemy's leader (Shādmān), who was wounded and had to tread with blistered feet the desert of failure. He died in the neighbourhood. He was the son of Sulaimān Beg of Andijān, and his grandfather was Loqmān Beg, who was an honoured servant of H.M. Firdūs Makānī. His mother had watched over the Mīrzā's cradle, and he himself had grown up with the Mīrzā. From his bravery, and success in war, he was highly regarded among the Afghan tribe. On hearing the news, H.M. returned thanks to God, and said to those around him, "It appears that our expedition to the province of the Punjab is near at hand. Though the celestial executants have done our work without our exertions, and are doing it, yet we know that the management of affairs is the helping of God. When the Mīrzā hears of the death of Shādmān, he will, without delay, come to India. The right thing for the time is to take steps for the expedition of the officers of sovereignty." From foresight and knowledge of affairs he sent forward Rai Rai Singh, Jagannāth, Rajah Gopāl and other loyal officers. An order was also given to the officers of the Indus that if the Mīrzā should proceed to cross the river, they were not to oppose him and to put off an engagement. By the guidance of the Divine kindness, the standards of fortune would shortly cast the shadow of justice on that country. As it had flashed

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[1] Elphinstone in his account of Cabul I. 147 says Neelaub is a town fifteen miles below Attock. It is mentioned in J. II. 325 as a place in the Sind Sagar Dūāb.

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upon the heart conjoined with heaven, so did it shine forth. On 14 Bahman news reached the royal hearing of the coming of the Mīrzā to the Punjab. The astrologers, under H.M.'s directions, held a meeting to determine the auspicious moment. H.M. paid some attention to the arrangement of the affairs of the capital. And in order that he might keep a watch over the eastern provinces, he stated that for the repose of the kingdom he would leave the pearl of the crown, Sulṭān Selīm, with some high officers, and would go himself to the Punjab. The prince begged through H.H. Miriam-Makānī that he might accompany H.M. The sovereign granted his request and appointed to that high office Sulṭān Daniel. He appointed Sulṭān Khwāja, Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram, S. Ibrāhīm and many others to serve the prince. On the 28th corresponding to Monday, 2 Muḥarram 989, 6th February 1581, at an hour which able astrologers approved of, he set off for that province. Fortune accompanied his rein, and victory his stirrup. The star of success shone, and the whiteness of the morning of dominion came out.

(*Verses.*) 338

The far-seeing ones of the court gave him the news of victory. The takers of omens who knew the stars made inquiries of the heavens. From caution and foresight the places of the combatants were determined, and the warlike equipments were made ready. The baton-holders (i.e. guards)[1] of Thursday and Friday took their places under the shadow of the august standards. The officers of Saturday and Wednesday were on the right wing, and those of Monday and Tuesday were on the left. The warriors of Sunday were in the van. At the beginning of this expedition, news came of a fresh victory and gave joy and repose to the superficial and to the spiritually illuminated.

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[1] This means that they were in the centre. The passage may be compared with that at the end of Ain 17 of the 1st Book, B. 48, but the arrangement is different. See also B. 115. The word for guards is *kishkdārān*. According to B. 115 it would appear that 15 was the strength of each guard.

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CHAPTER LVII.

VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS, AND THE VAGABONDAGE IN THE DESERT OF FAILURE OF M'AṢŪM K. FARANKHŪDĪ.

Shahbāz K. was by his success and his failure awakened from the dream of self-admiration, and proceeded on with skill and activity. He took the right road, and was soon ready for battle. The wicked ingrate, whose time for prudence and shame had come, fell into a profound slumber, and set about gathering his forces. He spent in ingratitude the accumulated treasures of this enduring dominion. He sent for his household and the men whom he had sent into places difficult of access. His idea was that he was promoting the cohesion of men, while those who knew, let their lips run over with laughter because he was seeking the means of destroying his reputation. The warriors of fortune formed into line and proceeded against the enemy. That shameless and turbulent one also came out of his quarters. In the centre Jajhār K. Khāṣa Khel brought to the market the substance of wickedness. 'Arab had the right wing of those who had lost their honour. Niyābat K. swaggered in the left wing. Shāh Dāna was in the van of failure. M'aṣūm himself was in the reserve and was accumulating the materials for his own destruction. On 24 Bahman (2nd February 1581) the brave and fortunate soldiers decked the battlefield seven *kos*
339 from the town of Awadh. The wretch prepared stratagems, and delayed in advancing. Most were of opinion that on that day there would not be a fight. The army which was aided by heaven set about intrenching themselves. Just then that wily one, whose fortune was somnolent, came forward in quest of battle. The heroes rapidly turned their attention to combat. First, the van charged with mountain-like elephants and drove off the enemy's van. The enemy's right wing pressed against the imperial left wing, but at last was nearly being defeated by the firmness of the imperialists, when their courage was reinvigorated by their reserve. By the jugglery of fate things were nearly becoming serious for the victors

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(the imperialists), when the van and the *altamsh* came up after driving off their opponents. By the help of God the rebels disgraced themselves and fled. The imperial right wing also prevailed over the enemy's left, and cleared the field of that evil crew. Some noted elephants who in the previous battle had fallen into the hands of the enemy, turned round and did good service, and contributed to the victory. By the wondrous working of fate, the lamps of joy were lighted up eleven[1] days after the first battle, and he who was ruined in faith and fortune retreated in confusion to Awadh. All his possessions—which formed the element of his intoxication—fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and most of those who had gone astray received enlightenment and took the path of bliss, and turned aside from the defiles of ingratitude. Shahbāz K. thought his victory a great boon and did not stir half a step from the field of battle. Either he had not the courage, or prudence suggested this course. Either there was not time, or the foolish fancies of cowards prevailed. Owing to this inopportune halting the disheartened enemy escaped, and the termination of affairs was somewhat postponed. M'aṣūm after a thousand distresses reached his home. Though he wished to lay his hand on his heart, which was in a thousand pieces, and to draw his foot within the skirt of patience, he did not find in himself the necessary resolution. Suddenly he heard a false report about Shahbāz K. and he came a little to himself. Apparently some active men of the victorious army had plundered a suburb of the city and turned back. 'Arab came with a few men, and engaged them, and some of the imperialists were killed. Fly-like persons spread the report that Shahbāz K. was among them. The wicked one came forward on hearing this news and soon found that it was a mistake. He set himself to watch the inside and outside of the city, and to make safe the towers and walls. As his star was con- **340** sumed, his designs continually failed, and whatever he thought would be good became injurious. For instance, he placed a gun on the top of the gate and made it ready. Owing to the wrath of God,

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[1] The text has fifteen, but as the first battle was fought on 13th Bahman and the second on the 24th id. *panzdaham* must be a mistake for *yāzdaham*, as is very often the case. The English date is 2nd February 1581.

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as soon[1] as it was fired off the roof (of the gateway) split and so conveyed the news of failure. The deceitful mercenaries dispersed, and M'aṣūm fell into evil case. His comrades were ready to fly, and the might of the world-conquering army continually increased. He had not the strength to come out of that wall of misfortune. Nor could he remain in those defiles of difficulty. On account of his numerous family he did not sever[2] the thread of association (did not die ?). At this crisis 'Arab and Niyābat K. and Shāh Dāna—who were the mainstay of his infatuation—separated themselves. They shod[3] their horses backwards and went off by cross roads. That man who was deserving of vagabondage (M'aṣūm) left his household and his accumulations of many years and fled. When he had gone some way he chose to separate from the double-faced ones who accompanied him and set off with seven companions. They all disguised themselves by shaving[4] off the hair on their faces, etc., and he departed like a madman to obscurity and ruin. At the time of failure the zamindar of Gawāric[5] joined them, and out of old acquaintance took him to his house. By pretended friendship, and by humouring their folly, he took from them what money and goods they possessed, and then sacrificing the maintenance of old obligations to brigandage,[6] he dismissed them. M'aṣūm sometimes rode himself, and sometimes mounted his son. He crossed the Sarū (the Gogra or Sarjū) in a wretched condition. Rajah Mān, the landholder of that part of the country, took him to his house, and helped him. Shahbāz K. heard of this and held out threats and promises to induce

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[1] *Bām dirham shikast.* The Iqbālnāma has bām-i-darwāza, so that apparently *bām* does not mean the roof of the gun.

[2] Presumably this means that he did not commit suicide.

[3] نعل و اژون بربسته ره چلپا (چلیپا) در نوشتند

Probably the expression is used metaphorically.

[4] *cār zarb shuda.* Cf. text 307 and translation, p. 574, of vol. I. The Iqbālnama has *qalandar wār* "like Calendars."

[5] Text کورج. But apparently it is the Gawārca of J. II. 174 and Ain text I. 435. The word is Gawāric. It is a pargana in the Gonda district. See *Oude Gazetteer.*

[6] *qazzāqī.* But this is not the word in the I.O. MSS. Apparently the true reading is افتراقي (or it may be firāqī) iftarāqī "separation" and the meaning is "giving a sorry ending to old obligations." The Iqbālnāma says he kept him 2 or 3 days.

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him to deliver up M'aṣūm or to kill him. He refused,[1] but secretly consigned him to vagabondage, giving him some companions under pretext of their being guides. On account of the jewels which, it was supposed, he possessed, he arranged to have him killed. M'aṣūm read on their foreheads what was intended, and corrupted them by gold, and made wide steps to the abode of obscurity. On the day after the victory Shahbāz K. entered the city of Awadh and the whole of his family, etc. fell into his hands. One hundred and fifty elephants were captured, and everything that M'aṣūm possessed, whether of physical goods or of honour, was plundered. An instructive lesson was given to mankind, and the evil consequences of ingratitude were again impressed on the heart of the age. The news was communicated in the neighbourhood of the capital, and the far-seeing ones of the court regarded it as the presage of other victories. H. M. offered up thanksgivings to God and exalted the loyal servants by great favours From abundant kindness he ordered that Shahbāz K. should preserve the family of the rebel, for what crime had these weak and secluded ones done in this insurrection ? **341**

It was reported that M'aṣūm would convey himself by the skirts of the northern mountains to the rebellious Kābulīs. Out of caution Qulīj K. was sent off with some active men to that neighbourhood. On 10 Isfandarmaẓ Delhi was distinguished by H. M.'s advent, and the shrines of the saints were illuminated by his intercessions. Hitherto the advance camp had not preceded by more than four *kos*. It was now ordered that it should precede by not less than six *kos*. On the 12th the royal standards cast their shade on the town of Sonpat (28m. N.W. Delhi). Qulīj K. came back from his expedition and did homage. The vagabondage and wretchedness of the turbulent-brained one (M'aṣūm) were confirmed.

One of the occurrences was that the cup of the life of Qiyā K. Kang (or Gang) became full. From the time that the pleasant land of Bengal became stained with rebellion, he with some brave and loyal men was passing his days in Orissa. Though he had not the ability to calm the disturbance, yet he kept that country free from

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1 *ba rāh-i-inkār shitāft.* "He hastened along the path of denial." Apparently the meaning is that he only ostensibly refused, but in reality meditated the putting him to death.

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the dust of opposition. At the time when it became denuded of the imperial troops, Qutlū K. with a large force showed fight and gained the upper hand. Qiyā K. brought together warlike materials and took refuge in a fort. On account of the length of the war, and the desertion of his comrades, he fell into distress. At last he, together with some heroes who loved their honour, made a good fight and gathered an eternal good name.[1]

On the 17th[2] H.M. encamped near Thānessar. As he pays little regard to himself and always seeks the company of the servants of God he visited the cell of S. Jalāl, who had spent his life in the worship of God, and whom men regarded as a saint. The Shaikh made his supplications according to the measure of his knowledge and represented, "At this day our wishes are bound up in the assistance of the truthful throne-occupant. For his pleasure, the heavens revolve." He implored his blessing and begged for a statement of truths. The world's Lord made some acute remarks and solved some difficulties. He (Akbar) discoursed eloquently. Many heart-impressing words illuminated the holy temple of the dervish. At a hint from H.M. the author of this noble volume asked the Shaikh, saying, "You have spent a long life, and have enjoyed the society of the good. Can you tell of a cure for melancholy?" And have you obtained a remedy for a heart distracted by opposing desires?
342 At first he answered by tears, and then he recited this verse.

Verse.[3]

Oh, for sweet content, Oh, Oh!
It has closed to pride the path of both worlds!

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[1] There were two Qiyā K.—Qiyā Gang, and Qiyā Ṣāḥib Ḥasan. It seems that Qiyā and his companions sallied forth, and as the Iqbālnāma expresses it, bought everlasting glory with the coin of life.

[2] The 17th Isfandarmaz, 28 February 1581.

[3] I am not sure if I have understood the verse correctly, and if the saint wished to extol resignation or renunciation (istighnā) or to regret it. The interjection "Ah" occurs thrice and seems to be intended to express sorrow. However the lines may mean, "Hail contentment, for has closed the path of ambition for both worlds." There is an account of the Shaikh in Badayūnī, Lowe 322, and in III. 3. He says he was the successor of S. 'Abdu-l-qaddūs Gangohī, and that he attained the age of 93. He died in 989 (1582). See also J. III. 374 where there is an account of

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One of the occurrences was the death of Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr the Diwan. Alexander Zu-al-qarnīn was accustomed to say to his special intimates, "Boon companions and jesters are of one class. Their business is nothing but to promote mirth by means of witticisms and wonderful stories, without regard to their truth. They replenish with oil the lamp of enjoyment, and by effective hits enhance pleasure, and trick out the bride of delight in every limb (*ba har haft*, lit. with all seven. See Vullers II, 1458[b]). The class of the pillars of the court, who are, as it were, the hand and arms, is different. All their business is to arrange for ministering to the dissensions of the world, and curing the aged, old, and stricken ones of the Age. They utter things which may heal the distractions of the time and may compose what is confused and so tranquillize the world. They make joy allied with security, and if purchasers be not at hand, they meditate remedies in silence and right thinking. Every evil which occurs to the palace of dominion is chiefly occasioned by those two classes leaving their proper work." He also continually said to his officers, "Whoever, with the idea of flattering us, leaves the highway of truth, and lets drop the reins of right consideration, and promotes our prosperity by harsh dealings with the soldiers and subjects, and who seeks by improper means, and incorrect statements, to increase the treasures of dominion will assuredly cause the stewards of destiny to turn our hearts from him, and will receive condign punishment." The case of the Khwāja is a fresh instance of this. From love of office and cupidity he was always laying hold of trifles in financial matters, and dis-

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'Abdu-l-qaddūs, and B. 538 where the Shaikh is called Jalālu-d dīn. See also the Khazīna-al Aṣfiyā, vol. I, p. 440, where it is stated that the saint died at the age of 95 on 14 Zi-ḥajja 989 (9 January 1582). He was originally from Balkh and belonged to the Cistī order. See also the Safina-al-auliya of Dārā Shikoh ed. Newal Kishore, p. 101. It is curious that Dārā says nothing about his great-grandfather's visit to the Shaikh. The Iqbālnāma tells the story and helps us towards understanding it. It says that A.F. asked the Shaikh, at the end of the interview, what was the remedy for the pain of search (dardṭalab) and the near way to the attainment of desires; the Shaikh wept and then repeated the lines. The Iqbālnāma adds that the Shaikh was respected by all, that for eighty years he read the whole of the Qoran every day, and that he never went out of his cell.

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playing harshness. Sympathy with debtors (?) never touched the hem of his heart. His whole idea was to fill his own house. He advanced his business by fair speeches while behaving badly. All at once he fell into an evil state and sank into the pit of annihilation. He did not know that wrong-doing is not permanent, and that a lamp is not brightened by the application of water. Before this, some *pārwānas* (orders) in the handwriting of M. Ḥakīm's munshī were found among the effects of Shādmān, who had been killed. Kuar Mān Singh sent these to court. One of them was addressed to the Khwāja, and its purport was that petitions of unanimity and well-wishing were increasing the estimation (of the Mīrzā for the Khwāja). Shortly proceedings would be taken to recognize them. The tolerant sovereign regarded those papers as the work of forgers, and did not show them to the Khwāja. In the
343 neighbourhood of Sonpat, Malik Ṣānī,[1] an old servant of the Mīrzā, came to court with his family, and it was reported that they (i.e. the Mīrzā) had sent him in order that he might make a pretence of indignation, and act as a spy,[2] and also win over the hearts of the simple, and increase the activity of the wicked. From foresight and caution—which constitute the strength of the arm of power, and give might to the hand of fortune—he (Khwāja Manṣūr) was suspended. On that day many one-sided expressions of the Khwāja came to light, and the dust of uneasiness rose high. Fortune aided in stirring up strife, and the times were critical. He was called into the privy chamber, and the letter was read to him. As his star was sinking, his answers increased the suspicions against him. He was not allowed[3] to communicate with others, and circumspection was exercised. On the 19th (Isfāndarmaz) Malik 'Ali the chief-constable of the camp (kotwāl-i-urdū) produced several letters, and these increased the suspicions against the Khwāja. From these letters it appeared that the soldiers (*sipāh*) of the Khwāja who be-

[1] Text Malik Mānī, but the MSS. and the T. A. show that the variant Ṣānī is right.

[2] Text *cāplūsī*, but the variant *jāsūsī* is supported by MSS. and by the Iqbālnāma.

[3] *az tikhtilāṭ bāz dāshtand.* From the Iqbālnāma etc. it appears that it was the Khwāja, and not Malik Ṣānī, who was thus dealt with. Some MSS. add that the Khwāja was imprisoned, and this is supported by the Iqbālnāma.

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longed to Fīrūzpūr—which was the Khwāja's fief—had opened negotiations with the Mīrzā (Ḥakīm) and would soon join him. At this news the wrath of the sovereign blazed forth, and an order was given that if the Khwāja would engage to produce the man (the writer) and give proper security for this, he should remain, as before, in prison. Otherwise, he was to be put to death in order that the short-sighted and covetous might be punished, and that a lesson might be given to the wicked and those of crooked mind. He in reply uttered injudicious words, and could not furnish security. Out of kindness H.M. ordered that if Khwāja Sulaimān,[1] who was related to him by marriage and had a brotherly friendship for him, would engage for him, his security should be accepted. That cowardly one was struck with terror, and turned round, and from fear of his own life went aside. Inasmuch as the time was confused owing to the presence of envious people, and the season was critical, and the grandees were plotting against his life, of necessity an order was passed for capitally punishing him. The servants[2] were bound by an order and hung him on a tree near the serai of Kot Kacwāha. From want of understanding and narrow-mindedness (*ṭabiy'at dostī*), Turk and Tājīk (i.e. all classes) were pleased, and there was great rejoicing in the camp. It generally happens that envious and artful persons who are self-interested act in this way, and that there is retribution for selfishness and for evil-mindedness towards the weak.

Verse.

Be not severe in the world's work,
For every oppressor has a severe death (?).
Beware, and have pity on the weak,
Be afraid of the severity of fortune.

He was contentious, or had not the art of living. He ruined the houses of men in order to improve his own. For his own advantage he destroyed a number of poor people. He did not read the signs of the times, and did not distinguish between the season of conciliation and that of strictness. But there is seldom found

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[1] The Iqbālnāma says that when Akbar found out his error, K. Sulaimān fell into disgrace.

[2] *Khidmat-pazīrān.* The servants meant are the Khidmatiyyas of B. 252.

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such an acute accountant and one so laborious, so discriminating, and so plausible of speech. If he had had a little piety to God, a little
344 loyalty to the lord of the universe, some kindness to the people, and a little absence of cupidity and injuriousness, he never would have come to this end from the wrath of the Shahinshāh, nor have been caught in this illustration of the Divine anger. The appreciative monarch often uttered with his pearling tongue, "From that day the market of accounts was flat and the thread of accounting dropped from the hand." He assigned the office of Vizier to Qulīj K., and gave orders that Zain K. Kokaltāsh and Ḥakīm Abū-l fatḥ should also be present in the Vizier's office, and should superintend matters.

Notes.

In Faiẓī's poems B.M. MS. Add. 25981, p. 282*b*, and also on p. 287 of another B.M. MS. of the same author there is an epigram which describes the joy of the public at being delivered from Manṣūr's tyranny.

NOTE ABOUT SHĀH MANṢŪR'S DEATH.

The story of Shāh Manṣūr is a very sad one, and throws a lurid light on the morals of Akbar's officers. A.F.'s account is, as usual, obscure, and has to be explained by the T.A., the Iqbālnāma, Badayūnī, Lowe 300, and the Maaṣir. al-Umarā I. 653. See also Noer's Akbar, Mrs. Beveridge's translation, II. 52. We learn from the T.A., Elliot V. 422, and from A.F., that Mān Singh sent to Akbar some letters that he had found in Shādmān's portfolio. Shādmān was defeated and killed near the Indus on 12 Dai (about 22 December 1580) and Akbar got the news before leaving Fatḥpūr. Presumably Mān Singh sent the letters he had found in Shādman's portfolio along with the news of the victory. The T.A. tells us there were three of them, viz. one from M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm to Ḥakīm-al-mulk, one to Muḥammad Qāsim Mir Baḥr, and one to Khwāja Manṣūr. They purported to be replies by Ḥakīm M. to friendly letters received from these three persons. We are told by A.F., p. 342, that Akbar considered these letters to be forgeries, and did not show them to Manṣūr. They either were forgeries, or very stale documents, for one of them was addressed to Ḥakīm-al-mulk who had gone off to Mecca in August 1580 (see A.N. 317). Possibly, however, the person meant is Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk the faujdār of Sambal. See text III. 348. From Fatḥpūr Akbar moved out to Bād Serai 15 kos off, and there he heard of Shahbāz's victory near the city of Ajodya (Elliot V. 422). He continued his march and reached Delhi on 10 Isfandārmaz (about 20 February 1581). Two days later he was at Sonpat, 28 m. N.W. Delhi, and here it was that Malik Ṣānī formerly in the service of

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M. Ḥakīm, arrived, and as the T.A. informs us, put up at the quarters of Manṣūr (Sonpat is the place mentioned by A.F. The T.A. says Panipat, which is a station some 25 m. further on). Here Akbar, whose former suspicions had been increased by Malik Ṣānī's arrival, showed Manṣūr the papers that had been found in Shādmān's portfolio. On 17 Isfandarmaz (about 27 February) Akbar reached Thānesar and had the interview with Jalāl S. From there he went on to Shahabad in the Ambāla district, and here it was that the kotwāl of the camp, Malik[1] 'Alī, produced on 19 Isfandarmaz the letters which he said had been obtained in Sirhind from a courier of Sharaf Beg who was Khwāja Manṣūr's agent and in charge of his estate at Fīrūzpūr. These letters sealed Manṣūr's fate and led to his being hanged at Koṭ Kacwāha, which according to Blochmann 431, n. 2, is a village on the road from Karnāl to Ludhiāna. Presumably it is near Shāhābād. The Khulāṣat Tawārīkh states that it was between Shāhābād and Patīāla. The same authority denies that Todar Mal had any hand in the intrigues against the Khwāja. It adds that Akbar found out his mistake ten days afterwards. We are told by Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 426, that the letters on which Manṣūr was hanged were forged by Shahbāz K.'s brother Karam Ullah. According to the Maaṣir I. 157, Karam Ullah was the tool of Todar Mal. The Maaṣir gives the chronogram of Manṣūr's death Ṣānī Manṣūr Ḥallāj, "A second Manṣūr Ḥallāj," alluding to the martyrdom of this Sūfī in A.D. 922. The B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, Rieu's Cat. I. 247, contains some remarkable variations from the Bib. Ind. text and from most MSS., in its account of Shāh Manṣūr's death. It is evidently a different recension. One valuable thing is that in several places it gives the corresponding Hijra date instead of only the Divine era dates as in the Bib. Ind. text. Thus at p. 343 it tells us that 19 Isfandarmaz, which it calls the Farwardīn day, corresponds to 23 Muḥarram. Consequently it was 28 February 1581. Then it adds that the letters were obtained by Malik 'Alī from the enemy's camp. It also states that two days before—viz. 17 Isfandarmaz, Sunday, 21 Muḥarram—Pāk Dās was made *dīwān*. It also says that Akbar did not want to put Manṣūr to death, but was induced to do so by Rajah Bīrbar and others, and it adds that Manṣūr was hanged on a *Kaikar*, i.e. bābul or acacia tree. The explanation of his death too is differently worded. A.F. in this MS. admits more clearly than in text that Manṣūr was wrongly convicted and suggests that he must have committed sins on former occasions (in a previous life?).

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[1] Probably this is the Khwāja Malik 'Alī mentioned at B. 515. The title Mīr Shab may mean that he was the night-watch.

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CHAPTER LVIII.

The failure of Hakīm M. and his hasty return to Kabul.

The enlightened[1] gatherers of experience, and the illuminated souls of those who walk with circumspection, do not accept truths in advance of evidence, and do not hasten on to beliefs with poverty in arguments. Every great man, who at the time of increase of realm and power keeps the rose-garden of his heart fresh and verdant by the irrigating waters of justice, and who regards his prosperity as material for supplication to God and gives to his thoughts and actions the adornment of auspiciousness, and who regards himself as a trustee appointed by God, and watches over soldier and subject, and who applies the balm of soothing speech and kindness to the distressed and broken, shall assuredly have his wishes accomplished without having to entreat the help of sellers of service and will execute easily difficult enterprises. These things are apparent in the early career of the world's lord, and this noble record tells somewhat of them. The ruin of the Mīrzā is a fresh instance of this, and will be recognized as such by the awakened and fortunate.

When some disaffection arose in India, and the fire of discord attacked part of it, the villains of that country and the foolish ones of Afghanistan[2] bewildered that misguided young man and led him to indulge in vain thoughts. He sent some soldiers and stirred up strife. Retribution followed, and he ought to have awaked from his somnolence, and have felt ashamed and have endeavoured to remedy his backslidings. On the contrary, he hastened to make war.

When he crossed the Indus, the officers of that quarter obeyed

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[1] There are variants, and the paragraph is obscure. Apparently it means that prudent people do not believe without evidence, and that Akbar's career furnished the necessary evidence of the statement that great men who are good attain their ends without the help of self-interested persons.

[2] Text Zābulistān. At p. 408 of J. II. A.F. says that Ghaznīn was formerly called Zābulistān and that some reckon Qandahar as included in it.

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the royal command and gathered together at Lahore and prepared to defend the fort. M. Yūsuf[1] K. put down his foot to defend Rohtās and no one joined the evil-thoughted one. Far less did any of the enlightened ones. He read the writing of failure on the soldiers,[2] and he did not see any of the peasantry inclined towards him. Hopelessness from time to time augmented his anguish. He 345
pleased himself with the lies of foolish talkers, and spent his days in idle fancies. He brayed the wind in a mortar, and sifted water with a sieve! At last he came to besiege Lahore. By untimely efforts he laboured to open the knot of his own destruction! Though the retreat of the imperialists rejoiced him for a time, yet he had heard much of the deeds of those lovers of honour and foes of life. Their not fighting at this time encouraged his hopes. He trembled at the courage and activity of the world's lord, but was supported by not hearing of his advance.

When the moment chosen by heaven arrived, H.M. turned his sun towards the Panjab. Joy circulated in the brain of the age.....

Verse.

The world's lord marched on tranquilly, hunting by the way. Though he advanced from stage to stage, no report came of his (M. Ḥakīm's) having fled. No dust of apprehension clouded his soul. The evil-minded rejoiced from thinking that he (M. Hakīm) intended to fight, while the auspicious and acute were glad from the thought that he would be defeated. With his pearl-laden tongue he (Akbar) said, "Something tells me that his standing his ground comes from his not believing that the royal standards are approaching. Idle talkers have impressed a different opinion on him. Probably when we reach Sirhind, we shall hear of his flight." What that knower of the secrets of destiny had said, came to pass. On the same[3] day that the standards left the capital the Mīrzā stirred

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[1] B. 346. He was a Saiyid of Mashhad.

[2] The soldiers meant are Akbar's, and the sentence means that M. Ḥakīm did not find any readiness on their part to mutiny.

[3] If Ferishta is correct, this statement is not quite correct. Akbar left Fathpūr on 2 Muḥarram 989 (6 February) and Ferishta says M. Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore on 11 Muḥarram 989—15 February, 1581. In Add. MS. 27. 247 it is stated that M. Ḥakīm arrived at Lahore 2 Muḥarram, stayed 22 days, and left on Monday the 23rd Muḥarram.

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up the dust of strife near Lahore and spent twenty[1] days in melancholy joy in that garden of Mahdī Qāsim K., *and shot arrows at an imaginary taryet.* S'aīd K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kuar Mān Singh, Saiyid Hāmid K. (Bokhārī), Muḥammad Zamān and other fiefholders of the Panjab strengthened the fort somewhat and prepared for war. As the order was, not to engage, they abode in the batteries and from prudence they restrained the beturbaned (i.e. the
346 learned) foolish talkers of the city from making confusion. By the help of God they prevented the gates from being opened.[2] Several times did Sher Khwāja, Nād 'Alī, Qorbān 'Alī and Mīr Sikandar make attacks from the side of the besiegers, but they received[3] buffets from God's hand. The Mīrzā became from time to time more distressed on account of the non-advancement of the work, and showed dissatisfaction with his prating companions. Suddenly his brain was worsened by the sound of the approach of the Shāhinshāh. He quickly turned to fly. He crossed the Rāvī one kos above Mahdī Qāsim K.'s garden and hastened off in confusion to Kabul. On that night he halted for a while in the neighbourhood of Shāham 'Alī, and then crossed the Cenāb near Jalālābād.[4] Many of his companions lost their lives in that crossing. Near Bhera he crossed the Bihat, and many also perished in its waves. He crossed the Indus by the way of Khīp[5] and returned to his own country. When H.M.

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[1] The variant "twenty days" is supported by the I.O. MSS. and by Add. 27, 247. That MS. says, 324*b*, that M. Ḥakīm reached Lahore on the day of Zamyād the 28th (Bahman) Divine month of the 25th year corresponding to 2 Muḥarram (6th February, 1681), and that he left it on 19 Isfandarmaz—Monday, 23 Muḥarram. This makes his stay there to have been 22 days.

[2] Probably the meaning is—"they, the turbaned citizens, relying on God, wanted to open the gates and fight."

[3] *Mālish yāftand.* I think this must mean "were punished," and that these are names of M. Ḥakīm's men, and the Ikbālnāma takes this view. See also p. 363 where Sher Khwājah plunders the royal treasure. But B. 508 speaks of a Nādī 'Alī serving against M. Ḥakīm in the 26th year. He did join Akbar afterwards, but in the end of the 25th year he was on M. Ḥakīm's side.

[4] The Iqbālnāma has Jalālpūr, and says that M. Ḥakīm plundered Bhera. Add. 27, 247, says he crossed on a raft.

[5] There is the variant Khīt. But I believe the word to be Karpah, the Carrapa of Elphinstone. See J. II. 401 n., and A. N. II. 239.

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heard of this, his royal clemency was put in motion and an order was issued that the army should refrain from pursuit lest in the rush of waters the Mīrzā's boat should be sunk, and his condition pass beyond the power of remedies. "If that unfortunate one does not understand matters, and does not acquire enlightenment, why shall we, who have such glory of wisdom, erase his existence. Possibly he may in time gain sense, and the highway of vision may be manifested to him. Moreover in the balance of appreciation a brother is weightier than a son (because the former cannot be replaced).

(Here follow about five lines of rhetoric.)

On the 24th (Isfandarmaẕ ?) the army encamped at Sirhind and H.M. rested in the delightful gardens[1] of that city.

One of the occurrences was the revival of the laws of administration. Inasmuch as the far-seeing prince from time to time gives a new foundation to prudence, and regards the improvement of the world as the worship of God, on this occasion a pleasant thought occurred to him. An order was issued that the *jāgīrdārs*, *shiqdārs*, and *dāroghās* of the empire should reduce to writing the numbers and the occupations of the inhabitants, village by village, and should classify[2] them. They were not to allow any one to live without some trade or occupation, and they were to look narrowly into **347** the income and expenditure of men—who are composed of the good and the bad—so that in a short space of time the outwardly good, but inwardly bad, might be discovered, and the false, gold-incrusted coin might be brought to the place of weighment. By this enlightened order there was a market-day of graciousness, and the wide territory of India received a great calm. On the 28th he crossed the Sutlej at Macīwāra by a noble bridge. In that neighbourhood the Panjab officers did homage. Each was exalted by special favours. Thanksgivings were offered up for the successful results.

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1 *Bāgh-i-dilkusha*. Probably the allusion is to the gardens of Ḥāfiẓ Raknah. See J. II. 281.

2 This passage about the census is translated in Elliot VI. 61.

Elliot renders this—"that these lists should all be collected together," and perhaps the true meaning is that the lists should be digested and made into a general statement.

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CHAPTER LIX.

Beginning of the 26th Divine year from holy accession, to wit, the year Ardibihisht of the third cycle.

Verse.

The dominion-flag of the New Year was unfurled on the plain,
The bounty of the Holy Spirit was shed from on high.
Such an air it was that Paradise halted in surprise.[1]
Such an earth that heaven rose up in astonishment.

On the night of Thursday, 5 Ṣafar 989, 10 or 11 March 1581, after the passing of 6 hours 22 minutes, the light-dispenser of the spiritual and physical world, the lord of the visible and invisible universe, cast a glance of favour on the Sign of Aries. The material and spiritual kingdoms became full of light. A feast of joy was prepared, and there was a loud sound of delight. As the protection of the community is a thing inscribed on the frontispiece of sovereignty, it struck his celestial mind that, as by the aid of heaven the pleasant land of the Panjab had been swept and cleansed of the weeds and rubbish of sedition-mongers, so might the inhabitants of the banks of the Indus be refreshed by the irrigation of justice, and the sorrow of the afflicted be ended. Also some prudent and diplomatic persons had been sent and had by salutary counsels amended the disposition of the Mīrzā. Wise words spoken close at hand make an impression such as thousands spoken from a distance do not make. H.M. also had the intention of laying the foundation of a lofty fortress on the bank of the river so that the savages of that region might speedily acquire bliss, and the imperial servants might receive protection. With this holy design he proceeded towards that quarter.

348 One of the occurrences was that H.M. turned his thoughts

[1] Text *takhyīr*, "giving the preference," but the I.O. MSS. have *taḥayyar* "being astonished."

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towards Nagarkot.[1] When he heard of the wonders of that ancient place of pilgrimage, and especially of the restoration there of tongues that had been cut off, his truth-seeking heart was attracted towards that place. At this time, when he was near that spot, the wondrous tale again occurred to him, and on the 15th[2] (Farwardīn) he went thither with a few special intimates to see the marvel. At the first stage Rajah Jai Cand the ruler of the fort came and was exalted by doing homage. When a watch of the night had passed, H.M., in order to give men a rest, alighted in the town of Desūha.[3] Rajah Bīrbar, who was the fief-holder there, came and offered presents. The difficulties of the way and the rugged defiles had somewhat fatigued the companions of dominion, but from awe of the Divine majesty—which is a powerful closer of the tongue—no one ventured to say anything. During that night a spiritual[4] form—which had wondrous powers—appeared in the secret place of dreams. It recited the lofty rank of the world's lord and restrained him from his intention. In the morning he mentioned the vision and returned. A great delight took possession of every one.

Between Khokowāl[5] and Kānwāhan[6] he crossed the Beās by a bridge, and on the 17th arrived at the pleasant city of Kalānūr. He enjoyed himself in its garden.[7]

One of the occurrences was the defeat of 'Arab Bahādur. When M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī went to ruin from his ill-fatedness, 'Arab Bahādur, Niyābat K., and Shāh Dāna and many evil-minded

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[1] Kāngra. See I. G. XIV. 397, J. II. 312 and J. III. 306, where there is a good deal said about Nagarkot. See also Murray's Guide to the Panjab. A.F., B. 114, records how a recluse who cut off his tongue and flung it towards the threshold of Akbar's palace had it restored.

[2] B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247, has 11th day of Khūr corresponding to Tuesday, 15 Ṣafar (21 March 1581).

[3] J. II. 316. The Dasūya of the I.G. XI. 194.

[4] B.M. MS. 27, 247, calls her Mahāmāyā and says that the goddess said that she and a 100 like her were not worthy of Akbar's visit.

[5] In the Bārī Dūāb, J. II. 319. Gladwin has Ghoghowal and the Khulāṣa-t-Tawārīkh seems to have Gobindwāl, which approaches the variant Khondwāl.

[6] The text has Kānwadahan, the Khulāsat has Kānūwahan, which, it says, is a royal hunting-place. See the "India of Aurangzīb" by Jadū Nāth Sarkār, p. 103.

[7] Called by Add. 27, 247 Bāgh Rūḥāfzā (the inspiriting garden).

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persons stirred up the dust of sedition in Sambal. Their idea was that they might collect the accumulations of that province and make them a means for increasing their wickedness. If they did not succeed in this, they would convey themselves by night to M. Ḥakīm. Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk the faujdār of that country heard of this and set himself to strengthen the fort of Bareilly, and to collect troops. The above-mentioned persons thought they would bring him over to their side and so held out hopes and threats to him. They soon saw that they had failed and came to attack the fort. Ḥakīm by firmness and wisdom gained the victory. Night came on, and those black-thoughted ones lost their way and postponed matters till daylight. As there was broken ground, and a report of the approach of troops, the evil-doers withdrew from the investment of the fort and went off to some distance. That wise officer sent an intelligent spy to their camp that he might let himself fall into the
349 hands of the enemy's scouts. After much ill-treatment he said, and confirmed the statement by an oath, that the imperialists were gathering together from all sides and were going to make a night attack, and had sent him to convey news. The plot succeeded, and at midnight they departed. The garrison rejoiced, and roses bloomed on the cheek of joy, and the drums of joy beat high. In a short space of time, Bakhtiyār[1] Beg came from Budāon, and S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī from Shamsābād, S. Muazzam and Mīr Abu-l-ḥasan from Amroha, Ghulām Ḥusain from Selīmpūr, Qāsim from Lakhnau,[2] and Maulāna Maḥmūd and Abu-l-Qāsim from Sambal. The imperial servants had a fortunate time. Ḥakīm sought for an engagement. The bewildered enemy, who were in the desert of failure, and the demon-haunted rebels, though they had gone far off from that place, yet they opened the hand of plunder in the confines of the country and troubled the weak. They looked upon oppression of the feeble as if it were daring, and stretched out long arms. The Rajah of Kumāon Rām Sāh, Mukut Sen, Rajah Karn and many crooked-minded zamindars and presumptuous and empty-

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[1] B. 204. Apparently he was a son of the unfortunate Shāh Manṣūr.

[2] I presume that though it is spelt without an r in the MSS. this is Lakhor in Sambhal. See Elliot IV. 384 n., and Supplemental Glossary II. 136.

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brained ones assembled together and stirred up strife. Ḥakīm first disseminated dissension among them, and brought Rām Sāh, Mukut Sen, and Rajah Karn into the way of good service. By their instrumentality, also, Niyābat K. joined the victorious army. In the confines of Aklī the lovers of work prepared for battle, and guarded their fame. They preserved the respect of the new-comers by giving them the name of the vanguard (*harāwal*). In fact, Bakhtiyār Beg and some noted men formed the advance-party. The battle began by Shah Dāna's falling upon the vanguard. Bakhtiyār Beg and some loyal warriors stood manfully shoulder to shoulder, and brave men joined them from every side. The fortune of the Shāhinshāh brought the news of victory. The enemy were stained with the dust of failure and fled. Saiyid Miyān and Saiyid Muṣṭafa and many ill-fated ones went headlong to the pit of annihilation.

The world's lord made a bridge over the Rāvī at Kalānūr and crossed it. Then he crossed the Cenāb at Rāmgarh. The Bihat (the Jhilam) he crossed by a bridge between Jhilam ferry and Rasūlpūr. He stayed for some days near the Bihat in the enjoyment of hunting. The landholders of that country obtained their wishes. At this time, when there was a daily market for the springtide of justice, and the fountain of fortune grew larger every day, on 10 Ardībisht he made a delightful garden. H.M. always **350** gives attention to material and spiritual culture . . . . . He crossed over to the town of Nandana [1] for the purpose of hunting. As it had good soil and water he thought of making a garden. In a short time this was excellently accomplished. For the sake of enjoyment he went to the top of the fort, which is an ancient building and lofty as the genius of exalted saints.

Also at this time he visited the shrine of Bālnāth [2] Tillah. It is

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[1] Perhaps the Nandon of J. II. 317 and the Nādon of Tiefenthaler I. 111. The Iqbālnāma has Dāman-i-Koh Kirḥāk. Perhaps Kirḥāk should be read Kirjhāk or Girjhāk, J. II. 324 and n. 1, and so the place may be the Bucephala of Alexander and the present Jalālpur. Possibly Jalālpur got its name from Jalāludīn Akbar See I.G. XIV, 15. The Khulāṣa-t-Tawārīkh in its account of the Bihat or Jhīlam has Girjhāk u Nandiya.

[2] J. II. 31 and n. 1. Originally the temple was dedicated to the sun: it is now devoted to the worship of Sīva. See Cunningham, Ancient Geography of India, 165. In Mr.

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loftily situated and near Rohtās. It is so old that its beginning is not known. It is regarded as the prayer-spot of Bālnāth Jogī, and is held in veneration, and visited by many people. In the extensive country of India there are various ways of obtaining deliverance (*āzādī*). One set are called Jogīs. Their tenets are according to the Pātanjal [1] Canon, of which some account has been given in the final volume.

They place [2] eternal existence in the kingdom of annihilation, and act, in many respects, contrary to customs. Many are distinguished for contentment and innocence, and, one by one, attain to enlightenment. Bālnāth was at the head of these enthusiasts. They say he was the younger brother of Rām Cand, and it is commonly said that he became an ascetic, and that he chose this place in order to mortify his passions. In short, the world's lord did not regard his own spiritual beauty, and searched for servants of God, and always offered up supplications to God with every body of men who seemed to have attained the truth, or wherever men offered up prayer. With this view he went to that retreat [3] of worshippers of God. The company of ascetics in that neighbourhood obtained enlightenment from the glory of the presence of the world's lord. On the 31st the advent of the Shāhinshāh conferred eternal bliss on the quarters of M. Yūsuf K. The famous fortress of Rohtās was in his fief. As H.M. was in the neighbourhood he begged that he would visit him. H.M. graciously consented. Presents were tendered, and eternal bliss accepted. Though it was the general opinion that H.M. should stay there some days, yet as he considered that the nearer he came
351 to Kabulistān, the better would the affair of the governor of that country be transacted, he marched on to Sind-sāgar which is known as Nīlāb.

One of the occurrences was the death of the eunuch Khwāja

Oman's recent work on the Mystics, etc., of India there is an account and a photograph of Tilla Jogī.

[1] See J. III. 177 for a long account of Patanjal's system. He wrote a commentary on Pānini.

[2] Apparently the meaning is that they place happiness in the extinction of the passions. *Nīstī* seems to correspond to Nirūddha. See J. II. 179.

[3] There is the variant Khairpūra. This was the name of a place outside Fatḥpūr Sikrī where poor Hindus were fed.

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'Ālam. He was a hard taskmaster. Several pahlwāns (wrestlers) were under his charge. At the stage (?) of Kharbūza (?) he beat one of them with a stick, and in retaliation the latter put an end to him with a dagger. The Shāhinshāh lamented the death of that old servant, and capitally punished his murderer. The lamp of enlightenment was thus kindled for many, and a road was opened for the presumptuous and crooked in their ways.

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CHAPTER LX.

Arrival of the army on the bank of the Indus.

H.M. encamped on the bank of the Indus on 13 Khurdād, and soldiers and subjects returned thanks to heaven. Every one received special favours, and the Afghan tribe, who were bewildered in the desert of ingratitude, rubbed the forehead of good service. As the object which H.M. held before himself was the amendment of M. Ḥakīm, a gracious order was issued, and that was an irradiation of right-thinking and of counsel, and graciousness. He dispatched skilful, loyal and sweetly-spoken persons in order that they might in the first place not make a parade of their own wisdom, but deliver the whole of their message (to M. Ḥakīm), and afterwards should utter good words.

Verse.

Hearts of steel can be made soft
By the strength of warm expressions.

Though the perversity of his mind was evident to the wise, yet H.M. thought that "the withholding again of our troops from pursuing him, and the various favours we have shown may induce him to accept advice, and to come to the garden of truth." But the understanding of every one whose fortune slumbers, and whose reason is flattered in the bitter-land of lust, swiftly carries him to destruction. The biography of this young man of slumbrous intellect shows this.

The gist of the message was, "Whenever a majestic prince who has abundance of power withholds his hand from chastisement and addresses himself to counselling, and the utterance of truth, and has
352 no other design than to show good will and graciousness, those who are fortunate and of happy star, but who have made a slip, come to his assembly with ashamed faces and hearts receptive of truth, and amend their conduct by submission and supplication. The wicked and evil-fated ones remain in their dark and dangerous position, and make use of subterfuges and tricks, and gloss over their evil deeds.

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Now let that brother, who holds the position of a son, receive knowledge, and gather eternal bliss. Princes of illustrious houses, and the great men of every land receive radiance from our benevolence. Why shall he who is so connected with us sit in the defile of irrecognition? How long shall he do so? How long will he, in company with base people, move about in the hollow of loss? It behoves him not to give ear to the buzzings of fly-like men, but to come and do homage at our threshold so that our love for him may be impressed on all, far or near, and that he may spend the few days of life in a proper manner, and that his worldly rank and future position may be exalted, and that he may end his days with a good name. The wretched and tiny ant is not withheld by feebleness from entering on the desert of purpose; perchance it may after the manner of the fortunate arrive at the pinnacle of desire! Why should a son of man possessed of such enlightenment fall into the fool's sleep of carelessness and not make even half a step in the wide plain of search?

Verse.

There are many steps to the lofty roof,
Why are you contented with one?
If you cannot fully succeed, struggle
In the path, it will not hurt you.

If you design to be successful, what experience can be gained by testing oneself only. How long will you keep yourself on the edge of the sword? If from shame and evil behaviour you do not come to court, and out of fear do not apply your heart to service, the tale of our daily-increasing graciousness from the beginning of our reign till now—which is the vernal season of fortune—and of our bounty and our forgiveness of great criminals, is patent to all, far and near!"

Inasmuch as the distracted ones of the desert of destruction hear with difficulty the words of counsel, he, from somnolence of fortune, and unwisdom, regarded the pleasing speech of enlightenment as deception, and returned an inglorious reply. As it was the market-day of gentleness, H.M. forgave him, and intimated that if his heart and tongue were in unison in the matter of good service, but out of fancies he could not for some days appear in person, he

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should send one of his sons along with the chaste Bakhtu-n-nisā[1] Begum. If from narrowness of heart and ignorance he could not
353 even do this, he should send Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī with some leading officers to execute oaths and treaties. Assuredly this would be accepted by H.M. and be a reason for forgiving and returning.

As counsel had no effect on slumbrous ears, an order was issued that Rajah Mān Singh and some brave and loyal men should cross the Indus and proceed to Peshawar, and bring to submission the refractory ones of that quarter. As H.M.'s sole desire was that the slumbrous-witted one should learn wisdom by the majesty of the imperial army, Prince Sulṭān Murād and many officers were sent off on 11 Tīr (end of June 1581) that they might cross the river and proceed slowly towards Peshawar. If the Mīrzā should waken up and take the road of obedience, they were by various favours to inspire him with hope. Otherwise they were to hasten on to Kabulistān. For greater security the troops were put into battle-array. The centre was adorned by the light of the Caliphate (Murād), M. Yūsuf K., Rai Rai Singh, Rai Durgā, Gūjar K., Sūraj Singh, Madan Cohān, S. 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, Bālkā Rai,[2] Rām Cand, Thākur Sai, Selīm K., Kākar 'Alī, Saiyid Muḥammad Maujī, Karm Ullah Kambū,[3] Prithī Rāj, Rām Dās Cohān, Mathrā Dās, Sānwal Dās, Kala Kacwāha, Askaran, Kajra, Hazāra Beg, S. Walī Jalāl, Mīr Muḥasan and a large number of brave men and cavaliers took part in this army. The left[4] wing was commanded by Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Makhṣūṣ K., Saiyid Mahdī Qāsim, Abū-l-qāsim Tamkīn, 'Arab Saiyid Ḥusain, Ḥasan 'Alī Beg, 'Abdullah Bilūc and others. The right wing was commanded by Qulīj K., Jalāl K., S. Jamāl

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[1] Wife of Abū-l-maālī, and afterwards of K. Naqshbandī (Gulbadan's Memoirs, p. 214).

[2] Variant Bānkā, which seems right. See B. 495. He died suddenly at Burhānpūr in the beginning of 1601. See III. 786, 2nd last line, where he is called Akhīrāj, and the note giving Faiẓī S.'s account.

[3] This is the brother of Shahbāz K. who, according to the T.A., Elliot V. 426, forged the letters for which Shāh Manṣūr was hanged.

[4] It would seem as if here and also in the account of Shahbāz's first fight with M'aṣūm, A. F.'s copyist and others put left for right. He would surely not begin by mentioning the left wing, and the Iqbālnāma has in this place "right wing" (*baranghar*).

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Bakhtiyār, Nūr Qulīj, M. Faulād, Jamāl K. Bilūc, S. Gakhar, Malik Darvesh Jānoha, 'Ālam Noḥānī, Maulānā Ilhadād Ambaroha, Shahbāz K. Lodī, and others.

Rajāh Mān Singh, Naurang K., Shīroyah K., Mādhū Singh, Muḥammad Beg Taklū, Mān Singh Darbārī, Jagmāl Silahdār, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Surjan, Pahlwān 'Alī, Sakat Singh, Jagat Rai, Rām Cand, Bhagwān Dās, S. Kabīr, Jabbār Qulī, Naqīb Dīwāna and others were in the van. Out of graciousness and innate kindness again was a rescript of advice—such as might be an amulet of fortune—sent along with Ḥājī Ḥabību-l-lah Kāshī. (The letter) stated that "the time for an expedition to that province (Kabul) was passing away and that a large army would have some difficulty in the defiles. It behoved him to perform one of the ceremonies of sub- 354
mission so that the army might return from Bigrām, and that he (the Mīrzā) might have a good name and that favours might be shown him." The sole apprehension of H.M. was that the Mīrzā might be alarmed by the might of the victorious army, and resort to the desert of failure, and seek help from aliens. Inasmuch as foresight is the sun of the portico of fortune, an order was issued to the officers that they should make a bridge over the river. The able servants busied themselves in collecting boats, and the hebdomadal watchmen, and the high officers exerted themselves to construct river-stages[1] since if from ill-fortune the Mīrzā should listen to babblers, and take the road of loss to himself, and not listen to commands, it would be necessary that the august cavalcade should also go to that province.

One of the occurrences was the death of Fatḥ Dost, the son of 'Alī Dost[2] Bārbegī. He had a disposition for service and he outwardly displayed the jewel of purity. He frequently represented to the writer that he wished to become a disciple of H.M. and asked him to represent the matter so that his wish might be fulfilled. As this reader of the lines of the forehead did not find that his heart and tongue were in accord, he used to put him off. At this time, when the standards of fortune had reached the bank of the Indus, he spoke to me about having the thing done. The far-sighted Khedive came to know of this, and made inquiries of this least of

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1 *manāzil-i-daryā*. Pontoons?

2 B. 403, where he is wrongly called Fatḥ Daulat. His father is referred to in B. 533.

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men. I described the circumstances, and he smiled and approved From good intention I represented that as the gracious sovereign had come to know of the case, perhaps the great boon (of discipleship) might have the effect of converting him, and might lead him to bliss. He said, "Although a felicitous day (*rūzbihī*) does not shine on his forehead, yet I'll grant his request. The becoming a disciple of this supplicant to God is a test of men, and brings out their internal qualities. He administered the *shast* [1] according to holy rites, and recited with his pearl-filled tongue

"The pure shast and the pure glance err not."

He gave him weighty counsels. As he was not pure of soul, and his heart did not accord with his tongue, he in the course of two days ceased to exist.

The negligent, heavy sleepers were awakened somewhat. He had intimacy with a certain person and went to drink wine with him in a pleasure-house in the neighbourhood. Jealous and turbulent men came upon him and killed him. They said that Maṭṭalīb [2] K. was mixed up in the affair. They brought that young man out of his house, and Maṭṭalīb K. was taken to the place of examination. They deferred the investigation until the arrival of his father (i.e. 'Alī Dost Bārbegī).

355 One of the occurrences was the founding the fort of Atak [3] Benares. It was the secret design of the world-adorner that when

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[1] See B. 166 where the line is given, and where *shast* is *shaṣt*. The process of initiation is described there. The Ayin variant text I. 160 of *narasad* for *nakanad* is supported in the I.O. MSS. of the Akbarnāma. The story of Fatḥ K.'s murder is fully told in the Iqbālnāma. He had been drinking with a *cela* named Ḥasan Beg. After the murder Ḥasan was sent for and was found in Maṭṭalib's house, and hence he was suspected. Ḥasan was beaten and imprisoned, and Maṭṭalib was kept till the arrival of Fatḥ K.'s father, but the latter declined to prosecute, saying it was his son who was in fault!

[2] See Maaṣir II. 769 and B. 403. Maṭṭalīb was eventually pardoned. The young man is Ḥasan Beg, who, as the Iqbālnāma tells us, was found in Maṭṭalīb's house.

[3] Pronounced Uttak. B. tells us that the name was chosen by Akbar to rhyme with Katak (Cuttack) the other frontier town. Indeed this is what A.F. here says. Apparently Katak was then known as Katak Benares.

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the army arrived at this boundary, a lofty fortress should be built. On this occasion the place which far-sighted men had chosen was approved of. On 15 Khurdād (near the end of May 1588) after the passing of two *pahars* two *gharīs* the foundation was laid by the holy hand in accordance with this name, just as in the extremity of the eastern provinces there is a fortress named Katak Benares. It was placed under the charge of Khwāja Shāmsu-d-dīn Khāfī, who had come from Bengal about this time. In a short time it was beautifully finished. There was a noble barrier[1] placed between Hindustan and Kabulistan, and it was made the material for enforcing the obedience of the turbulent of that border. The helpless obtained a means of subsistence, the seekers of traffic obtained confidence, and world-traversers had security.

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[1] *Barzakhe shigarf.*

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CHAPTER LXI.

Expedition to Kabul.

When the army was encamped on the bank of the Indus, the design was to cross the river and proceed to Zābulistān. Most of the principal men in the army spoke in favour of abandoning this expedition. Some were influenced by ignorance, some by smallness of intellect, some by dread of a cold country, some by considerations of health and a love for India, some by the inconveniences of travelling. Some were influenced by good will towards the incompetent and ill-fated one, and being emboldened by the gentleness of the world's lord, they loosed the bridles of numbers of men (i.e. made them, slack). As the thread of acuteness and profundity was of double strength, the artifices of the tale-bearers were ineffectual. At this time an order was given to the writer of the noble volume to write down the views of the officers, and after having understood them, to represent them to H.M. I was astonished at their talk, but by God's help I was not deceived by it. I had not white hair and long beard, nor did an old, blue-stained cloak adorn a face of hypocrisy. When I did not accept their plausible speeches, they took to conspiring against me, but as I had the favour of the holy heart, apprehensions of this or that one did not touch the hem of my soul. The delay in the Shāhinshāh's carrying out his designs was wholly due to his hope that the Mīrzā would be aided by reason and do what was right. But he from foolishness and somnolence fell into evil thoughts, and his pride increased.

Verse.

Enemies become proud from your soft words,
'Tis a time when fair speech does harm.

356 Though this was clear to his celestial mind, and he used constantly to say with his pearl-filled tongue, "The wise have an excellent rule, and it is a proper practice that whenever owing to the constitution's deviating from equability a member of it becomes evil, it

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should be removed from the body so that it may not injure the other members. So also among men, if an individual cause a defect in the substance of auspiciousness, and create disaffection in others it is assuredly proper that the record of his existence should be erased from the book of the world." But his loving heart could in no way agree to this, and he put off the crossing of the river. He feared lest by the crossing of the army things would go beyond the prospect of peace, and the life of this careless young man come to an end.[1] When graciousness had gone beyond bounds, and dissimulation had ended in imposture, the world's lord was compelled to order a crossing on 31 Tīr (about[2] 11 July 1588). He encamped at the place where the Indus and the Kabul river meet. He left the main camp with an immense quantity of baggage on the banks of the Indus, and gave the command of that spot to Qāsim K. in order that he might subdue the refractory spirits there and construct a bridge. On 8 Amardād (about 19 July 1581) Ḥājī Ḥabīb Ullah did homage and reported the Mīrzā's petition to H.M. Though he showed some shame and repentance, and confirmed his obedience by oaths, yet as he had not done what was ordered, his words did not bear the lustre of truth. Excuses are accepted when deeds accord with words. Otherwise word-spinners send the tongue in supplication and neglect performance. Many simpletons in old times have from inexperience accepted words as deeds, and have suffered heavy loss. It is proper for a peaceable being that if his deeds be not greater than his words, they be not less. Otherwise feline[3] tricks and deception are brought to the market. Accordingly the prudent sovereign did not accept the Mīrzā's apologies and issued orders that the prince should advance

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[1] In the Memorabilia at the end of the Ayīn J. II. 383 Akbar takes credit to himself for not consenting to a plot for assassinating M. Ḥakīm.

[2] About 12 July. The T.A. Elliot V. gives 15 Jamada-as-ṣānī, on 17 July 1581, as the day of crossing. Akbar arrived at the Indus in Rabī-aṣ-ṣānī, May, and stayed on the east bank for more than 1½ months. Though he crossed in July, the main army still remained on the other side, waiting for the completion of the bridge.

[3] So in text, viz. *garbazat*, but the I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *gurezat* or *karezat*, which last means dotage, and harmonizes with the next word *ablaṭarāzī*, folly. Unless a gentle, peaceable person does at least as much as he says, he brings folly to market, i.e. he plays the fool.

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from Bikrām,[1] and that he himself would also proceed in that direction. On the 9th (Amardād) the standards moved forward and stopped on the bank of the Kabul river. As the sea of graciousness was commoved he sent Khwāja Muhammad[2] 'Alī and a party of men. Perhaps one of these interviews might have effect, and the Mīrzā might not fall into eternal ruin. Next day he encamped at Daulatābād. On this day he exalted M. Ghyāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī of Qazwīn, who was the unique of the age for knowledge of history, and was also possessed of excellence and right-thinking, by the title of Naqib[3] K. He was presented with a splendid dress of honour, a special horse and abundant riches (*khwāsta*).[4] The idly-talking genealogists had their mouths shut, and the speakers of improper things had
357 guidance. At this stage a courier brought a petition of the Mīrzā. It expressed regret for the past and promised good service for the future. As it did not appear to be sincere, it made no impression on H.M. Inasmuch as choice meditation and the taking counsel are a praiseworthy habit of the Shāhinshāh, he directed that the great officers to the number of twenty should hold a special meeting, and should give answers in accordance with acuteness and knowledge. He also ordered the writer to ascertain the opinion of each, and to report the result to him. The order was carried out, and every one spoke as he had hitherto done. As none of them wished to march, they all spoke in favour of pardoning the Mīrzā and of returning, and they dressed up one idea in various fashions. The writer said: "When a large army under the command of such a fortunate and majestic chief has made a long journey and when the goal is not more than seven or eight marches off, and when the frequent pardoning of offences and the return of the august standards are

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[1] The proper spelling appears to be Bigrām, from the Sanscrit Vigrāma, the word meaning city. It is applied to three ancient sites near Kabul, Jalālabād and Peshawar. J. II. 371. Here it stands for Peshāwar. A. F. mentions it as a district in the Sarkār of Swāt. J. II. 391, 392, 404, 411.

[2] B. 423? If so, he came from Jām. The Iqbālnāma gives him the title of Khazāncī (Treasurer).

[3] See B. 447 and Elliot IV. 295. Naqīb means a leader and also a genealogist. Perhaps this is why A.F. speaks of the prating genealogists (*naṣbsāz*) having their mouths closed by his elevation.

[4] The Iqbālnāma says he got Rs. 1000. He is generally Mīr and not Mīrzā.

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linked with one of those four[1] conditions, how can retreat be proper in the absence of these, and solely because of the utterances of obscure envoys and of writings without the lustre of truth. Moreover, it is now the rainy season in India. How will it do to remain near the Indus till it is over, and if we march back now great damage will be done in this rainy weather to the war-material and the result will not be good. It is proper to finish the work which is nearly completed, and then to punish or forgive. "Owing to a mixture of interested motives they were angry, and consulted together (lit. put their heads down) with evil intentions. A cautious[2] man said to me from ignorance, but with friendly feelings (or it may be without understanding the laws of friendship), "Though I know that the degree of your knowledge is being revealed, and that truth-speaking is being displayed, yet in the troubled state of society it is indispensable that one should act along with one's contemporaries and especially with those who are powerful in the state." I replied: "It has been reckoned as one of the worst things to conceal what is fitting for the time, in a meeting for uttering confidences, and in the pure place of counsel, and to speak contrary to one's real sentiments. Such a course is destructive of realm and religion. Why should I for the sake of security in an outward world, which is soon to be destroyed, knowingly choose what is deadly injurious spiritually? Seeing that I have not spoken foolishly for the sake of applause I am in hopes that no dust will fall upon my skirt." It was suggested that every one should lay his opinion before H.M. and that no mention should be made of me unless he inquired. With this understanding we separated. On that day[3] I had headache and fever and was unable to pay my respects (*kornish*). Some evil-disposed

[1] I do not know what the four conditions are. It looks as if something had been omitted, but all the MSS. seem to agree. Perhaps the meaning is that before the return of the army M. Ḥakīm would have had to conform to the four degrees of faith, B. 191, by agreeing to surrender property, life, honour, and religion. It should be noted that the account of this incident in Add. 27, 247 is differently worded from the passage in text.

[2] *Salāmatravī*. In the dictionaries this is given as meaning an economist. Here it seems to mean a safe or politic person, or one who is an economist of the truth. It may however mean "an honest man."

[3] Probably this means next morning.

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opportunists made a compact among themselves and resolved upon injuring me. They seduced many simple-minded and honest persons by improper language, and they represented to H.M. that all the officers were of opinion that M. Ḥakīm should be forgiven and that the army should return. The Khedive of the world asked, "What is so and so's opinion, meaning the writer of the book of fortune." One of them, who was shameless, from audacity and plausibility
358 said: "He too agrees with this opinion." The short-sighted ones from envy and selfishness (*tandārī*) took this wrong course, and were firm in their evil imaginings. H. M. was indignant and said: "Such short-sighted views do not approve themselves to me. Apparently the officers are afraid of the cold of Afghanistan (Zābul); I'll leave them all behind, and go there with my disciples (*shāgirdpesha.*)" Next day I had recovered, and without delay I went and saluted H. M. (*kornish sirbaland shud*). The marks of glory were shining on the holy forehead and there was a new splendour to the great assemblage. There was a deep deliberation and a profound inquiry. At this time the sublime sovereign called me near him, and made inquiries after my health, which were mingled with reproaches. He asked why I had changed the opinions which I always[1] used to entertain. It became clear that hostile persons and fabricators of words had played a trick and laid a plot. I fell into despondency, and came into a condition which may[2] no evil-doer fall into. The turbulence of youth, the exuberance of devotion, the intoxication of honesty, the hatred of life were aroused. Prudent counsel was nearly deserting me, and the revolutions of the spheres were almost over for this faster in Society's morning, that is, this new traveller[3]

[1] *az khilāfrai-i-hama rūza bāz parsīd.* The expression "*ḥama rūza*" is not clear. I.O. MS. 23 has *hama rūīā*, or *rawīyat* (opinion), but the last word may also be *rūba*. Another MS. has *rūz* instead of rūza. Possibly the true reading is *rūbabāzī* "vulpine tricks." That is, Akbar asked why A.F. had been behaving in this foxy manner. *hama rūz* means all day long, but what *hama rūza* means here is not evident to me. Possibly for *ṛūza* روز we should read *wazra* وزر, and then the meaning would be, he asked about the opposition of all the ministers.

[2] *hec badkāri rā marasād.* Apparently it was too terrible to be suffered even by evil-doers. Or perhaps the meaning is that no evil-doers could experience such feelings.

[3] The I.O. MSS. have a conjunction after traveller.

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in the inexperience of the disposition of the Age. By virtue of my happy star, God's help lifted me up from the pit of irreflection. Right-thinking Reason cast the shadow of benignity over me. I emerged somewhat from my sorrow of heart and I petitioned H.M., saying, "Was what they allege me to have said spoken to one person's ear, or was it uttered in that meeting?" The audàcious one chose to answer, "The latter was the case." The justice-living sovereign sent for them all and questioned them. Some who were in league took, one after another, the same road of impudent assertion. The jewel of wisdom was nearly destroyed, and I was almost consigning myself to the repose of non-existence. The far-seeing prince read on the tablet of my forehead the marks of honesty, and the confusion was being diminished, but things were altered [1] by the audacity of the wicked men, and he was believing their statement to be true. In this confused and hopeless condition one of the brave and truthful men, who was not afraid [2] about himself and did not regard the numbers of adversaries, and whom I in my [3] imperfect acquaintance with him did not believe to be truthful, said, "In that meeting a certain one (i.e. A.F.) was speaking against this set of men; perhaps the conversation (they rely upon) may have taken place elsewhere." The knot on my heart was loosed. In the abundance of his capacity H.M. folded up the roll (*tūmār*) of discussion. In gratitude [4] for this great boon from God, for the medicine for the crisis is not due to any one else, and by the hair-splitting acuteness of the world's lord, the real truth became impressed on far and near—I abandoned [5]

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[1] The sentence is obscure and I am not sure of the meaning of the expression *darust guzārī*. The Cawnpore ed. has *dast guzārī* "assistance." Possibly the sentence means "H.M. came to rightly understand the audacity of the evil-doers."

[2] Text *balarzad*, but this is corrected in the Errata, and both the I.O. MSS. have *nalarzad*.

[3] Perhaps the meaning rather is, "From not knowing me, he did not believe me to be speaking the truth."

[4] There seems to be an anacoluthon in this sentence and it is not intelligible why everything should be referred to H. M.'s acuteness when it appears that it was the honest speaking of a stranger that saved A.F.

[5] In text there is no conjunction before mūshikāfī, and there is one in the same line before *azān khiyāl*, but both these mistakes are corrected in the Errata.

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the idea of retirement and of sinking down. The rank of my service was increased. H.M. put aside the asking for advice and went on, stage by stage to Zābulīstān. On the 14th he encamped near
359 Bigrām. He spent some time in Gorkhattrī,[1] which is a shrine of the Jogīs. There is a great cave in this place. Babblers say that no one knows how deep (long ?) it is. In the midst of it is the way to the secret chamber of the saints of old times. On account of the difficulty and darkness of the way, and its tortuousness, one cannot get there. As it was the prayer-spot of the great ones of God he entered it alone by the light of wisdom, and some of his servants, one after the other, also had this blessing. This least of men was one of them. The road was very long. It was necessary to sit down and to lie down and to trust to God. Many brave men had not the courage to do so, and turned back when half-way. After that he rested at the fort of Bigrām. This country is called Parshāwar, and the general public call also the city by this name. The governorship of it was assigned to Yār 'Alī the Nāẓir-i-Biyūtāt.

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[1] *Gorkhattrī* : in text Kūrkhattrī is in Peshawar and is now a caravanserai and also the seat of public offices. I.G. XX. 125. It was once a Buddhist monastery. Bābur twice refers to it, Erskine's translation, 157 and 264. He visited it and says: "There are nowhere else in the whole world such narrow and dark hermits' cells as at this place." The monastery of Gorkattrī is said to have been built by Kanishka. Murray's Handbook to the Panjab, p. 277. See also J. II. 404 where the translator has a long note about Kor or Gorkhatrī which, it seems, means the grain-merchants' house. This derivation seems doubtful. Cunningham in his Ancient Geography of India, p. 80, says that no remains of the Stupa now exist. He does not seem to have known of the account in the A.N. I suppose it is near Gorkhathrī that the remains of Buddha have lately been found.

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CHAPTER LXII.

Rapid march of H.M. to Kabul.

As the whole thought of H.M. was that the Mīrzā might recognize the truth and advance from fair speech to right actions, he was marching slowly and in every stage he halted for some time. He also issued orders to the prince not to hurry. Perhaps the Mīrzā might adopt proper views, and not endamage himself spiritually and materially. That unfortunate one, owing to the influence of apprehensions, and the companionship of wicked flatterers could by no means bring himself to wait upon H.M. Though his sister wished to go to court, she could not obtain her wish. Khwāja Ḥasan perversely went off to Badakhshān. The Mīrzā sent his family to strong places, and prepared for brigandage. When he learnt that H.M. had halted near Bigrām and that the army was advancing under the command of the Prince, he, at the foolish talking of ignorant persons, prepared for battle, and exerted himself to spill his own honour. When H.M. perceived this, he joined knowledge with prudence, and resolved to proceed on rapidly. On the 15th he left Prince Sulṭan Selīm in charge of the main camp, together with S'aīd K., Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and many loyal servants. He issued orders that the camp should proceed on slowly, stage by stage. On that day, as it had become evening, the standards halted at Jamrūd. Next morning, at dawn, he went on rapidly. He passed through the difficult defile of the Khaibar, and rested for a while in the neighbourhood of Daka by the bank of the stream. At the end of the day, when the air was cooler he proceeded to make a night-march, and on that day halted at Lājīpūr.[1] In the morning he 360
reached Jalālābād. The landholders of that part obtained their wishes. For the repose of the troops he left Jān Darvesh K. and Shamsu-d-dīn Krorī. Next[2] day he reached Bāgh Ṣafā. The

[1] Variant Lājūpūr. It is not marked on the maps.

[2] B.M. M.S. Add. 27, 247 has on 19 Amardād—last day of Jamāda-al-

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swift cavaliers of the army used to continually arrive, and give news of the evil thought of the Mīrzā, and of the activity of the imperialists (those under Murād who were in advance). But at this station no one came, and the scouts too returned, saying that the road in front was held by the Afghans. Next day the standards halted at Gandamak. At the end of the day Ḥājī Muḥammad Aḥadī, who was one of the noted brave men, and who had been sent on purpose, returned after going half-way, and from misunderstanding brought news which was far from being correct. He reported that the victorious army had met with loss. H.M. observed that the news did not appear to be true, otherwise some men of the great army would have come in. From foresight, he held a council, and asked what was proper to be done. A number agreed that he should delay until the army which was with the prince (Selīm) should come up. Some represented that if some thing untoward had happened, they were few in number, and that it was not safe to stand still, and that they should go back to the camp, and after that prepare for war. Some, who looked to the favour of God, and the daily-increasing fortune, represented that although they were few, how could they add to their numbers? H.M.'s men were all brave and experienced, and the proper thing was to go on. If by heaven's decree anything untoward had happened, the enemy would be terrified by the sound of the august retinue and would disperse. H.M. approved of this opinion, and proceeded onwards. On the way, some headmen came in, and uttered peaceable and affectionate words. The unique pearl of wisdom remarked that it was evident from their language that the report was not true, and on that day he halted at Surkhāb. From skill and foresight he drew up his troops in battle-array. H.M. was in the centre. Zain K. Kokaltāsh had command of the right wing, and Maṯṯalib K. commanded the left wing. Some Begs and Aḥadīs were in the van. At the end of the day, when the heroes were ready for battle, news of victory arrived. But as the couriers were Afghans, and the report was from Karm-
361 ullah Kambū, prudent persons did not put much faith in it. They thought it might be fabricated, as otherwise they would have had reports from the prince and the other leaders. H.M. inquired from

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ākhirī (31 July 1581). Next day, which was Bahrām the 20th and = 1 Rajab, he arrived at Gandamak.

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some of the zamīndārs, and it appeared from their statements that a victory had been won. He observed to judicious persons that though they (the zamīndārs) did not, out of hypocrisy and evil nature, tell the real facts yet they had left off the original story. Next day he proceeded from Surkhab to Jagdalak. Some active[1] men came and brought reports from the Prince, and gave news of victory. Men were delighted, and thanks were returned to God by the tongue of action.

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[1] A B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 says that it was Khwāja M'uīn who brought the news about the Prince.

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CHAPTER LXIII.

Victory of Prince Sulṭan Murād, and the disgraceful defeat of M. Ḥakīm.

(This chapter begins with twelve lines of turgid rhetoric. It then proceeds as follows.)

The Mīrzā left the highway of obedience on account of the intrigues of wicked wretches who dig up the foundations of houses, and cast down the roof of palaces. At the time of the rebellion in the eastern provinces, he made the pleasant land of India full of
362 the dust of opposition. From the day that he returned in an ashamed condition, sometimes he blamed his star, and sometimes he became aware of his own folly; at one time he censured his foolish companions, and blamed himself for having listened to them. In this state of bewilderment the sound of the coming of the august retinue still more disquieted him. He could not stay as he was, nor yet could he devise any plan. He had not the clearness of intellect to induce him to prostrate himself at the holy threshold, nor had his companions the sense to take his children to do homage. His sister and Khwāja Ḥasan from fear of the consequences of disobedience hastened off to Badakhshān. Farīdūn and some others, who knew that they were the staple of disaffection, were afraid to come and kiss the threshold. Sometimes he thought of fortifying the ravine of the Khaibar, and sometimes he thought he would go via Bangash and stir up trouble in India. Sometimes he thought that he should fortify the citadel of Kabul and hide himself in the hills. On account of the majesty of the imperial army he could not carry out any of these things, and the inhabitants of Kabul could not bring themselves to defend the city or to fight. How can we, they said, contend with our benefactor? He was obliged to make over the keys of the fortress to the men of the city in order that they might deliver them to H.M. and to betake himself with some men to Qarābāgh. Every one removed his family to some distant place.

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His (the Mīrzā's) sole thought was that if the army of fortune pressed upon them he would go to Tūrān. Otherwise he would stay in the hills and deserts. Whoever has not wisdom from within, nor has from without a friend to speak bitter truths, becomes stained by failure. One day he was in a state of confusion on the bank of the Ghorband river, and held a council as to what should be done. Some said that the imperial army would not come beyond Peshāwar, and that there was not unanimity in it. By thousands of futile speeches they restrained him from his intention (of flying to Tūrān, etc.) and made him eager for war. Ignorant and foolish friends did the work of wise enemies. Farīdūn was sent off with a number of companions to Āqserai[1] to collect troops, and to look after the peasantry. The Mīrzā himself followed him and sought for an engagement. As the imperial army had nearly approached, and his troops were somewhat disorganized, he resolved to remain in Sanjad-dārā until his soldiers were assembled. Farīdūn chose ambushes in order that he might, if possible, inflict some injury on the imperial army. Ḥaidar[2] 'Alī was sent off with some troops to Kabul in order that he might put that place in a condition of security and then come to the battle-field. The ruined men waited for their opportunity in Banī-Badra[3] which is between the Dūāb and Butkhāk. The imperial army had marched from Bārīkāb. That evil-disposed one (Farīdūn) had gone to Cinārtū (?) and was in a hollow.[4] When the victorious troops had passed that ambush, 363
Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhāri, Makhṣūṣ K., and a party of heroes, who were the rearguard, let fall the thread of circumspection and hastened on. No one remained behind except Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn and a few others. On the 18th[5] Amardād (30 July 1581) the rascals fell upon the baggage and carried off some of it. At this time the brave men of the rearguard heard of this and hastened to

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[1] N. Kabul and about half-way between it and Chārīkār.

[2] B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 has Ḥaidar 'Alī Khwesh, i.e. "relation."

[3] Bīnī Padrāo in text, but the variant is supported by the Iqbāl-nāma and J. II. 406.

[4] عنجي which according to Vullers is a bad reading for غضجي a hollow place, or a marsh, i.e. a low place where water collects.

[5] Add. 27, 247 has the day of Rashn 18 Amardād = 29 Jamāla al-ākhirī (31 July). Ḥāji Muḥ. Aḥadī's account occurs *supra*., p. 360 of text. Cf. Elliot, Hist., p. 425.

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the fighting-place. The scoundrels were not successful and fled. Farīdūn took refuge at Bādāmcashma,[1] and the others went off rapidly towards Qūraqsaī and 'Ulughpūr. Apparently what the Aḥadī saw when on that day he brought unpleasing news—as has already been related—was something that he had seen of this disturbance. S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār wished to go with a body of men by way of Cinārtū to the halting place (i.e. to Khurd Kabul) and to engage the enemy if he fell in with them. On the same day the Mīrzā came to Cinārtū to find out the condition of Farīdūn. Suddenly an army appeared in the distance, and it appeared that this was a portion of the imperial troops. The Mīrzā[2] dispatched a number of daring men under the command of 'Alī Muḥammad Asp. The Shaikh (Jamāl) halted on the edge of a melon-field, a battle ensued, and while the fighting was going on, Farīdūn came up from behind. The enemy thought this was a reinforcement for the imperialists, and stopped fighting and retired. By God's help the Shaikh recognized them (Farīdūn's men) as hostile and turned his attack in that direction. A hot engagement took place, and the spectators were amazed. S. Daulat, Mathrā Dās and a number of brave men distinguished themselves. On the side of the enemy Bakht Beg, Ghaiūr Beg, Shādmān Parghalīq, Mullā Ghaiūrī fought gallantly.[3] The imperial servants fought their way to Khurd Kabul, where the prince's camp was. Also on this day Shagūna Qarāwal (scout), who had gone to make inquiries, offered up his life. Aḥmad Beg, Bakht Beg, Zāhid and others, who had returned from plundering, came upon him, and he died like a brave man. Those who imagined a vain thing had their pride increased by this circumstance. Also Mīr 'Abdullah[4] played away the coin of courage (i.e. behaved in a

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[1] Between Little Kabul and Bārīkāb. J. II. 399.

[2] The troops which the Mīrzā saw in the distance were S. Jamāl's. The text omits the word Mīrzā as also does the Cawnpore ed., but the two I.O. MSS. have it.

[3] The Iqbālnāma says that Muḥammad Sharīf, a young man who was related to the Mīr Khalīfa, was unhorsed and made prisoner by the Afghans.

[4] Apparently the correct reading is 'Abād Ullah as in the variant. One MS. has "in this year and month." Add. 27, 247 has 'Abdullah, and adds that he was the brother of Ḥājī Ḥabībullāh. It is interesting to notice that 'Abd Ullah was the name of the ambassador whom

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cowardly manner) in this year. A large sum of money had been sent with him for the troops. Sher Khwāja, Lāl Beg and a number of others met him, and from cowardice he was caught, and the money was plundered.

Ḥakīm M. came with a number of rebels to a height near the camp of fortune, but though the plundering and fighting encouraged the evil crew, yet he could not bring his heart to engage in a battle 364
by day. For a night and a day there was no engagement. Apparently they were collecting troops. Out of cheatery he sent some letters by the hand of a doomed man to Qulīj K., M. Yūsuf K., Naurang K., 'Alī Murād and some of the Caghatāī tribe. They contained proposals for acting in concert. M. Yūsuf K. in the excess of his anger tore up those letters in the assembly and put the bearer, 'Alī Murād, to death. It is an old custom[1] that tricksters send such letters at such times so that they may pervert people. Men of small capacity have injured the lives of devoted servants, and have believed in their disloyalty. Far-seeing persons of profound views have relied upon their fidelity and increased their favours to them. Those who favour the enemy do not know that the imperial servants have learnt wisdom at the threshold of fortune, and that the dust of double-heartedness is not raised by such evil schemes.

In fine the Kābulīs were dumbfounded by the might of the victorious troops. They abandoned good courses and sometimes turned their thoughts to the making of a night-attack. Some thought of a battle by day. On the eve of the 20th they kindled fires on the top of the hill, and proceeded to acts of turbulence. Evil thoughts took possession of them. They sent off on the right hand, Qazzāq, Amīr K. Islām-abādī, Afẓal Tūlakcī, and a number more; and on the left hand they sent Nūr Muḥammad Khwāja Khiẓrī, and a number of Hazāra infantry, in the hopes that they might cause

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Akbar sent to Goa in December, 1578, to procure the attendance of priests.

[1] Apparently A.F. is thinking of the time when Shāh Manṣūr was destroyed by the forgery of letters addressed to him. Considering the way that Akbar accepted letters written to Manṣūr is proof against him, it was but natural that M. Yūsuf should tear up the letters from M. Ḥakīm and kill the messenger.

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confusion in that dark night. The majestic dominion which is conjoined with eternity drew courage from seeing them. The heroes of the victorious army stood their ground and sought for battle. They regarded not these wiles and threatenings (*gāo-tāzī*). On 20 Amardād corresponding to Wednesday 1 Rajab, 1 August 1581, the Mīrzā came out from the defiles and dressed the field of battle. The strenuous combatants of fortune set themselves with a bold heart and tranquil view to giving their lives.

Verse.

From the blare of the trumpets
Trembling fell on hand and foot.
The heat of combat waxed so hot
That sparks came from the horses' hoofs.
From the roarings of *mast* elephants
Knots formed[1] in the throats of lions.

By the celestial aids which are always allied to the servants of daily-increasing fortune, the time of fighting had not yet reached the whole of the vanguard, so that there is no need to mention the other corps. The Mīrzā lost heart and took to flight. The imperial
365 servants rejoiced. Next morning Farīdūn with a body of men did not take account of what had happened, and stirred up the dust of battle. Of the officers of the vanguard, Naurang K. had come near the mouth of the ravine. The Kābulis attacked him, and gained some advantage. The victorious army was some distance behind. Nūram Beg and Tarsūn Beg Andījānī fell bravely. The Mīrzā plucked up a little spirit and came out of the ravine to the plain. The brave men of the vanguard, such as Shah Beg Kūlābī, Rafī' Rustāqī, and Fatḥ Mubārik brought the jewel of courage to market, and then with the brightened face of a good name packed up the baggage of existence (died).

Verse.

Two rivers of blood came into commotion,
The ground grew tulip-coloured from the fiery waves.

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[1] The variant *shikast* "broke" is supported by the I.O. MSS. Apparently the meaning is that the lions, i.e. the heroes, became speechless.

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They came face to face for battle,
Woes and calamities fell upon the heroes.
What can I say of that engagement
When I cannot tell one jot of it.

While the battle-field was adorned by the flashings of the scimitars, the Zabuliyāns were nearly getting the best of it. At this time Rajah Mān Singh came forward with a rush. First, Mādhū Singh, Ṣūrat Singh and a number of brave men formed platoons (*tōp tōp*) and went into battle. They sent ahead the rank-breaking elephants. Ibrāhīm K. Faujdār was on the special elephant Ran Mohan, and Jajhār K. on the special elephant Jagat Rai. Muḥammad K. was on the special elephants Gaj Mangal (the elephant of Mars) and Cānd K. on Lakhmī Sundar. Though this last was not a special one, it showed its quality this day and was placed in the special Fīlkhāna (elephant-stables). Ḥusain K. was on the special elephant Mukut. The life-destroying guns which were on the elephants were discharged. When the vanguard, which was like so many iron walls, came into action, the Kābulīs lost courage. 'Alī Muḥammad Asp and some well-wishers seized the Mīrzā's rein and took him to the desert of retreat. The breeze of victory blew on the rosebush of the hopes of the strenuous fighters. A watch and something more of the day had elapsed when the rays of fortune took possession of the earth. The fortunate prince, in spite of his youth, showed such courage and steadfastness that veterans remembered his firmness and his exertions. Many were of opinion that the Mīrzā would attack the army in the rear, and kept the other troops ready for 366
this contingency. For good reasons they did not pursue the foe. A great victory was gained. Many soldiers were killed in their flight. The ingrates and foolish talkers met with their deserts, and fell into the wide tract of ashamedness. The boasters and the impudent continually said to one another, "The Tūrānīs and Persians who are in the imperial army will join us without fighting, and the brave Rajputs and gallant Afghans[1] will end their days. The other

[1] The use of the word Afghan here, as if they were on the side of Akbar, is curious. Perhaps it means that the fight would only be between the Afghans and Rājputs. B.M. MS. Add. 27, 247 is worded differently. It says that Ḥakīm's people told him that the Qandahāris would come over to his side.

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natives of India will be made prisoners." By these fictions they increased the Mīrzā's hallucinations. No! No! Though that inexperienced youth knew nothing of the spiritual world, yet his amount of external knowledge was not such (i.e. little) that he should be led away by this incorrect language. Nor had the foolish and confused such a stock of infatuation as to suppose such things of the fidelity of the Tūrānians and Persians, which is known to the whole world. Nor were the great deeds of the Rājputs and the Shaikh-zādas of India unknown to them. Evidently they thought that by this prattling they would increase the courage of the Zābulis and would inspire terror into the victorious army.

On the day that Mīrzā was leaving Bigrām one of the barefooted men of enlightenment (i.e. a religious mendicant) told him that a battle with the victorious army would not be propitious to him. It would be best for him to draw rein and leave of this enterprise. From presumption and self-will he did not listen to him. The Mīrzā now had his time of attacking and being defeated. Several of his intimates were reduced to ashes by the fire of the guns. Qāsim Khwāja after experiencing the might of the victorious army represented to the Mīrzā the turning back of his men, and seizing his rein, wished to lead him away. The Mīrzā, because he was a little confused, did not hearken to him and abused him. Meanwhile 'Alī Muḥammad Asp came up to help him. The Mīrzā became angry and threatened to kill him. That excellent man (lit. full of auspiciousness) said, "First send me to the abode of non-existence, and then fly." By this devotion and right-thinking, the Mīrzā understood his object, and went off rapidly. In the neighbourhood of Kotal Minār some victorious soldiers arrived, and the Mīrzā with great difficulty extricated himself. That day he rested at Qarā Bāgh, and then went on to Istarghach (N. Kabul). Many of his near relatives, and among them his eldest son Kaiqobād, joined him there. From thence he went off to Ghorband.

The fortunate prince went on the 21st (3 August) to the *jalgah* of Sīāh Sang, and held an assembly. All sorts of men beheld the
367 light of true rule, and rejoiced, and that ancient place, which is a delightsome spot, was refreshed by the irrigation of justice. At the time[1] when the standards of fortune were moving from Surkhāb to

[1] A.F. here repeats what he had said at p. 361, end of previous chapter.

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Jagdalak, swift messengers brought the news of victory, and the marvels of heaven-aided fortune were impressed anew on high and low. Supplications and thanksgivings were offered up anew. Next day he encamped at Bārīkāb, and on 25th he halted at Butkhāk. The soldiers and the peasantry, male and female, of Zabulistan, flocked in from every side, and became the recipients of various favours. At this stage Kuar Mān Singh and many other officers did homage, and were exalted by the favour of the Shāhinshāh. Next morning he marched. On the way the prince and other high officers paid their respects. He halted at Sīāh Sang, which is known by men as Safed Sang, and there Turk and Tājīk performed the *kornish*. He observed the precepts of the astrologers and halted there for some days. Then he went and visited the Shahrārā-garden [1] (Pride of the city) and other recreative spots in that blissful city. He remembered the places which he had seen in boyhood and described them by special marks, and when these were inquired into, his descriptions were found to be exactly correct. Fresh proof was given of his intelligence and memory. About this time Lashkar [2] K. of Baqlāna, who was famous for turbulence, was brought in chains by the husbandmen of that country, and was put to death in retribution for his crimes. As H.M.'s intention was to spend some time in this country, which is a garden, and a heart-delighting spot, in worshipping God, and in administering balm to the wounds of the inhabitants, he sent off his elephants to Jalālābād under the charge of Sayid Ḥāmid, Sayid Bahāū-d-dīn and others. At this time news came that the Mīrzā was bewildered and almost mad. On hearing the reverberation of the royal cavalcade he had gone off to Ghorband, and his idea was that if an army should come to look for him he would become like a Qalandar and go off to retirement in Tūrān. Out of abundant graciousness H.M. sent Laṭīf Khwāja and Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-laṭīf to him with salutary counsels. His whole design was that he should be convinced of the royal clemency and come to court. In an auspicious hour, on the

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[1] J. II. 404.

[2] This man does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere, and I do not know if Baqlāna here mentioned is the Baglān in Nāsik described in an earlier page. But probably he was an Afghan. The Iqbālnāma seems to have Naghlānī (a strifemonger?).

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29th (9 August 1581)[1] H.M. seated himself in the citadel of Kabul. Splendour took possession of that country, and a court was held
368 there and a great feast. Also during this year the weighment (of Akbar[2]) took place, and was made against choice articles. Mankind were filled with joy by the royal bounties.

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[1] The T.A. Elliot, V. 425 says Akbar entered Kabul on Friday, 10 Rajab, and remained there for 20 days. If 10 Rajab is correct, then Akbar entered on 10 August 1581. Add, 27, 247 says he entered Kabul on the day of Isfandārmuz, 29 Amardād = Friday, 10 Rajab.

[2] This is the weighment which apparently took place a few days after the day of Akbar's birth according to the Hijra era; that took place on 5 Rajab 949, and Akbar entered the city of Kabul on 10 Rajab.

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CHAPTER LXIV.

Forgiveness of the offences of M. Ḥakīm, and return of the army to India.

(The chapter begins with eleven lines of laudation of Akbar for his forgiving nature. It then proceeds as follows.)

It many times occured to some loyal and devoted ones that some servant should form an ambush and put the Mīrzā out of the way. From feelings of true affection he did not approve of this, in spite of the increase of his turbulence. With his pearl-loaded tongue he said, "Why should the sons of men employ their God-given strength in accomplishing the desires of the juggling sensual soul? And why should I for the sake of my own repose endeavour to take the life of a brother? or ungratefully allow a devoted follower to be slain? If he (the Mīrzā) is going the wrong road, thinking it is right, he is doing a religious act, otherwise, he is suffering from the malady of ignorance. We ought not to trouble those who are suffering pains in the desert of unwisdom." At the time that the august retinue was in the pleasant place of Kabul, the Mīrzā's roll of life was nearly being folded up.[1] In that dangerous state the envoys of the Caliphate brought the good news of forgiveness, and showed to that distracted and hopeless one the succour of daily-increasing favour. The Mīrzā for a time thought it was a dream, and thinking that reproaches were intended did not believe the news. When he knew the truth, and saw that the court of acceptance of apologies was open he fell into weeping and lamentation, 369
and told the story of his own want of wisdom, of his misfortunes, the infidelity of companions, and his shame, and said in reply, "I ought to have rubbed my forehead on the holy threshold before this,

[1] Apparently this refers to some illness of the Mīrzā. Akbar refers to the proposal to kill Muḥammad Ḥakīm in the conversations reported in the Ain. See Jarrett III. 383.

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and to have made its dust the collyrium of my eyes and heart. Now that I have fallen upon this day, and the horror of my soul has increased, how can I have the heart or assurance to present myself before H.M. and what would such a coming evince, and what petition should I make? Owing to my misfortune I cannot bring my sister and Khwāja Ḥasan to make apologies for they have out of fear, and on seeing my evil day, gone to Badakhshān. But I have been comforted by the inspiriting message. I am hopeful that on this occasion I shall be excused from coming to pay my respects. I am sending my son to do homage. When my mind has become a little eased, I shall gather eternal fortune by the bliss of the *kornish*." To this effect did he send a petition along with 'Alī Muḥammad Asp.

On 1 Shahrīyūr Laṭīf Khwāja[1] and Qāẓī 'Abdu-l-laṭīf came to H.M. and reported the confused condition of the Mīrzā. H.M. was displeased, and he issued an order that some strenuous men should go, and bring that slumbrous-witted one to the path of good service. At this time, 'Alī Muḥammad Asp obtained, through the courtiers, the privilege of an audience. As he was one of the old servants of the sublime family, his supplications were accepted. The offences of the Mīrzā were forgiven, and Zābulistān was conferred upon him anew. And as the presence of the royal standards was a cause of confusion to the Mīrzā, H.M. proceeded next day towards India. He went in the first place to the cemetery[2] and the holy tomb of H.M. Firdūs Makānī (Bābur), and said his prayers. After that he enjoyed himself in the Shahr-ārā garden. At the end of the day he ordered the high officers in attendance on Prince Sulṭān Murād to proceed stage by stage, and he himself went on by relays to Jalālābād where the great camp was. Makhṣūṣ K., S. Jamāl, and the writer of this noble volume and some others had the privilege of accompanying him. At the beginning of the night he rested for a while near Bigrām (the one near Kabul). When a watch of the

[1] B. 196.

[2] Gazargāh "A ferry or passage." But used here, I think, to mean a place of passing away, i.e. a cemetery. Or perhaps it is another form of gāzur gāh, i.e. a bleaching ground, but which, according to Major Raverty, means a graveyard, as being a place where bones are bleached.

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night had passed, he went on again and at midday rested at Bārīkāb. He went on on horseback again at lighting-up time, and next day at midday reached Jalālābād. The prince (Selīm) placed his head on the blessed feet and paid his respects, and the chaste ladies were filled with joy. The officers prostrated themselves and offered up thanksgiving. Babblers had told various lies about the Mīrzā. And there was a report that the standards of victory were going towards Tūrān. The officers had been somewhat apprehensive of the strange country, and of ambushes on the part of the 370
Kābulīs, when all at once the cavalier of enlightenment's plain (Akbar) arrived. There was great rejoicing in the camp. On the 7th (Shahrīyūr) he proceeded towards India, and encamped on the river-bank. H.M. and some of the ladies visited the Bāgh Ṣafā and at night came to the camp. Next day the prince(Murād) and the officers came up from behind. At this stage S. Farīd came from Bihar and did homage. He reported the failure of the enemy and the freedom of the province from rebels. On the 15th he passed through the Khaibar and halted at Jamrūd.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī, From the time that he had been disgraced in the engagement with Shahbāz K., and had escaped from the hands of the landholders as has already been described, he was wandering about in the jungles. Every day he tore the foot of exertion in the thornbrake, and by fresh griefs heaped up the punishment of his wickedness. In this state of misfortune and bewilderment he was joined by one of his servants named Maqṣūd who poured out to him his accumulations. Rebellious thoughts again made that evil-conditioned man mad. He increased his turbulence, and distressed the peasantry. In a short time a number of fly-like men who were slaves of gold assembled, and the city of Bahraich was plundered. Fakhr 'Alī (son of ?) Wazīr K. made a small fight and owing to his evil star, and the bad conduct of his companions, was unsuccessful. The city and its suburbs came into the possession of that evil doer. Wazīr K., Mihtar K., and the other fief-holders united together and by the might of daily-increasing fortune came to a fight with him. The battle began with the discharge of cannon and muskets with the river Sarū intervening. The rebel from fear of the new arrivals remained that day in camp and at night went off with a few compa-

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nions. Soon the landholders took the side of the chosen servants, and their might increased. At night he left family and home and fled. The victorious troops pursued him to Kalyānpūr and then returned. M'aṣūm went off to Jālupāra, and stirred up strife there also. Many fly-like creatures joined him and the town of Muḥammadābād was plundered. There were fears that Jaunpūr would be sacked. Shāham K. came from Tirhut, Pahār K. from Ghāzīpūr,
371 and Qāsim K. from Cāndpūr to remedy matters. They were active, and that crooked one became distracted. His men dispersed and he abandoned his plunder and crossed the Sarū with a few men at the ferry of Haldī. When the victorious troops were chanting pæans on every side he dropped his strife-mongering somewhat, and proceeded to subterfuges. The Khān 'Āẓim M. Koka was in Ḥājīpūr. He sent him a letter of supplication and begged his pardon. The Khān 'Āẓim remembered old acquaintance and behaved with humanity. He helped him with money, goods and an estate. He also begged H.M. to forgive him. The forgiving sovereign in his acceptance of excuses and love made the Kokaltāsh hopeful of such a favour, and the world became like a blooming garden.

Verse.[1]

The penitent even in dreams won't listen to the word "Repentance,"
If he see the loving wiles of His forgiveness of sins.

One of the occurrences was the death of Saiyid Hāshim Bokhārī. In the beginning of this expedition the Mīr had been sent off to the government of Sirohī. Mīr Kalān, Kamālū-d-dīn Ḥusain Diwāna and some other strenuous ones accompanied him. When he had

[1] I am indebted to Maulavī 'Abdul Ḥaq for the explanation of this verse. It means that as sinners knew how eager Akbar was to forgive them, they would not, even in dreams, think of repenting. They would rather go on sinning in order to receive more forgiveness. The Maulavī quotes parallel passages from Niẓāmī's Sikandarnāma and from the poet Qudsī. The latter says that on the day of judgment God will be there with the coin of forgiveness, while he (Qudsī) will have the goods of his sins under his arm. That is, he will keep them hidden till a good price be offered for them by God.

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taken up his quarters there, Sulṭān Deora,[1] a great landholder in that place, pretended to be obedient, and made the semblance of friendship; by plausible words he won over some wicked Rajputs to his side and lay in wait for an opportunity to do deadly mischief. At a time when the loyal were far off and the rebellious at hand, he attacked the negligent Saiyid. On 2 Amardād he and some others bravely fell, and played away in a proper manner the coin of life. A few who behaved in that battle in a cowardly manner were punished (by Akbar) and that crooked one received a severe chastisement.

On 16 Shahriyūr H.M. halted near Bigrām. News came that Qāsim K. had made an excellent bridge over the great and turbulent river Indus. Crowds of men crossed over and rejoiced.

One of the occurrences was S. Jamāl[2] Bakhtiyār's being seized with melancholy. When H.M. was emerging from the defile of the Khaibar he perceived that he had been drinking. He denied somewhat, and then made proper excuses. H.M. rebuked him and did not allow him to perform the *kornish*. From excess of madness he became light-headed and destroyed his property and became a beggar. H.M. from kindness and in order to teach him put him into confinement. S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm[3] of Lucknow and some others of his boon-companions were rebuked and excluded from Court.

On the 22nd H.M. crossed the Indus by the bridge, and glorified the land of India by his world-adorning footsteps. The guardianship of the Indus province was entrusted to the activity of Kuar Mān Singh. H.M. had some *qamargha* hunting in that neighbourhood, and enjoyed himself. Also at this time Rajah Todar Mal came and did homage. He had been with the army, and engaged in administering the eastern provinces. As much work did not remain to be done in Bihar, and the officers had not the privilege of going to Bengal, he had been sent for to take charge of the viziership. Fresh life was given to him, and he entered into service. He took office in the beginning of Mihr. In this month H.M. left the banks of the Indus, and went hunting. On 20 Mihr he crossed the Bihat at Rasūlpūr by a bridge, and on the 25th he crossed by a 372

[1] According to B. the name is Sultān Deodah.

[2] B. 425.

[3] B. 470 and M'aāṣir, II. 564.

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bridge the Cenāb in the neighbourhood of Hailān[1] at the ferry of Jugālī. On 5 Ābān he crossed the Rāvī, which was fordable, and encamped near the Serai of Daulat K. On this day he appointed Ṣadrs,[2] and the garden of the hopes of the unsuccessful was irrigated. H.M. had regard to the number of tenure-holders (sayūrghaldārān) and to their convenience, and abolished the single office, and distributed the work among a number of honest and experienced men, so that applicants might not have the pain of delay, and also that there might not be room for fraud. The Ṣadārat of the provinces of Delhi, Malwa and Gujrat was made over to Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ, that of Agra, Kālpī, and Kālinjar to S. Abu-l-faiẓ faiẓī, that from Ḥājīpūr to the Sarū to Ḥakīm Ḥamām, that of Bihar to Ḥakīm 'Alī, that of Bengal to Ḥakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk, that of the Panjab to Qāẓī 'Alī-Bakhshī.[3] Also, here and there, in large cities, he appointed an able and unbigoted man to be head of the Qāẓīs of that quarter, so that he might look after that crew of large-turbaned and long-sleeved men. Also at this time Rajah Bhagwān Dās, the commander-in-chief of the Panjab, petitioned for a visit from the world's lord, and his request was granted. On the 8th H.M. cast the shadow of his favour over him, and he obtained everlasting happiness. On the 21st he crossed the Beās (Hyphasis) by a bridge and on the 28th the Suṭlej, also by a bridge. Next day he halted at Sirhind, and enjoyed the gardens thereof. At this stage, Rajah Bhagwān Dās, Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Jagannāth, and other fief-holders of the Panjab were allowed to depart. At Pānīpat on 7 Āẕar Shahbāz K. was exalted by doing homage. From the time when he had driven off M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to the wilds, he had been in Fatḥpūr in charge of the orders of the Caliphate. When he heard of the return of H.M. he came away, and obtained

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[1] S. Chiliānwāla. See B. 457 n. 1, and 360.

[2] B. 268, 270 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 304.

[3] The text has Badakhshī, but the variant Bakhshī is supported by the I.O. MSS. Qāẓī 'Alī was a Bakhshī, but he is described as of Bagdad, not of Badakhshān. See also Tūzuk J., p. 50, where it is mentioned that Aṣaf K. was made Mīr Bakhshī at Basāwal 28 years before 1016. This should be 989, not 988. The M'aāsir U. states that Aṣaf K. was made Bakhshī in the room of Qāẓī 'Alī. The latter probably vacated the appointment on being appointed to the Panjab.

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bliss. On the 10th[1] H.M. reached Delhi. He visited the tomb of H.M. Jannat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn), and distributed bounties to the guardians thereof. He also visited the abode of Ḥājī Begam (his 373
stepmother) and paid his devotions. There was a joyful meeting, and desires were accomplished. At the end of the day he was informed that the litter of H.H. Miriam-makānī was near at hand. The world's lord treated her with great respect. Prince Sulṭan Daniel was in attendance on her and now did homage (to Akbar). Sultan Khwāja, Shāh Qūlī K. Maḥram, and many other loyal servants did homage. On the 17th he encamped near Mathura, and he went to that ancient place of pilgrimage and witnessed the spectacle of the benighted ones (lit. the slumbrous ones of the land of recognition). For a short time he at the request of Mathura Dās, who was one of the chosen servants, glorified his house by his advent.

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[1] The T.A., Elliot V. 426, states that Akbar reached Lahore on the last day of the Ramẓān (October 28, 1581) and that he reached Delhi on 25 Shawāl (22 November). Badayūnī gives the date of arrival at the Indus as 12 Sh'abān (11 September).

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CHAPTER LXV.

37 ARRIVAL OF THE ROYAL RETINUE AT FATḤPŪR.

The just lord of the world by wisdom and foresight, and the guidance of daily-increasing fortune, led the great army of India to Zābulistān, and by skill and planning brought the work to a successful end. The dignity of counsel-giving was exalted, and a new jewel of humanity was displayed. Prudence and courage went shoulder to shoulder, and graciousness and magnanimity embraced each other. By wisdom he laid the foundations of war, and led a world into an open plain. He disregarded self, and showed the path of courage to a crooked foe. The retribution of the wicked was accomplished in an exquisite manner. A great expedition, such as had not occurred to the minds of the rulers of India, was effected in an admirable way. The jewels of endurance, wide capacity and knowledge of mysteries, were displayed to the four quarters of an astonished world. Though the rebels of the eastern provinces went the roadless way, and the officers requested that he would make an expedition in that direction, he took up the rebellion in the Panjab, and did not grant their prayer. Such calm and endurance were exhibited as to be extolled everywhere, and a splendid remedy was applied to the distractions of mankind. Appreciation and arrangement received fresh splendour, and he was made glorious by not permitting the chastisement of his ungrateful brother whom he looked upon as an elder child. By not leaving administration to the officers he strengthened the cords of discrimination. In spite of so many offences he granted to the Mīrzā his country, his property, his life and his honour. He fulfilled the obligations of battle and
374 banquet, rewarded the loyal servants, and punished the wicked. On 19 Āẕar,[1] after ten months, he glorified the capital by his advent.

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[1] 5 Ẕilq'ada 989—1 December 1581. Elliot V. 426.

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Verse.

A breeze of joy comes from Fatḥpūr,
For my King returns from a long journey.
What bliss is his advent, for from every heart
Thousands of rejoicings come forth.
O Faiẓī, glorious be his arrival to a world.
For a world comes into his presence.

On this day of joy the great officers, the loyal servants, and others were drawn up in two sides of the way for a distance of four *kos* from the city. The mountain-like elephants stood there in their majesty. The Khedive of the world proceeded on his way on a heaven-like elephant, attended by the "Avaunt" of the Divine Halo. The obedient princes moved on in their order. Many grandees proceeded in front of the mace-bearers (yesāwalān). The panoply[1] was there in its splendour and was followed by various officers. The noise of the drums and the melodies of the magician-like musicians gave forth news of joy. Crowds of men were gathered in astonishment on the roofs and at the doors. At the end of the day he sate in the lofty hall (daulatkhāna) on the throne of sovereignty. He dispensed justice by rewarding the loyal and punishing the hostile and made the increase of dominion and success a vehicle for worship and supplication.

One of the occurrences was the capital punishment of Bahādur. That evil man was the son of S'aīd Badakhshī[2] and owing to wickedness of brains he distressed the peasantry. He showed conspicuous folly, as has been in some measure described. He made the hill-country of Tirhut the abode of turbulence, and emerging from there when opportunity offered, he opened the hand of plundering. As that quarter was in the *jāgīr* of Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, and the Khān 'Āẓim assisted him, and he joined skill to courage, Bahādur sustained heart-breaking defeats. His home and family were plundered and his children captured. Therefore he had recourse to wiles, and sued for mercy. He came and paid his respects to Ghāzī K. As the

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1 *Qūr.* B. 110.

2 The Iqbālnāma and I.O. MS. 236 have Safed, and this seems correct for in the verse quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe, 307, the name of Bahādur's father is given as Isfed, which is another form of Safed.

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marks of sedition and turbulence were seen in his words and actions, Ghāzī K. arrested him and sent him to the Khān 'Āẓim at Ḥājīpūr. The latter sent him to court, at the time of H.M.'s arrival he was brought in with chains on his neck, and stocks (*kunda*) on his feet, and met with his deserts.[1]

375 One of the occurrences was the arrival of Ḥaidar[2] to do homage. H.M. asks nothing from the princes of the age beyond obedience, and when they render this he does not exert the might of sovereignty against them. Accordingly he had sent Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil to advise Yūsuf K. the prince of Kashmīr. He had the good fortune to accept such counsels and to send his third son to court along with the choice things of the country. He was distinguished by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was the placing of Shahbāz K. in the prison of schooling. It is indispensable that man should at the time of smiling fortune and of increase of wealth keep watch over himself. Instability[3] and too much of the coquetry of the world—which is the demon-land of success—soon unsettle one, and cast him into eternal ruin. As by the virtue of daily-increasing fortune, good service was performed by him, and he drank more of the world's wine than he could digest, he showed some self-will. At the time of inquiry he exhibited presumption and self-auctioneering. Inasmuch as the world's lord was relieved then from the stress of the administration of the world and was taking counsel (*jānqī*) with wise and disinterested men, he looked closely into the conduct of this

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[1] The T.A., Elliot V. 426, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 307, seem to say that he was killed by the K. Āẓim's servants, but probably Niẓāmu-d-dīn only means that he was caught by them.

[2] He was the third son of Yūsuf Cak, B. 479, where he is wrongly described as son of Y'aqūb. Ḥaidar Malik says, I.O. MS. 510, 182*b*, that M. Ṭāhir and Ṣāliḥ were sent as ambassadors, and he gives an abstract of Akbar's letter. In another letter, p. 185*a*, Akbar reproached Yūsuf for sending first Ḥaidar who was not fit for service, and then Y'aqūb who was somewhat mad.

[3] *Tangdastī*. I.O. MS. 236 has *tezdastī*. The Iqbālnāmā says that Shahbāz had offended Miriam-makānī by behaving disrespectfully to her servants when he was in charge of the capital (Agra) and that sh had complained about this. Se a-yūnī, Lowe, 333.

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narrow-souled, foul-tongued[1] man. On 24 Dai he went off to hunt in the direction of Nagarcīn, and arrived there on 3 Bahman. On that day, in drawing[2] up the guards (*taslīm-i-caukī*) the Bakhshīs of the court of the Caliphate had placed him (Shahbāz) below M. Khān, who now has the lofty title of Khān-Khānān. He went wrong and did not obey the holy commands, and severed the links of gratitude and loyalty. Or rather he let go the thread of mercantile considerations. As his capacity was small, and the wine was strong, he was unable to keep quiet at the banquet of service. He came out of the cool abode of reason, and worshipped his idiosyncrasy. H.M. in order to instruct him made him over to Rai Sāl Darbārī, and placed him in the school of practical wisdom. Next morning he returned to the capital.

One of the occurrences was the death of the (Malika Jahān) Queen of the world, Ḥājī Begam. From the time that she[3] had returned from the Ḥijāz she had, in order to perform the duties, taken up her abode near the tomb of H.M. Jinnat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and had looked after it. She regarded this service as the material for gathering bliss in realm and religion. The poor of that spot gained their desires from the table of her bounty. Inasmuch as the world is not a place of permanence, and a commercial ferry (guzargāh bāzargānī[4]), not a spiritual resting-place, that secluded one packed up the goods of life from this treacherous inn on the 7th (about 17 January 1582) and turned away her face from the caravanserai. A world grieved, and Time became sorrowful. How 376
can I write about the condition of the loving throne-occupant. The capacity of mortals is not sufficient for this, and it does not fall into the mould of speech. And why should it not be so! The manage-

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[1] Jahāngir, Price's translation, p. 35, calls him foul-mouthed and scurrilous.

[2] See 'Ain of 2nd Book, B. 257, where the word *taslīm* is used to describe the drawing up of the guards on the first day of the solar month.

[3] It appears that she returned in the beginning of 1580, for Aquaviva and his companions met an escort going to fetch her from the coast when they were journeying to Fatḥpūr in January—February 1580.

[4] *guzargāh bāzargānī*. Guzargāh means a ferry but possibly it means a cemetery, i.e. a place of passing away, or it may be meant for gāzargah a bleaching ground.

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ment of this material world is a great fact and the accomplishments thereof a great task (?).[1] Seeing that that fountain of gentleness is filled with grief whenever a human being dies who has had some goodness in him, an estimate may be made of what his feelings were at the severing of an existence so bound to his soul. This lady of the family of dominion was an ocean of goodnesses, and loved the sovereign from his earliest years. He also was wonderfully attached to her. The ladies of the harem wept and tore their hair on account of pain for which there was no medicine. Inasmuch as H.M. was primate of the spiritual world, and there is nothing extravagant there, and no wrinkle on the heart's brow, he refrained from impatience, and took up his station in the pure shrine of resignation, and administered balms to the wounded hearts.

The awakened and enlightened well know that three caravans move towards this three to five days' inn. The first is the spermal caravan which proceeds from the loins of fathers to the wombs of mothers, the second is the becoming a celestial soul and a body descending into clay, the third is the strange condition of the beings who in this variegated abode partake of joy and sorrow. Whiles man becomes fixed there, whiles his nature is restless in it. The enlightened heart moves on with firm foot in this turmoil, and endeavours to help both itself and others. He who does not understand gets confused and bewildered.

Out of abundant kindness he sent Qāsim 'Alī K. to Delhi in order that he might convey the graciousness of H.M. to the servants of that secluded one, and might restrain them from grief, and might console them. He was also to perform in a proper manner what was necessary for the lady on her journey (i.e. help her soul by almsgiving and prayers). May Almighty God cast a ray of His own eternity on the plane of the existence of this wisely-walking sove-

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[1] *dastāfzārī*. The next clause is not quite intelligible to me. There are variants in the MSS. but they do not throw light on the passage. Possibly the meaning is that Akbar showed wonderful resignation, see what follows. Ḥājī Begam appears to have been a good woman. Even Badayūnī has a good word for her. She commenced, if she did not finish, Humāyūn's tomb, and also made the Arab Sarai. See Keene's Delhi and the Āṡār Ṣanādid of Saiyid Aḥmad, p. 32. She is said to have brought 300 Arabs from Mecca.

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reign! And may mortals receive life from his glorious graciousness and equity.

Quatrain.

May his soul have an eternal mansion,
May his threshold be life's sanctuary,
May his beauty long glorify the world,
May his nights be ascents heavenward, his days New Year days.

One of the occurrences was the coming of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī to court. In the middle of Bahman that wanderer in ruin's wilderness came to Fatḥpūr. Inasmuch as his infatuation was not yet laid, he did not bring the face of supplication to the threshold of fortune, but chose a place outside the city near the shrine of the hidden saint (*Pīrghaib*).[1] In spite of so many crimes his sole and 377
evil idea was that the sovereign would notice him. If repentance had wholly possessed his soul, he would have come to the court and have stained his forehead with the dust of repentance so that the Incomparable Deity should have forgiven him, and he had attained the shade of graciousness.

The adventures of this young man of slumbrous intellect and fortune are as follows. When helplessness took possession of him he for a time sought protection with the Khān Āẓim M. Koka by means of fawning. The Mīrzā, from honesty and simplicity, believed his deceitful expressions to be sincere and assisted him. He helped him in various ways with money, goods, and a *jāgīr*. The territory of Mahīsa[2] which is on the skirt of the hills was part of the last. And he promised that when the royal standards returned to India, he would take him to court, and obtain favour for him. Inasmuch as he was bad at heart, and cherished evil thoughts, he took leave and went to his estate. Many shameless men gathered round

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1 The Iqbālnāma says that after some days he went to Miriam Makānī and got her to use her influence with her son. Probably M'aṣūm's living outside of Fatḥpūr made his assassination—which took place not long afterwards—of easier accomplishment. I do not know where the "Pīr Ghaib" is.

2 I.O. MS. has Mahsī, and it is perhaps the Mahsī in Campārān J. II. 155 and Beames J.A.S.B. for 1885, p. 173.

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him. The Mīrzā repented of having sent him, and set himself to remedy the situation. As M'aṣūm had not the strength for battle, he gave up the idea and went off, intending to go to court. His whole notion was that if an opportunity offered, he would raise the head of sedition. Otherwise he would go to court and have recourse to wheedling. The Mīrzā at the instigation of evil men allowed this strifemonger to go off without an escort of troops (?) and a great mistake was made in the matter of administration. He exerted himself in going astray and in stratagems, but as he had little means of fighting, and as there were many imperial servants on all sides of him, and his mother, sister and wife were in confinement, he could not stir up the dust of dissension, and was unable to hale himself to the corner of ruin. From helplessness he came to the city of abundance, and fell into the crapulousness of arrogance.

Also at this time Qāzī 'Abdu-s-samī'[1] was exalted to the position of Qāẓī[2] of the army (*'askar*). He was of a noble family in Andijān, and was one of the first of the age for the usual sciences, powers of exposition (*tanqīḥ-i-taqrīr*), and right thinking. Formerly Qāzī Jalāl[3] Multānī held that office. When it was discovered that worldly interests had depraved the intellect of that avaricious man, and that he had deviated from truth and rectitude, and also it became notorious that his son had embezzled treasury-money, he was removed from office and from trust, and the pen of supersession was written over the forehead of his circumstances. And in considera-

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[1] B. 545, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 324. He is there called Miyankālī, i.e. from Miyānkāl, tract between Samarkand and Bokhara. Perhaps, in saying that he belonged to the grandees (*ayān*) of Andijān, which is in Farghāna, A. F. merely means that his family originally belonged to that place.

[2] بقضای عسکر Apparently *'askar* "army" here means "realm," for the office is described by Badayūnī (text 210) as that of *qaẓāī mamālik*. See also B. 175.

[3] He was one of those who signed the declaration about Akbar's being more than a Mujtahid. Badayūnī has an account of him in vol. III. 78, and also in Lowe 213 and 323. Badayūnī gives him a high character, but says he had a dolt of a son who disgraced him by his embezzlements. The original of Lowe 323 does not say more than that a charge (*taqrīb*) of fraud was brought against Jalāl. He says one cause of his banishment was that he did not study the age and its rulers, i.e. he did not support Akbar in his religious innovations.

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tion[1] of the circumstances that one who had been exalted by the King should not appear contemptible in the eyes of the public, he was exiled to the Deccan in order that he might go by that route to the Ḥijāz. The avaricious man remained in that quarter (Mecca) and died there. After that no one had been nominated to the 378
lofty post. As H.M. was impressed by the skill and disinterestedness of this excellent man, he exalted him to this high office. On the 24th the Khān Āẓim came from Bihar and was received with royal favours.

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[1] I am indebted to Maulvi 'Abdul Haq for the explanation of this difficult passage. It means that one who had been honoured by the King should not be publicly disgraced, and so he was sent, nominally to the Deccan, but in reality to Mecca. According to Badayūnī, Akbar sent him to the Deccan in hopes that the Shī'a rulers would torture him and kill him.

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CHAPTER LXVI.

Beginning of the 27th Divine year, to wit, the year Khurdād of the third cycle.

At this time of the smiling of the spiritual and physical Spring, there was a tumult of joy in the kingdoms of nature. Each of them unfolded in a wondrous manner. It occurred to the ever-vernal mind of the decorator of fortune's garden to celebrate ancient festivals, and to knit together the external world. Although H.M. always reverenced that noble season (Spring), yet on account of the prevalence of custom and the general ignorance, his feelings were not manifested. As the eyes of the hearts of the enchained in bigotry were purblind, and sound reason had the rust of disuse, the truth-choosing Shāhinshah had regard to the disposition of his contemporaries, and did not bring forward his views from the closet of the soul to the hall of manifestation. The physicians of the world and enlightened rulers know that it is indispensible to refrain from forms of worship which cause disturbance among men, and they regard the soothing of the various sections of mankind as one of the greatest methods of piety to God. At this day, when reason was exalted, and small and great were searching for proofs, and when enlightened old men and felicitous young men and alert sages were impledging their hearts to demonstration and seeking for certitude, the holy thoughts of the Shāhinshāh turned to ancient usages and preferred wisdom to custom.

Verse.[1]

Hail the carriage (*jambash*) of the guides of faith
For they kindle the lamp of certitude:
Hail to the cavaliers who traverse the horizons
For they carry off the ball in realm and religion.
Among those arena-adorning cavaliers there is one
Of whom great praise is but little,

[1] Most of the lines have already been quoted. See p. 297.

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Two words may sum up my adoration,
He is Afẓal[1] by quality, Akbar by name.

On account of the glory of piety in his soul linked with heaven he does not highly regard orators[2] (perhaps eulogists) nor does he attach much importance to writers.[3] However insignificant outwardly one may be, he receives honour if he utter words of choice wisdom, and however grand one may be outwardly, if his utterances do not accord therewith, the hand of rejection (*dast-i-radd*) is laid upon him. In his splendid equity, if some account of the ancients please him, he brings it into prominence, and does not take into consideration the charge of following others. He regards the orders of 379
Sultan Wisdom as the Divine commands, and is active in carrying them out. It is clear that awakedness does not learn from slumber, nor is light sought from darkness.

From this[4] year there was the commencement of New Year feasts and other ancient festivals, and they became current throughout the world. Fresh glory was given to the holy spirits of former times, and the great men of the Age obtained their desires both in spiritual and physical matters. The rising generation too which sought for enlightenment received a great boon. Divine worship assumed its place, and under the guise of appearances, spirituality developed. The season of the equability of tempers, and the periods of other feasts of the Persian months, which former sages had devised for the worship of God and the subjugation of hearts, became resplendent—as has been in some measure stated in the beginning of this palace of enlightenment (the Akbarnāma)—and in the last volume. When the New Year was approaching, H.M. gave orders that the able workmen of the Court should decorate[5] the great Daulat-Khāna (hall of audience) which is surrounded by 120

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[1] The I.O. MSS. have 'Āqil "Wise." It is Afẓal in the quotation at p. 297.

[2] *Goīnda.* A word which has various meanings.

[3] *Nigāranda.* Possibly this means writers of panegyrics. It also can mean painters. We are told in the Ain. B. 548 that Akbar did not care for poets.

[4] Cf. Rodolfo Aquaviva's letter, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 57, where he speaks of the new institution of the Mihrjān or autumnal feast. He wrote in September 1582. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 316, etc.

[5] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 310. The daulat-khāna was at Fatḥpūr.

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stone verandahs (*aiwān*). The great officers and other blissful servants applied profound thought to the adornments thereof. Gold-embroidered stuffs of great price were used, and there were varieties of jewels. On Sunday 15 Ṣafr 990 of the lunar year, 11 March 1582, after the passing of 14 minutes, and 37 seconds, the sun conferred fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the flush of exuberance adorned Time. The beginning of the year Khurdād of the third cycle took place. The enlightened Shāhinshāh mounted on the throne of fortune, and there was fresh splendour, outward and inward. The jewel of theology was displayed, and there was a new beginning for talent and love.[1] (*Verse.*) The lock was taken off the Treasury, and the coin of hope was scattered among mankind. It was arranged that every year from the time of transit (to Aries) to the time of culmination there should be a great festival and that each day an auspicious servant should have charge of the glorious banquet.

In this great assembly he announced, "On this day every one will do some special thing, and make the adornment of felicity." The first to speak was the world's lord who said with his pearl-filled tongue, "Lordship (*Khudāwindī*) in truth is only applicable to the Incomparable Deity, and Service (*bandagī*) is appropriate to the man-born. What strength has this handful of weakness to take upon itself the name of Mastery (*ṣāḥibī*) and to make slaves of the sons of men?" At the same time he set free many thousands of slaves and said,
380 "How can it be right to call those seized by force by this name, and to order them to serve." And he directed that this happy band should be distinguished by the name of *Celās*[2] (disciples).

H.M. had previously directed that the illuminated ones of the presence should submit their sentiments,[3] but owing to the brisk-

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[1] Niẓāmu-d-dīn under the date of the 28th year devotes several lines to the description of the New Year's feast. These are not translated in Elliot V. 427. The feasts lasted for eighteen days. Apparently Akbar was elated by the success of his expedition to Kabul. See also Badāyūnī, Lowe, 310, who has the year (the 27th) right. It seems that Akbar regarded the year 990 as the completion of 1000 years from the beginning of Muḥammad's mission.

[2] See B. 253.

[3] The sentence seems obscurely worded. It looks at first as if it was a reference to a request that Akbar should assume the position

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ness of the market of dissimulation, and the want of justice on the part of the guardians of orders, this had not been carried into effect. Among these representations was that of Prince Sulṭan Selīm. He represented that marriage should not take place before the age of twelve, that much harm and little advantage accrued from the contrary practice. The Khān A'zim M. Koka represented that the governors of the imperial provinces should not have the boldness to cut the thread of life, and that until they had laid the matter before H.M. they should not stain their hands by destroying what God had built. Where could deep discernment and far-sightedness, both of which were rare, be found conjoined with absence of motive and of malevolence? M. Khān-Khānān said it would be good if fragments of life such as small birds and creeping things[1] were not taken, and if many lives were not destroyed for a small benefit. Rajah Todar Mal said, every day, charities should be distributed at the palace, and that it should be an order that the officers also should every week, month, or year have a care of the empty-handed. M. Yūsuf K. (No. 35 of B.) represented that a daily journal of events should be obtained from all the cities and towns. Rajah Bīrbar expressed a wish that some right-minded and energetic men should act as inspectors in various places, and should represent impartially the condition of oppressed people and seekers after justice, and report unavoidable calamities. Qāsim K.'s[2] suggestion was that serais (rest-houses) should be established on the routes throughout the empire so that travellers might obtain repose. S. Jamāl (No. 113 of B.) represented that some disinterested and experienced men should be appointed who should bring to court those who were in distress and want. S. Faiẓī begged that some experienced and sympathetic persons might be appointed in the cities and bazars who should fix

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of a teacher, and have *celas* or disciples. But the beginning of the sentence about S. Selīm implies that the representations were the ideas of the officers as to what was expedient. Selīm (Jahāngīr) was born on 31 August 1569, and so was in his thirteenth year at this time.

[1] The text, probably from copying the Lucknow ed., has ماهي *mahī*, fish; but the I.O. MSS. have مای *mai*, reptiles and insects, and this I think must be correct. But perhaps tiny fish are meant.

[2] He was an engineer and architect.

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the price of articles. Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ wished for the establishment of hospitals. The writer of the noble volume petitioned that the *dāroghas* of every city and town should record the householders thereof, name by name, and trade by trade, and should always keep a close eye on their income and expenditure, and should expel the do-nothings, the mischievous, and the bad. When they had made their suggestions to H.M. he accepted all their representations. The dejected world assumed a new face. The door was opened for the Divine bounty and a collyrium was applied to the eye of seeing. The earth rose up to give praise, and the heavens joyfully uttered thanksgiving. Every day one of the great officers had charge of the assembly. The world's lord cast the shadow of graciousness on that ornamented place and gave voice to bounteousness. Prayers to God were arranged according to excellent rules, and every one of the fortunate servants gave a little out of much as peshkash, and
381 heaped up eternal bliss. The delicate-minded Shāhinshāh received a small thing and made it the material of (conferring) great rank. When the time of the culmination (of the sun) drew near, the special hall of audience (*daulat khāna khāṣ*) was decorated. Wonder-working magician-like men performed marvels and wisdom had a daily market. The souls of the sages of old times revived, and an excellent excuse (for liberality) was furnished to the bounty-loving Shāhinshāh.

In the beginning[1] of this auspicious year the world's Khedive gave some attention to the arrangements of the affairs of the empire, and bestowed new lustre on administrative and financial regulations. Before[2] this, the duties of the viziership had been entrusted to Rajah Todar Mal, but on account of the perils of the great enterprise, and the activity of double-faced, ten-tongued persons, he had not applied himself heartily to it. This far-sighted and incorruptible man, who understood the secrets of administra-

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[1] See translation of this paragraph in Elliot VI. 61.

[2] The meaning is that Todar Mal had previously acted as Finance Minister, and had made settlements, but that he shrank from the task of revising the settlements of the whole empire. In the 18th year he made the settlement of Gujarat and filed the papers thereof. (A. N. III. 17). He again settled Gujarat in the 22nd or 23rd year. See A. N. III. 207 and 213, and Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 403, 405.

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tion, was appointed to the lofty office of Head of the Dīwān (*ashraf-i-diwān*), and virtually the position of Vakīl (Prime Minister) was conferred on him. Everything was referred to him, and a choice ordering of administrative and financial matters was the result. By the blessing of a happy fate he sullied not the skirt of wish, but regarded what was good for the State, and acquired an everlasting good name. With a stout heart he maintained the laws of the Caliphate, and had no fear of the powerful and crafty. From far-sightedness and knowledge of the world, he proposed several regulations (*faṣle*) so that the holy orders might be promulgated anew, and have fresh vigour. For better enlightenment I proceed to record them, and so present a boon to posterity.

First. The collectors (*'amalguzārān*) of the Crown-lands (Khālṣa) and the jāgīrdārs should collect the rents[1] and taxes in accordance with the code (*dastūr-al-'amal*). If from wickedness and tyranny they took from the cultivators more than the agreement, it was to be reckoned as the legitimate rent, and the oppressors were to be fined, and the amount entered in the monthly accounts. They should at every harvest inquire into the minutest[2] details and protect the subjects. The thread of the administration of justice was to be a double one, (that is) suppliants were to be reimbursed, and extortioners to be punished.

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[1] *Māl u jihāt.* The text erroneously has an iẓāfat after *māl* as if the word were *wajahāt. Jihat* means taxes on manufactures: see J. II. 58. If the collector took more than the stipulated rent, such excess was to be regarded as part of the collections, for which he had to account, and he was also fined, and the fine was entered in the accounts. Presumably the cultivator was to get credit for the excess. It is not improbable that the word *māhīāna* here means wages, and that the order suggested is that the sums extorted should be deducted from the collectors' salaries. *māhīāna* seems used in the sense of wages at p. 382, six lines from foot.

[2] The text has *jazū*, but some MSS. read *khabar*. Elliot translates, "At every harvest they were to carefully guard the rights of the lower classes." I have taken *jazū* to mean details. I am by no means sure that faṣl in this sentence means harvest. It seems possible that it is used here in the same sense as at line 13 of the same page, viz. to mean section or chapter of instructions. The collectors were to fully acquaint themselves with every section (*faṣl*). *Jazū* is used in Ain. III. 347 to mean subordinate or local,

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2nd. The collectors of the crown-lands had two clerks (bitikcī)—a kārkūn and a khāṣnavīs. Generally, both of these men were corrupt, and in collusion with the village-headman (kalāntarān), and they oppressed the peasantry. If in place of these two dishonest men, one[1] trustworthy and rightly-acting officer were appointed, the country would be developed, and the peasant would be at peace.

3rd. It appeared that in the crown-parganas the cultivated lands diminished year by year. If the cultivable land were measured once for all, the peasantry would cultivate more and more land in proportion to their ability and the arrangement of progressive payments should be made. They should give one another as securities and should execute documents. Consideration should be shown in the
382 exaction of dues. In the case of land which had lain[2] fallow for four years, only half of the stipulated rent should be taken for the first year, three-fourths in the second, and in the third the peasants should be responsible for the[3] full rent. For land which had been uncultivated for two years, one-fourth of the rent should be deducted for the first year. In the case of uncultivated lands they were to be allowed to keep back a small amount of grain so that their lands might become capable of yielding rent. If destitute cultivators were assisted (by advances), documents should be taken from known men, and recoveries made, partly at the spring-harvest, and partly at the autumn harvest so that the country might soon be cultivated, the peasantry satisfied, and the treasury replenished. When the collectors increased the (total) rental, demands should not be made (from them) about[4] deficiencies in some items. Every year reports about the collectors should be submitted to H.M. in order that good

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qānūngoyān jazū "the local qānūngos."

[1] Apparently this reform was carried out, for only one bitikcī is spoken of in Jarrett II. 47.

[2] This is the *cacar* land described in J. II. 63, and 67. The arrangements there described are somewhat different from those in the text.

[3] *Mūāfiq dastūr.* Elliot has "they were to pay according to established rule"; and perhaps there is a reference to the rule in J. II. 67.

[4] *Kamī-i-b'azī maḥāl.* Some of the MSS. have kamīn. The meaning seems to be that if the collectors showed an increase on the total rental, they should not be challenged on account of a deficiency in some items.

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servants might be rewarded, and promoted, and those who were of another sort, punished.

4th. When the crops are standing, let several measuring-parties [1] be appointed, in proportion to the amount of land, and let the measurement be started in an intelligent manner, and the kind and quality of the cultivation be noticed. The collector will choose a central [2] spot for himself, and carefully visit every part of the land and examine its condition.

When there has been an abundant rain [3] and the fields are lying in water, an amount of land up to two-and-a-half *biswas* should be left out of account, and in jungle and sandy tracts as much as three *biswas*. Abstract accounts (*sīāhha i-ẓabṭa*) should be sent in weekly, and the daily journal of collections month by month to the head office.

5th. An imperial order should be issued that a list [4] of damaged lands should be sent to court so that orders might be passed concerning them.

6th. The dwellers in ravines, who are of a turbulent disposition, think the ruggedness of their country a protection and make long the arm of oppression. Orders should be issued to the Vicegerent (*sipahsālār*), the *faujdār*, the fief-holder and to the collector that

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1 *Ṭanāb* measuring-rope, but here used for the survey-party.

2 Cf. the instructions to the collector, J. II. 43, where it is said that he should "establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator."

3 Elliot has, "In seasons when a sufficient quantity of rain fell, and the lands received adequate irrigation, two-and-a-half *biswas* (in the bīgha) were to be left unassessed." The word for irrigation is *ābnishhīn* and I have thought this meant that the lands were covered with water and so could not be properly measured. A *biswa* is the 20th part of a bigha. Cf. J. II. 44 where *half a biswa* is given as a perquisite to the headman. *Donīm* which Elliot and myself have rendered 2½ may also mean *two halves*, or half and half. It seems to me that the passage about the rainfall is corrupt. I.O. M.S. 235 has *dādkhwāh* instead of *dilkhwāh*. The passage then may mean when there is a want of rain, or when the fields are flooded, that is in two contingencies a deduction was to be made.

4 The text has *rāst karda* "drawn up," or made correct, but the variant *tīpkarda* has the support of most MSS. Tīp, see Wilson's Glossary, means a note of hand, and also a register.

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they should act together and remedy matters. First, they should admonish, and if this prove ineffectual, they should raise the flag of activity and chastise the malefactors, and devastate their crops (*ābādī*, perhaps, habitations). The jāgīrdār should get an exchange[1], and the *mastaufī* should not make a demand on this account. If the soldiers should be[2] injured in these operations, a fine should be levied (*tāwān*). Further, the sums extorted from the peasantry are to be produced before the treasurer and he is to give credit for them in the ryots' receipts. The collectors should be paid their wages quarterly, the last payment being made when there are no arrears due from the ryots.

8th. The ryots[3] should be in such a state of obedience that they should bring their rents to the treasury without its being necessary to set guards over them. Sufficient security should be taken from the refractory, and if such cannot be found, watchmen should be set over the harvested grain and the rent be realized. An account of the rent to be collected from each person according to the amount of his cultivation should be prepared, and the date should neither be postponed nor anticipated. The patwārī of each village should allot these, name by name, among his subordinates. The collectors should send the cash along with the patwārī's signature to
383 the treasurer. They should be vigilant to put down oppression, and should make their words and their works accord.

9th. The Treasurer should receive muhrs, rupis and dāms which bear the august name (of Akbar) and make allowance for obsolete coins so that the collectors and the money-changers may reckon the old and new and ascertain the difference. The L'al Jalālī, of full weight and fineness, is worth 400 *dāms*, the square rupi is worth 40 *dāms*. The ordinary ashrafī, and the round Akbarshāhī rupi which has become worn, shall be rated as follows.

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[1] *'Iwaẓ*. Elliot has "the land was to be granted to *jāgīrdārs*" but the meaning seems to be that the jāgīrdār was to get compensation for his damaged lands or crops either by damages, or by getting other lands or crops in exchange. The *mastaufī* is the deputy-dīwan. B. VI, n. 13.

[2] There is the variant *asāmī*, but āsānī seems right. I.O. MS. 235 has "*tan āsānī sipah ke pur ziyān zadagī kashad*." If the soldiers suffer by their repose being disturbed (?).

[3] A. F. records, J. II. 122, that the ryots of Bengal bring their rents to the Treasury eight times a year.

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If the *ashrafī* be deficient by two grains of rice (*birinj*), but be of good quality, it should be valued at 360 dāms. If deficient by three grains up to one[1] *surkh*[2] its value should be 355 *dāms*. If deficient by 1½ to 2 surkhs its value is 350 dāms. A rupi deficient by one surkh of the full weight should be valued at 39 *dāms*. If deficient by 1½ to two surkhs it should be valued at 38 *dāms*. The L'al Jalālī of full weight and fineness, the Jalālī deficient from 1½ to 2 *surkhs* and Sikka Sanwāt Akbarshāhī deficient by 3 *birinj* up to one *surkh* were to be received at the treasury. If the deficiency were greater, the *taḥwīldār* (cashier) should keep the coins separate and the accountant should enter them in the day-book and send an account of them daily to the head-office. The *jāgīrdārs*, treasurers, and *ṣarrāfs* (money-changers) were to act upon these rules.

10th. The officers of the Khālṣa and the jāgīrdārs should make correct reports about the well-conducted, and the ill-conducted, the obedient, and the disobedient, in their estates so that recompense and retribution may be bestowed, and the thread of government be strengthened.

11th. Instead of the old[3] charges, one *dām* per bīgha of cultivation should be fixed. It is hoped that by this arrangement 24 dāms would be allowed to the measurement party. Their allowances would thus be—

15 sīrs flour at the price of	... ...	7 *dāms*
1¾[4] ,, butter (*roghan zard*, presumably ghī)	...	5 ,,
2½ ,, grain (for animals)	... ...	4 ,,
Cash	...	8 ,,
		—
		24 ,,

[1] B. 32. It was a gold coin.

[2] The seed of the Abrus precatorius. B. 16n.

[3] The text has *pāsbānī* but the I.O. MSS. and Elliot show that the true reading is *pāstānī* or *bāstānī*.

[4] The text, following the Lucknow ed., erroneously has *do sir ya kam* "two sirs or less" instead of *do sīr pāo kam*. Cf. J. II. 45 and Ain. text I. 286. The translation is not quite accurate. The daily allowance is 13, not 16 dāms. There were only three thānahdārs, and they and the chainman only got eight sirs of flour among them. The daily allowance for the measurement-party was 13 dāms *or* 31 sīrs. Apparently Todar Mal afterwards raised it to 24 dāms. For the word

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Of this—

The amīn would get	...	5 sīrs flour
		½ sīr butter
		7 sīrs grain
		4 *dāms*
The writer ...	...	4 sīrs flour
		½ sīr butter
		5½ sīrs grain
		2 *dāms*
Three servants ...	...	6 sīrs flour
		3¼ „ butter
		3 *dāms*

In the time of the *rābī'* crop when the days are long, not less than 250 bighas should be measured, and at the time of the Kharīf, when the days are short, not less than 200 bighas.

H.M. examined these proposals with a profound eye, and accepted them.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning of M'aṣūm K. and Ṇiyābat[1] K. The former, from the time when H.M. reached Fatḥpūr, had had recourse to blandishments, and had also been in a state of confusion, and had by the help of some well-disposed persons come to H.H. Miriam Makānī. The latter evil-doer had from exhaustion (wāmāndagī) joined 'Aīn-al-mulk,[2] and (then) had, owing to his slumbrous fortune, separated himself, and indulged in thoughts of turbulence. When he did not succeed, he too had come with entreaties to the same asylum of the world, and had come into the hands of the people of Shahbāz K. As he held in his hands the protecting letter (*zinhārnāma*) of that great lady of the age it was
384 forwarded to the holy threshold, and forasmuch as the commands of that secluded one of fortune received acceptance, on 16 Farwardin

thānahdār, which seems out of place, there is the variant *thāpadār*, but possibly the true reading is *tanābdār* rope-holder.

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that Niyābat had married the daughter of Adham K., and Badayūnī, Lowe, 308, says he was the nephew of Shihābudīn K. He was sent to Rantanbhor as a prisoner and was executed in 997 (1589). M'aṣūm met with an earlier death, having been assassinated shortly after his pardon. See *infra*.

[2] This is Ḥakīm 'Aīn-al-mulk. B. 481.

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(26th March 1582), these unforgivable ones took their repose in the shade of the Shāhinshāh, and a world blossomed forth.

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān A'ẓim M. Koka to subdue Bengal. When the joys of the New Year had come to pass, and devotions had been paid to God, H.M. turned his attention to administration. He laboured for the arrangements of the universe and taking compassion on the oppressed ones in Bengal appointed an army to go there. On the 27th the Kokaltāsh was sent off as the commander, and Tarson K., Shāham K., Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, S. Farīd and many other officers were attached to the army. They received robes of honour, chosen horses, and salutary counsels. Orders were issued to Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., and the soldiers generally of Bihar and Oudh, that they should make ready for war and join the victorious army. News came that the Bengal rebels had stirred up strife, and that Jabbārī, Khābīta,[1] Tarkhān Diwāna, and many other evil-doers had come to Bihar, and were oppressing the subjects. They had taken possession of Ḥājīpūr and some other towns. Ṣādiq K. and Muḥibb 'Alī K. hastened to dispose of them. M'aṣūm K. Kabulī had also become active owing to the assistance of those rebels. Bahādur Kūrūh[2] (?) came with an army of Qutlū's Afghans to the neighbourhood of Tānda, and the rebel (M'aṣum) turned back there to help him (?). The world's lord had already from foresight arranged for the work which was now to be accomplished, and men's eyes and hearts were invigorated by his forethought.

One of the occurrences was that Shamsunisā[3] Begam withdrew her face behind the veil (died). That nursling of the house-garden of the Caliphate was six months old, and the loving heart of the Shāhinshāh was illuminated by beholding her. Owing to the jugglery of fate her spirit fled on the 31st (Farwardīn, April 1582) from the straits of the bodily elements. She left this prison and

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[1] B. 356n.

[2] See text *infra*, p. 407, where this name occurs again. Can this be the "Bourah" of another Bahādur K. mentioned by Ibn Batuta, and which Mr. Blochmann says is the Hindustani بورا "brownish"? J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 289, note. Or is Kūrūh a mistake for Kārfarmā? J.A.S.B. *id.*, p. 200.

[3] Perhaps this was the child about whom S. Cānīldah made a mistaken prophecy. Badayūnī II, Lowe 294.

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departed to the pleasant abode of heaven. Owing to this heart-smiting occurrence the ladies of the sacred harem were filled with sorrow, and an universe was plunged into the whirlpool of grief.

(*Verse.*)

Much grief accrued to the world's lord on account of his being the caravan leader of the world of association, and he withdrew his heart from everything. But inasmuch as he was primate of the spiritual world, he recovered himself, and the secluded ladies also, under his guidance, entered the garden of patience, and took repose in submission to the Divine will.

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CHAPTER LXVII.

Return of Gulbadan Begam and other chaste secluded ladies from the journey to the Ḥijāz.

Inasmuch as enlightenment, and action in accordance therewith, are the source of eternal dominion, and the adornment of eternal dominion, and as the fulfilment of great desires, the increase of outward dominion, and the exquisite service of the capable men of the earth lead many wise men to the dormitory of insouciance, but cause awakening in the incomparable personality of the vivid sovereign, he offered up various thanksgivings to God on receiving the news of the return of this noble caravan. When the litter of that chaste lady reached Ajmir, Prince Sultan Selīm, the pearl of the crown, was sent off to meet her. Every day one of the court-grandees was sent to convey salutations, and when the neighbourhood of Khānwa[1] received the light of bliss by her auspicious advent, the world's lord met her on 2 Ardībihisht (about 13 April 1582). On the way Khwāja Yaḥiya arrived and did homage. He produced a petition from the dignitaries of the Ḥijāz together with a list of presents. H.M. encamped there. The loyal votaries attained joy and were comforted by graciousness and inquiries after their health. The sorrowful ones of the arid desert of separation were refreshed, and they produced various gifts before H.M. There were hospitalities, and that night they remained awake and in pleasing discourses. Next day there was a glorious return (to Fatḥpūr). The ladies had spent[2] three years and six months in that country. When the Khwāja Yaḥiya showed earnestly the Shāhinshāh's wish, they were obliged

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[1] In Bhartpūr State. On the road from Agra to Ajmere, and 37 miles N. W. Fatḥpūr Sīkrī where Akbar then was.

[2] *Tawaṭṭan.* I am not sure if the reluctance to leave refers to the ladies, or to the Arabs whom K. Yaḥiya induced to emigrate to India. See Mrs. Beveridge's Gulbadan, Introduction, 74.

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to give up their residence.[1] They embarked in the ship Tezrav (the Swift) while the Khwāja and the pilgrims took their places in the ship S'aī[2] (effort?). Near Aden most of the boats were wrecked. They were in trouble there for seven months. The governor there did not behave properly, and when Sulṭan Murād,[3] the ruler of Turkey, heard of this he punished that ill-fated one. They arrived

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[1] The ladies left Gujarat in October 1576. If they stayed 3½ years at Mecca they should have left in March or April 1580, but they must have started earlier if they were at Aden in April 1580. Probably they left in February soon after the completion of the pilgrimage of Zīl-ḥajja 987. The seven months' detention at Aden would take them to the end of the Muḥ. year 988 or to January 1581. As they did not reach Fatḥpūr till April 1582, they must have stayed a considerable time in Gujarat. Badayūnī, Lowe 216, seems to say that Gulbadan B. and Salīma Sultān left Agra for the pilgrimage in 982 (1574-75) and arrived at Mecca in Sh'abān 983, November 1575, after having been detained a year in Gujarat. They performed the pilgrimage four times, viz. in ends of 983, 84, 85 and 86. Niẓāmu-d-dīn under the 28th year says they performed several greater and lesser pilgrimages. On the return voyage they were detained for a year at Aden and returned in 990. But I think that there is some mistake and that Gulbadan did not leave Agra till 983, i.e. the 20th year, and that as she was detained for a year in Gujarat, she did not reach Mecca till 984. (See also Lowe, 320). The four pilgrimages then would be those of the last months of the years 984-87, which would start her on her homeward journey in January-February 1580. Bāyāzīd found her in Aden in April 1580, but this must have been about the beginning of her stay. The seven months of A. F., or the one year of Badayūnī, would bring her to the end of 1580 or beginning of 158; and the voyage to Surat, the detention in Gujarat, and the journey to Ajmere, where they performed a supplementary pilgrimage, and to Fatḥpūr, would occupy another year.

[2] The text has *jihāz-i-s'aī*, ship of effort? There is the variant *saifī*, and the I.O. MSS. seem to have *safī* سفي which may perhaps mean swift. B.M. MS. 27, 247 seems to have *Har do* for the ladies' ship, but possibly this is only an error for Tezrav. A. F. says *most* of the ships or boats were destroyed. Perhaps some went on to India, and it was these that the cavalcade was going to meet which Aquaviva and his party met on 8th February at Sanmarian between Ujjain and Sārangpūr. Murray's Discoveries *infra* II. 87.

It would seem from B.M. MS. 27, 247 that Miriam-makānī came (from Delhi or Agra) to welcome the pilgrims.

[3] Murad III who came to the throne in 1574.

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at Gujarat when the standards of fortune had gone[1] off to Kabul, and on account of the rains and of H.M.'s being in Zabulistān, some delay occurred.

One of the occurrences was the pardoning the offences of 386 Khwājagī[2] Fatḥ Ullah. He was one of the near servants of H.M. and gathered bliss in waiting upon him. From associating with evil-doers he departed far from daily-increasing dominion. From evil fate he became a vagabond in the desert of failure. When the world's lord disembarked from his boat and went off posthaste to Ajmere, he was sent off to bring Quṭbu-d-dīn K., and an order was given that he should bring him by the way of Mālwa in order that he might send from there able envoys to give counsels to the ruler of Khāndes, and hold out promises and threats to him about sending (to Akbar) Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. When they arrived there they (the ambassadors) obeyed the order and used eloquence in persuading (the ruler of Khāndes ?). The Khwājagī also craftily went to Burhānpūr along with them. After completing this affair he went off to the Ḥijāz. Apparently on account of sloth and narrowness of capacity he did not like the burden of service, and from ignorance brought such great evils on himself. The wondrous sphere of fate inflicted retribution on him and he fell into thousands of calamities. But by the goodness of his disposition he became aware of the wickedness of his conduct, and reposed for a while in the shelter of the chaste ladies, who were returning from the Ḥijāz. Now by their intercession he was pardoned, and laid hold of the skirt of daily-increasing fortune.

One of the occurrences was the shamefaced arrival of S. 'Abdu-n-nabī and Mullā 'Abdullah Sultānpūrī. It has been mentioned that when H.M. proceeded to test the learned men, and when the gold-incrusted nature of the sellers of tales (the fraudulent) was revealed, the position of these men became difficult and they fell into confusion. They had not the vigour of intellect to bring to market the jewel of knowledge with suitable replies, nor had they the candour to com-

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[1] Akbar left for the Panjab and Kabul on 6th February 1581 and returned on 1st December of that year.

[2] He was the son of Ḥājī Ḥabībullah, B. 499. Badayūnī, Lowe 323, mentions that he was sent to the Deccan along with Qāẓī Jalāl Multānī. He was a Sh'ia. Apparently his offence was the going off to Mecca without leave.

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mence their studies anew, nor the guidance so as to come to shore out of the confusion. Owing to abundant cupidity their sole thought was how to mend the old scarf of their hypocrisy and to make their days pleasant by attaining their desires. The respect-loving sovereign perceived that a journey to the Ḥijāz would be for their good, and sent them off, willing or unwilling. They were made comfortable by having the control of the body of pilgrims, and the veil remained suspended over their wretchedness. An order was given that they should not return without being commanded to do so. As their minds were full of cupidity, they had resort to vulpine tactics, and made use of fawning language. Might they be excused from going? Their improper ideas did not succeed, and their trickery was unsuccessful. They went off, injured spiritually and temporally. At this time babblers stirred up commotions in India; they made one into a hundred and exulted in envy. They thought the world was made for their pleasure, and knocked at the door of return, thinking that perhaps they might be shone upon, and that the desires of the black-hearted ones might be accomplished. Though their friends and acquaintances reminded them of the royal 387
orders, and the rulers of that country (the Ḥijāz) observed H.M.'s commands, and did not give them leave, they contrived to escape. When they heard in Gujarat of the failure of the rebellion, and of the punishment of the wicked, they were struck with shame and sought protection from the secluded ladies. When H.M. heard of their arrival, and of their designs, he ordered that some active men should go and bring into prison those ignorant and evil men in such a manner that the ladies should not know of it. Mullā 'Abdullah had died of error. The other scoundrel was seized in that manner, and was out of a love for justice subjected to an examination. He could give no answer except silence and ashamedness. From graciousness and a desire to save him from contempt he was sent to the school of instruction and there the cup of [1] his life overflowed (he died).

The Iqbālnāma in the account of 27th year says that he was put into the charge of A. F. and that the latter by reason of an ancient enmity, and because he knew Akbar would ask no questions, had him strangled. Badāyūnī, Lowe 321, says he was put in charge of Todar Mal, and this statement also appears in the A. N. MS. 27, 247, p. 333b. Badāyūni

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does not name A. F., but he also says that 'Abdu-n-nabī was strangled. See *id.*, Lowe, 244. There seems no reason to doubt that 'Abdu-n-nabī met with a violent death. A. F. must have known this, and his silence tells against him. Mullā 'Abdullah died in 990 (1582) at what must have been an advanced age. 'Abdu-n-nabī seems to have been killed in 992 (1584). See his biography and that of Mullā 'Abdullah in Darbārī Akbarī, pp. 311 and 320. Mullā 'Abdullah died in Aḥmadābad. The Maaṣir, III. 256 mentions a rumour that he was poisoned by Akbar's orders. The Iqbālnāma has the curiously worded remark that he vacated his body to escape the hand of the king's wrath. It would appear from the Iqbālnāma that the real charge against 'Abdu-n-nabī was that he had defamed Akbar at Mecca and represented him as not being a good Masalman. See also Akbar's letter to the *sharīfs* of Mecca which seems to refer to this.

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CHAPTER LXVIII.

Victory of Ṣādiq K. and death of Khabīṭa.

(Eight lines of reflections about the good fortune of Akbar are omitted.)

When the Khān Ā'ẓim and many of the officers of Bihar had come to court for the New Year festivities, Khabīṭa with a number of ill-fated, turbulent men came to Bihar from Bengal, and stirred up commotion and oppressed the weak. The Khān Ā'ẓim's men were unable to protect Ḥājīpūr, and the rebels took possession of it and of many parganahs. Ṣādiq K. maintained himself bravely in Patna and assembled the fief holders of that country. They acted in harmony and resolved to give battle, and drew out their forces. Ṣādiq K. commanded the centre, Muḥibb 'Alī K. was on the right 388
wing, Ulugh K. Ḥabshī on the left. Bihār K. and Abū-l-m'aālī were in the van. Muḥammad Qulī Beg Turkamān had charge of the artillery. The rebels also made ready for battle. Khabīṭa, who was the sword of the vain-thoughted, was in the centre, Jabbārī was on the right wing, and Dastam and Rustam, the sister's sons of Khabīṭa, were on the left. Tarkhān Diwāna, S'aīd Beg, and Shāh Ḍāna were in the van. The imperial servants sent some brave men along with the artillery across the Ganges to Ḥājīpūr, and constructed a fort on the bank of the Gandak. Fights continually took place between the two armies, and there was daily market for the merchandise of life-sacrifice. As fortune favoured the imperialists they were victorious and the rebels fled in disgrace. When these combats had gone on for forty days, and the owlish natures could effect nothing in the light of day, they made a night attack. The brave soldiers of the eternal fortune behaved still more nobly. 'Alī Beg, the cousin of Ṣādiq K., lost his life after fighting gallantly. Many applied themselves to the work and raised the pæan of joy. The enemy were defeated. Next morning on the 24th the officers crossed over the river and engaged. The enemy, whose confidence

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had been increased by the chief officers not having crossed and the soldiers taking refuge in the fort, came forward to do battle. First the sister's sons of Khabīṭa left the van and fell upon the imperial wing. Muḥibb 'Alī K. stood firm. While the battle was doubtful, the enemy's van attacked the imperial left wing. Ḥabīb 'Alī K., the son of Muḥibb 'Alī K., did wonders, but the imperialists were nearly being worsted. Just then the imperial van displayed bravery. Ḥamza Beg, Ghazā 'Alī and Ḥasan Mīāna came from the centre and gave fresh lustre to the fight. Khabīṭa with a large force drew up in front of Ṣādiq K. Muḥammd Qulī Beg, Junaid Maral and many strenuous men distinguished themselves. While the contest was going on so keenly, the right wing of the enemy 389 suddenly took flight, and in a short time the audacious rebels were stained with the dust of defeat. The imperialists were somewhat astonished at this celestial aid, and sought to understand it. Then they recognized that it was the wondrous work of fortune, and turned to the giving of thanks. Suddenly Mīrak Ḥusain, the brother of 'Arab Khānjahānī, brought the head of Khabīṭa, and gave the news of joy. It appeared that in the heat of the attack a cannon-ball had struck that ringleader of the enemies of God, and had destroyed the success of the shameless ones. His followers lifted up the lifeless body and set off, but from confusion and cowardice they threw it down and fled. The above-mentioned person cut off his head and brought it in. Thus the wondrous work of fortune became known to small and great. Thanksgivings were offered to God. The enemy numbered more than 5000 experienced soldiers, while the imperialists had less than 2000 fit for battle. It does not enter into the ideas of ordinary observers that the latter could withstand the former. Khabīṭa was of the Moghal tribe, and had served in the Badakhshān army. He had distinguished himself by acts of daring in company with M'aṣūm K. Kabulī, and had in a short time become the head of the rebels of the day. His punishment was a lesson to the [illegible]lent. His head was sent to Court as a proof of the heavenly a[illegible] The officers were exalted by various favours, and as the rainy season was near at hand Shāh Qulī Maḥram, S. Ibrāhim and S. Farīd Bokhārī, who had been sent off on account of the disturbances in Bengal and Bihar, were recalled.

One of the occurrences was the failure and return of M. Khān

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from Sorath.[1] Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. sent an army under M. Khān who was related to him, against Amīn K. Ghorī and to conquer Sorath. He from cowardice and want of planning did not succeed, and an easy task became a difficult one. If the evil of foolishness happen to the reason which is the ruler of the bodily elements, the subjects of this king cannot maintain their health, so if the commander fail in skill and courage, what can be expected of his men? The world's lord reproved him for his self-conceit and ignorance, and he had the good sense to atone for his fault by humility and entreaties.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to the pleasant land of Kashmīr. When Ṣāliḥ Dīwāna represented to H.M. the loyalty of the ruler of that country and his alarm at no
390 one's being sent to him, the Khedive, who receives little and gives much, sent Shaikh Y'aqūb Kashmīrī[2] to him with kind commands, and valuable favours, and also gave leave to his son Ḥaidar.

One of the occurrences was the death of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. H.M. in his abundant kindness forgave this man who was worthy of death, and left the retribution of his actions to the incomparable Deity, as has been in some measure related. Inasmuch as the picture of his life was doomed to be erased, the stewards of fate brought him to an end, to the glory of the throne, the prosperity of justice, and the retirement of the turbulent. On 23 Tīr (July 1582) at midnight he was going from the Palace to his house when some men fell upon him and killed him. In spite of much investiga-

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[1] This is part of the peninsula of Kāthīwār and not the fort of Surat. The text has سورت but I.O. MS. 235 has سورنه. See J. II. 243, 258. The M. Khān here mentioned is M. Khān Nīshāpūrī and Shihāb's brother's son. He is sometimes called M. Jān. B. 502. There is an account of the expedition in the Mirāt Sikandarī, Bom. lith., p. 372. Fatḥ K., the general of Amīn K. Ghorī, offered to Shihābu-d-dīn to make over Jūnagarh to him, and Shihābu-d-dīn sent his nephew with 4000 horse. But Fatḥ K. died, and M. Khān was eventually defeated by Amīn K. Ghorī and was wounded and had to fly.

[2] Also called Ṣairafī or Ṣarfī, that being his *takhallaṣ*. He was a poet. See B. 479; [illegible] noble Badayūnī III. 142 has [illegible] notice of him. He died in the 11th month of 1003, July 1594. The Iqbālnāma says that he had the advantage of knowing the Kashmīrī language.

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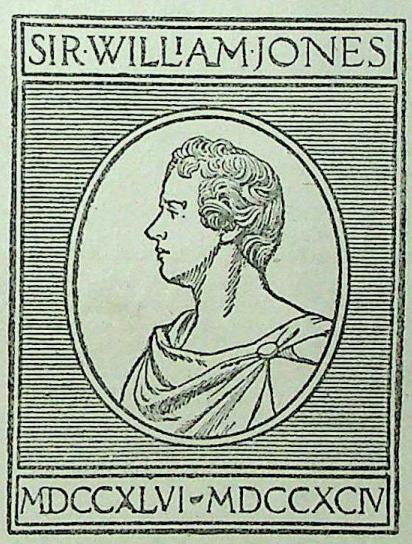

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tion and close inquiry the affair was not cleared[1] up. H.M. had compassion on his circumstances and placed his children under the shadow of his graciousness.

Another occurrence was the capital punishment of Jalā.[2] As in the dispensary of bodily physicians both poisons and antidotes are employed, and it is essential that both be kept in stock, so also in the drug-shop of just kings, who are spiritual physicians, both the pure and the impure are cherished, and good is wrought by the evil, and the wicked suffer retribution. Former rulers have watched carefully over this class of men and have by the "Avaunt" of majesty kept them in check. Whenever they make use of this greedy, selfish crew they do so after much consideration, and they make goodness of object the foundation of such use. Those who think it proper to abstain from seeing this injurious crew, and still more from superintending and supporting them, seem not to have fully comprehended matters, or they have confined their tasks within the limits of their abilities. Those of wide capacity are not confounded by hearing of such men (the wicked); they do not give way to anger, and inflict retribution slowly and with deliberation. Such is the praiseworthy conduct of the sovereign of our age. Under circumspection, this class of men are admitted to the court of fortune Such gentleness is shown to them that they forget themselves, and open their hands for various kinds of oppression. The Shāhinshāh in this way makes trial of men and converts poison into antidotes. His sole desire is to preserve equability, and to worship God. A fresh proof of this was given by the circumstances of

[1] It was generally supposed that Akbar had brought about his murder. The fact that he was living outside the walls made the assassination easier, and Badayūnī, Lowe 307, says he was cut to pieces in his litter outside of the city-gates. The Iqbālnāma says that he deserved death, but that out of deference to Miriam-makānī, who had interceded for him, Akbar could not openly order him to be killed. As however he did not show signs of repentance, Akbar ordered Sikandar Qalmāq, who was a trusted *cela*, to put an end to him privately, and accordingly this was done. There is a notice of him in the Maaṣir III. 246.

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Jalābī or Ḥalābī Cābuksawār, and says he was the best horseman of the day. Probably he is the Rūmī K. Ustād Jalabī of the 'Aīn, B. 441, who accompanied Gulbadan Begam to Mecca, A.N. III. 146.

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this easily-intoxicated wretch. He was a broker's son, and though shameless and rough in manner, he got admission to court by his profession of horse dealer.[1] He was highly trusted, and as the time of retribution had not arrived, he for a long time actively
391 engaged in ministering to his passions. At this time it came to the royal hearing that he had seduced a woman and had killed her husband. H.M. sent him to prison, and when the charge was investigated, it was found to be true. Many other evil acts of his came to light, and the record of his wickednesses was read out. On the 30th (10th July 1582) in spite of long intimacy and exceeding graciousness he received his punishment and became dust-stained, in the earthbin of annihilation. Deceit ceased to be current, and truth was exalted. Mankind received instruction, and the wicked were terrified.

Abundance of collyrium was bestowed, and crowds of men opened their eyes to the daily-increasing beauty of the world's lord.

At this time an order was issued for the coming of that compendium of ancient sages, Amīr Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz. H.M. had long wished for him. The latter also had for a long time desired to come to court but fortune had been unpropitious. At last he came to the Deccan from Shīrāz at the instance of 'Ādil K. When the latter died, his old idea was renewed, and he was relieved from his distress by various kindnesses. An order was sent to the rulers of the Deccan and to the fief-holders of the empire that they should assist him and guide him on this way. He very eagerly brought his jewel of knowledge to the market.

Among the occurrences was that the cup of life of Jīvan[2] K. Koka became full. On 10 Amardād he died of an abdominal complaint, and of piles. H.M. craved forgiveness for him from God, and visited and comforted the mourners in his family.

One of the occurrences was the bursting of a tank.[3] On the top of the hill of Faṭhpūr, to the north of the gateway (*dargāh*), a

[1] The text has *asp dallālī*, but the true reading apparently is *asp jallābī*, which however means much the same thing. See Vullers and Behar 'Ajam S.U.

[2] Jīvan is mentioned as a soldier on p. 331 of this volume.

[3] The Iqbālnāma calls it the Anūptalao tank. But this seems doubtful. The position does not

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reservoir had been made by H.M. Many pleasure-loving servants met on its banks, and H.M. was present. The princes, the officers and other special persons were assembled there. Every one of them was paying his respects in some special manner. Inasmuch as the wise make use of sport, and test men when they are at ease, pleasure was being keenly pursued. Some were playing at *caupar* (draughts), some at chess, and many were occupied with cards. H.M. was studying all the groups with the norm of knowledge. Inasmuch as the lordship of the outward world, and the primacy of **392** the spiritual world, have been bestowed on H.M. in full measure, the incomparable Deity preserved H.M's holy person from everything bad. Though it was his holy idea that there should be celebration [1] (of his birthday), yet he did not approve of the playing of games on such an occasion.

Half of the day of the 18th (Amardād) had passed away when suddenly a side of that little ocean gave way, and the water rushed out. Though by the blessing of the holy personality none of the courtiers was injured, yet many persons of lower rank suffered loss (were drowned(?), and many houses of the common people were carried away by the flood. In spite of the crowd of people only one of those known to the king, viz. Madadī [2] cītabān, lost his life He who knew the mysteries of the heavens regarded this as a Divine message, and became averse to the celebration of such occasions, and perceived that God did not approve of this business of recreation. In thanksgiving for the Divine protection he opened the hand of bounty and made a world attain its desires. The courtiers

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seem to agree, and the Anūp talao —at least the one which was filled with coin—was a small tank and could hardly have produced so much damage.

[1] *Nigāshta āmid.* The catastrophe occurred on 18 Amardād or about the 28th July 1582, which corresponded to 5 Rajab 990, i.e. to Akbar's birthday. A. F. says Akbar wished the day to be marked or celebrated (*nigāshta*), but he did not approve of the playing of cards, etc., and so did not take part in this. The phrase *nigāshta amid* is however obscure. It might be expected that the text was corrupt, but all the MSS. seem to have the same reading.

Generally *nigāshta āmid* means "was written."

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Madavī.

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all awoke and became followers of enlightenment, and recognizing that the holy personality had saved them from this celestial disaster increased in their devotion. That receiver of Divine instruction, in order to pay his devotions and in memory of this great mercy, resolved that meat should not be tasted on this day (the 18th) of each solar month. He also resolved that every year he should be weighed twice. According as from his birth he had been weighed on 5 Rajab in conformity with the lunar calendar, so also he should be weighed on the day of Ormuzd of the month Āban of the solar year. The courtyard of bounty was thrown open, and twelve articles were prescribed for the solar weighing viz. (1) gold, (2) silk, (3) quicksilver, (4) perfumes, (5) copper, (6) pewter,[1] (7) drugs,[2] (8) butter, (9) rice and milk,[3] (10) iron, (11) various grains, (12) salt. A vow was also made to God that meat would not be tasted in this month (Ābān). Also a similar fast was to be observed from the month of Āẕar[4] in accordance with the number of years of the venerable life. And in accordance with the number of years, sheep, goats and fowls were given separately to the sects which do not take life. An order was also issued to the chosen disciples that in every solar year they should observe the month of their birth by not injuring living creatures, and should not make their bellies the burying place of

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[1] Text *bassad* coral. But coral was rare and so unlikely to be made the 6th article in a scale of diminishing values.

Besides *bassad* is not a common word even in Arabic for coral, and there is no sign of a *tashdīd* in the MSS. The I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma have *jasad*, saffron. This is more likely, but I believe the real word to be *jast*, which is Hindustani for pewter and so agrees with Ain 18, B. 266, where the 6th Article is *rūḥ-i-tūtiya*, which, as we know from B. 40, is thought by some to be the same as *jast*.

[2] *Makayīf*. Intoxicating drugs, perhaps opium.

[3] *Shīrbirinj*. A recipe for making it is given at B. 59. It was to contain milk, rice, sugar-candy and salt.

[4] *Āẕar* is the month following Abān. The whole of Ābān was a fast owing to its being a birth-month. The fast was therefore continued into the next month. The passage in text is explained by the chapter on Ṣūfīānā, Fasting, in the 'Ain. It is said there, B. 62: "When the number of fast days of the month of Ābān had become equal to the number of years his Majesty had lived, some days of the month of 'Aẕar also were kept as fasts. At present the fast extends over the whole month."

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animals. For the lunar weighing eight[1] things were appointed: silver, cloth, lead, tin, fruits, sweetmeats, vegetables, sesame-oil. As the weighings of sons and grandsons which took place according to the lunar year were at this time made according to solar year, Prince Sulṯan[2] Selim's weighing was fixed for the 18th Shahriyūr **393** instead of the 17th Rabī-al awwal, that of Prince Sultan Murād for the 27th Khūrdād instead of the 3rd Muharram, that of Prince Sultan Daniel for the 28th Shahriyur instead of the 2nd Jamāda-al-awwal.

One of the occurrences was the testing of the silent of speech (khamūshān-i-goyā). There was a great meeting, and every kind of enlightenment was discussed. In the 24th Divine year H.M. said that speech came to every tribe from hearing, and that each remembered from another from the beginning of existence. If they arranged that human speech did not reach them, they certainly would not have the power of speech. If the fountain of speech bubbled over in one of them, he would regard this as Divine speech, and accept it as such. As some who heard this appeared to deny it, he, in order to convince them, had a *serai* built in a place which civilized sounds did not reach. The newly born were put into that place of experience, and honest and active guards were put over them. For a time tongue-tied (*zabān basta*) wetnurses were admitted there. As they had closed the door of speech, the place was commonly called the Gang Maḥal (the dumb-house). On the 29th (Amardād—9th August 1582) he went out to hunt. That night he stayed in

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[1] In B. 266 only seven articles are specified, though it is stated that the weighment was against eight. This is because B. has left out the *shīrīnī*, which means sweetmeats. Another account, which is that given in the Iqbālnāma, makes up the number eight by giving two classes of fruits, viz. the sour, and the sweet, *turshī u shīrīnī*. By the *turshī*, pickles are probably meant. B. has mustard-oil for the second-last article, but the word is *kunjud*, and in the 'Aīn, Book III, p. 299, *kunjud* is explained as what is called in Hindi *tīl*, i.e. sesame. See J. II. 64. The importance of the list of articles lies in the fact that they were afterwards distributed to the poor.

[2] Under the 28th year Niẓāmu-d-dīn mentions that on Thursday 19 Sh'abān 991 Akbar went to the house of Miriam Makānī to celebrate the weighment of Prince Selīm. 19 Shāban is = 7 September 1583, but probably it should be 19 Sh'abān 990, which is = 18 September 1582.

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Faiẕābād,[1] and next day he went with a few special attendants to the house of experiment. No cry came from that house of silence, nor was any speech heard there. In spite of their four years they had no part of the talisman of speech, and nothing came out except the noise of the dumb. What the wise Sovereign had understood several years before was on this day impressed on the hearts of the formalists and the superficial. This became a source of instruction to crowds of men. H.M. said, "Though my words were proved, they still are saying the same things with a tongueless tongue. The world is a miserable abode of sceptics (*nāmuḥaramān*). To shut the lips is really to indulge in garrulity. They have hamstrung the camel of the Why and Wherefore, and have closed the gate of speech with iron walls."[2]

Verse.[3]

Enough, Niẕāmī, be silent of discourse,
Why speak to a world with cotton in its ears,
Shut your demonstrations into a narrow phial,
Put them all in a phial and place a stone thereon.

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[1] Not found.

[2] cf. Badāyūnī, Lowe 296, and the account given by Akbar himself to Father Jerome Xavier. J.A.S.B. for 1888 and 1896 (General Maclagan's articles), p. 77. A. F. represents Akbar as making the experiment in order to prove that speech was not spontaneous with children, and as having proved his point. But Xavier's account shows that Akbar had an idea that he might find out the sacred language. It was a cruel experiment. Akbar's comment on his critics is obscure. Apparently, it means that though he proved his case, they still are unconvinced.

[3] These four lines occur in Niẕāmī's Khusrau and Shīrīn, in an apologue of Plato near the end of the poem, but all four lines are not consecutive in the poem.

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CHAPTER LXIX.

Exaltation of M. Khān by being made the Guardian to Prince Sultan Selim.

[This chapter begins with a dissertation on the evils of bad companionship and the advantages of a good education. It then proceeds to state that M. Khān was made the prince's tutor (Atālīq].

Though Quṭbu-d-dīn Khān had been promoted to the office of 394
Atālīq, yet as at this time he had charge of a distant country (Gujarat), M. Khān, son of Bairām K., who possessed far-sighted wisdom and daily-increasing loyalty, was appointed to the post. In thanksgiving for this he gave a great feast, and begged for the presence of H.M. On 27 Shahriyūr the world's lord honoured him with his company, and crowds of men attained their desires.

One of the occurrences was the illness of H M. and his return to health. Just as those whose foot has slipped in search are brought by an injury into the high way, so does it happen to the prudent walkers in the pleasant lands of holiness. Short-sighted and crooked-minded persons regard such things as a retribution, and the acute and profound perceive that they are in the nature of rue (a protection against the evil eye). On 20 Mihr (beginning of October 1582) H.M. had an internal pain, and a world was seized with dread. When even the wicked and impure became sorrowful 395
what conception can be formed of the grief of the good, and of those who regard things in a business light? Who can conceive the melancholy condition of the true and loyal, and of the devoted followers? The pious sovereign looked to the True Physician, and did not regard the medicine of mortal physicians. He comforted those standing around him by weighty counsels. At length, after much talk, he yielded to the faithful and distressed ones, and took medicine. The Greek and Indian doctors proceeded to use their remedies. Laxatives are of most use in such a case, and Indians

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do not employ these. May Providence grant that there be no such experience in the case of a distinguished man, and still less of a just king! On one hand was the indifference of H.M. to the taking of medicine, on the other there was the uproar of those self-conceited men. The heart of the writer of the Book of Fortune (A. F.) was stirred up, and he cast away the thread of humility. I represented (to Akbar) in a gentle manner, "I admit that all are true and well-intentioned. What can come of various methods? What is the use of soft speech out of season when the mind is sick? The Persians say that unless aperients are used, there will be blood (dysentery) and an easy matter will become difficult. Choose one who is less bigoted, and who is good and enlightened and experienced, and converse with him." My remarks were nearly being accepted, and the matter was about to be made over to the Greek treatment. But some of the envious did not permit this, and accordingly blood came. Out of necessity recourse was had to Greek medicine, and the tongues of the envious were closed. On the first day of Ābān (about 10th October) there were signs of recovery, and in a short time the sacred elements (of Akbar) became whole.[1] For three days he did not touch food, and for 17 days he was benefited by eating without using oil. After one month and six days he was restored to complete health. The loyal received fresh life, and the traders in good deeds opened the shops of thanksgiving and the general public obtained deliverance from bewilderment, and rejoiced.

(*Verse*).

Also at this time the beginning of the solar weighment took place according to the rule which has been mentioned, and there was a daily market of liberality.

One of the occurrences was the deliverance[2] of Shahbāz K. from

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[1] Ferishta notices this illness and says that people were alarmed because Akbar, like his father, was an opium-eater. Khāfī K. says that there were various rumours, etc., and that to quiet them Akbar, though much broken, held many assemblies. He says he sent Shahbāz K. to Bengal as he was not able to go himself. Bartoli, pp. 40 and 42, also alludes to Akbar's drinking propensities, and accounts for his falling asleep at the religious discussions owing to over-indulgence in arrack and opium.

[2] Ferishta says that he was set at

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the straits of prison. As the marks of repentance were visible on the forehead of the condition of that one who had stumbled into neglect, he was raised up from the school of instruction to the pleasant abode of favour, and he from thanksgiving increased his 396 loyalty and service, and gathered the flowers of success, as will be related in its place.

One of the occurrences was the appointment of acute and unavaricious overseers. As it came to the royal hearing that from the abundance of business and cupidity, there was much oppression in the conduct of the work of buying and selling, and that the traders were injured, he from a love of justice and from graciousness, ordered that various articles should be put into the charge of tactful and honest men in order that the unjust might be placed in the corner of failure. M. Khān had charge of horses, Rajah Todar Mal of elephants and grain, Zain Khān Koka of oil, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram of fruits and sweetmeats, Ṣādiq K. of gold and silver, 'Itimād K. Gujrātī of jewels, Shahbāz K. of gold brocade, M. Yūsuf K. of camels, Sharīf K. of sheep and goats, Ghāzī K. Badakhshī of salt, Makhṣūṣ K. of armour, Qāsim K. of aromatics, Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ of intoxicants, Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad of leathern articles, Naurang K. of dyes, Rajah Bīrbal of cattle and buffaloes, S. Jamāl of drugs, Naqīb K. of books, Laṭīf Khwāja of hunting animals, Ḥabīb Ullah of sugar, and the author of woollens. An order was given that the auspicious overseers should receive ½ p.c. from purchasers, and one p.c. from sellers, and the half should be their reward. The title of Ṭūī begī[1] was bestowed on Bāqī K. and he was to get 5 p.c. on what was assessed on the two parties (to the marriage).

By this excellent regulation the rules of inspection were ob-

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liberty in Ramzān 990, September-October 1582. But Badayūnī, Lowe 333, says he was released and sent to Bengal on 17th Jamāda aṣ ṣānī, 9th July 1582. He also says A. F. procured his release.

[1] The text has tomān bēgī but the I.O. MSS. and even the Lucknow ed. show that the true reading is *ṭuī begi*, i.e. director of marriages. See B. 278. The subsequent clause too seems to be wrong. Instead of *ba—an giroh* the I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *ba ṭarafīn*, and the passage is explained by B. 278 where we read "His Majesty takes a tax from both parties to enable them to show their gratitude."

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served, and the garden of the outer world was kept irrigated and verdant. The general public had repose, and lustre was given to the obedient.

One of the occurrences was the bringing of Nūr Muḥammad to court. He had become notorious among the rebels of the Eastern Provinces, and had been active in oppressing the subjects. When the Khān Āʿẓim M. Koka came to Jaunpūr, intelligence was received that that evil-doer had come from Bengal by way of Tirhut and had joined with Khwāja ʿAbdu-l-Ghafūr and stirred up commotion, and been plundering in the district of Sāran. As the heavenly superintendents arrange for the retribution of evil-doers, they were disgraced before the arrival of the victorious troops. Having heard of the approach of the troops, they prepared for battle. A large caravan of salt[1] merchants was passing, and the scoundrels went to plunder it. The merchants made a breast-work of their bags and stood firm. The assailants were soon repulsed. After that they took refuge twelve *kos* from Tirhut, and meditated oppressing the
397 weak. Just then the victorious army unfurled their banners, and addressed themselves to the making a bridge over the Ganges, and to the punishment of the rebels. When the bridge was nearly finished, the rebels lost heart and sought protection with the zamindar of Kalyānpūr,[2] but could not find it, and returned unsuccessful. Brave men pursued them. ʿAbdu-l-Ghafūr was about to go to Bengal by way of Tirhut.[3] The Kasih[4] tribe destroyed him and

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[1] The text has *mulk*, but the I.O. MSS. 236 and Elliot V. 428n show that *nimak* is the true reading.

[2] In Sarkār Sāran, J. II. 156. This was Kalyān Mal, an ancestor of the Hatwa Rāj. See G. N. Dutt, Hist. Hutwa Rāj, J.A.S.B. for 1904, pp. 181 and 225.

[3] I.O. MS. 236 and Lucknow ed. have "in Narhan," and this is possibly the true reading. It is given in Bib. Ind. ed. as a variant.

[4] Text كهيتة Khītah, but several variants are given, one being كسيه kīsah. I believe this last to be a mistake for كسيه Kasih, the dots having been taken as coming before the ي instead of after it. The tribe then is the Khasī, or Khāsī tribe of Assam and Sylhet, commonly written of as the Cossyahs. Whether A. F. is correct or not in extending their habitat to Santhalia or Bhagalpur—apparently the place where ʿAbdu-l-Ghafūr and his companions were cut off—I do not know. But I think there can be no doubt that it was the name of the Cossyah tribe that he meant to write. Possibly the men were murdered in

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seventy others, and cleansed the earth of the disturbance caused by that strifemonger. There are many of this tribe in the hill-country. In appearance and manners they are like Qalmāqs, but they are dark-complexioned. Nūr Muḥammad, the son of Tarkhān, who was proceeding towards Gya, was caught by the Khān Ā'zim's men near Campāran.[1] They put chains on his neck and clogs (*kunda*) on his arms. Out of regard to justice he was capitally punished, and evil-doers had their eyes opened.

Also at this time Rajah Bīrbar's abode was made illustrious by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. He was among the intimate associates. For him H.M. had ordered the erection of stone-palaces. When they were finished, he expressed a wish that they might be glorified by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. On 7 Bahman (January 1583) there was a splendid feast, and by the Shāhinshāh's graciousness his wish was gratified.

Also at this time the commander-in-chiefship of the province of the Panjab was bestowed on Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and S'aīd K. received a *jāgīr* in Sambal. He was ordered to punish 'Arab Bahādur who had stirred up strife in the hill-country there. On 8 Isfandārmuz H.M. rode off to enjoy hunting, and at the close of the day alighted at the town of Jalesar. Jagmāl[2] Panwār has erected on a small hill, ten *kos* from Fatḥpūr, a delightful mansion and given it the name of RūshināS.[3] Its environs delight the eye, and the verdure utters the praise of God with the tongue of action. Its air

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the Cossyah hills, for they may have been going towards Bhātī and the kingdom of 'Īsā K. Since writing this I have found a passage in the Iqbālnāma, p. 69, which speaks of the Mugs, who were brought to court in Jahangir's time by Hushang, the son of Islām K., as being like the black Calmucks. This makes me think that the hill-tribe meant by A. F. is the Chīn or Khyīn tribe of the Arakan hill-country. There is only the difference of a dot between Khita and Khyīn, and we have the word کھین at p. 432 though apparently A. F. has written west instead of east.

[1] The T.A. states under the 28th year that Nūr Muḥammad was the son of Tarkhān Dīwāna, and that he was executed in the market-place (*nakhkhās*) of Fatḥpūr.

[2] Bīrbar's house is still shown at Fatḥpūr. See Keene's Agra 64. There does not seem any good reason for thinking it to be his daughter's house.

[3] B. 476. That is "distinguished, celebrated." Tiefenthaler I. 170 mentions a place five leagues S. of

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refreshes the brain. He remained three days there, making hunting the veil of Divine worship, and then returned.

Fatḫpūr called Rūbās where Akbar used to go for change of air and for hunting. Perhaps Rūbās and Rūsḫinās are the same place.

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CHAPTER LXX.

The beginning of the 28th Divine year from the Accession, to wit, the year Tīr of the third cycle.

At this time, when Time was carrying through work, the star was guiding, the glory of Divine worship was increasing daily, and justice was being augmented, the ear was rejoiced by the sound of the New Year. Joy showed a new face. The exalter of throne and 398 diadem uttered the summons, and gathered together the assemblage of supplication. Active and magician-like men adorned the State-Hall with every thing that was most excellent so as to surprise even the acute and the critical. On Monday, 26 Ṣafr 991, 10 March 1583, the world-lighting sun shed its rays on Aries, and the joy of Spring began, and the fourth year of the third cycle brought the message of eternal life. Mankind sang songs of rejoicing, and there was variety of happiness. Great festivals went on to the day of exaltation (*sharaf*), and there was a daily market of liberality.

Verse.

The kingdom longed for such an adornment,
At length fortune fulfilled the kingdom's desire.

It needs an enlightened heart and an eloquent tongue, and leisure, to tell somewhat of these feasts and so to enliven my discourse. Where have I—the stammering-tongued and much occupied—the power to undertake such a task ?

Verse.

How is it right that in the dawn of Spring
Flies should buzz in presence of the nightingale ?

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bengal for the third time. In the previous year the Khān Āʿẓim M. Koka had been sent from court in order that he might inflict suitable punishment

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on the strifemongers of Bihar, and might address himself to the conquest of Bengal. As the rebels of Bihar had received their deserts before the arrival of the victorious army—as has been related—Ṣādiq K. came by relays of horses to court, and as the rainy season was at hand, the enterprise was not accomplished that year. When the tempests and floods of that season had ceased, Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K. S. Ibrāhīm and S. Farīd Bokhārī were dispatched, and strenuous and unabashed *sazāwals* were appointed to the fief-holders of Ilahābās (Allāhābād), Oudh and Bihar. In a short time a large army was collected in Ḥājīpūr, and energies were devoted to the accomplishment of the task. The Khān Ā'ẓim with many brave and loyal men took the route of Garhī. Tarson K., S. Ibrāhīm, Mīr zāda 'Alī K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Ḳīcak Khwāja,[1] Subḥān Qūlī Turk, and other heroes crossed the river, and addressed themselves to the conquering of that quarter. On account of the jungle, the numerous ravines, and the mire and water, they could not advance by that route. The armies joined one another near Monghyr. Tarson K., Shāh Qūlī K. Maḥram, Muḥibb 'Ālī K., the Mīrzāda 'Alī K., S. Ibrāhīm, and Rai Patr Dās took post a stage or two beyond Colgong. The rebels prepared for
399 battle in the neighbourhood of Kālīgang[2] (?). Before this, M. Sharfu d-dīn Ḥusain, Bābā K. Qāqshāl and many other strife-mongers had died, and M'aṣūm K. Kābulī was at the head of the rebels. Qutlū Noḥānī was predominant in Orissa, and he had also taken possession of part of Bengal. When M'aṣūm K. heard the sound of the advancing armies, he first addressed himself to Qutlū, and made a league with him to the effect that when the imperial officers arrived, he should join him with a chosen force. When he had been somewhat heartened by this, he hastened off to Ghorāghāt, and made comradeship with Jabbārī, Mīrzā Beg, and the rest of the Qāqshals, and in order to inspire them with confidence he left his family in their quarters. Then he came with a number of rebels to Kālī

[1] Perhaps the word is Gicak, a lute. Can this be the Khwāja Kisik of Gulbadan B.'s Mem. translation, p. 162?

[2] Kātīgang the canal, or river-cutting, appears from the I.O. MSS. to be the correct reading. Probably it is the Khārī or Khītīgang of A. N. III. 300. The Iqbālnāma has Kātīgang. See also Elliot VI. 66 where there is a long piece of translation.

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Gang (Kātīgang ?) and applied himself to strengthening the place and to preparations for battle.

On 9 Farwardīn the vanguard of the victorious troops took possession of Garhī, which is the gate of that country. On the 16th the officers met in with the rebels and drew up in battle-array. They established batteries on the bank of the Kātīgang,[1] and the war boats were made ready. As the imperial servants were on the watch for Qutlū, Saiyid 'Abdulla K., Mīrzādā 'Alī K., S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī, Khwāja 'Abdul Ḥai and others together with nearly 4000 horse were sent under the command of Wāzīr K. towards Balkana (?).[2] They lay in wait twelve kos away from the camp. Every day there was an engagement with guns and arrows, and great deeds were done. On account of the idle talk of men of little heart there was a rift in the enterprisingness of the commanders, and great importance was attached to the numbers of the enemy. A request was therefore sent for help. When Sher Beg *tawācī bāshī* who had been sent off post-haste, arrived, the world's lord was much astonished and said, "Though something tells me that the news of victory will soon arrive, yet there is no harm in caution and in granting their request." Accordingly, on the 13th Ardībihisht M. Khān, Zain Khān Koka, Ism'aīl Qulī K., Makhṣūs K., Muṭṭalib K., Rai Sarjan, S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār, Shiroya K., Khiẓr Beg, Mīr Abū-l-Moẓaffar, Mir M'aṣūm of Bhakar and many others were sent off to the eastern provinces, and each was presented with a *khil'at* and a special horse. Before they started the good news of victory arrived, and once more was the mysterious intuition of the world's lord impressed on high and low. To some were eyes, to some collyrium, 400
and to some staffs were given. For nearly a month the armies of fortune confronted the rebels and discharged guns and muskets night and day. On both sides were great deeds performed. And though hopelessness was prevalent, yet the Shāhinshāh's fortune emerged in a wonderful manner. On the 14th the crescent of

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[1] Kālīgang in text, but there is the variant Kātīgang.

[2] بلكنه Balkana (?) in text, but there is a variant Balkasta. A M.S. in my possession has Kalkata quite distinctly, and I observe that in the 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 528 top line, a ferry called the Calcutta ferry is mentioned as being somewhere in the neighbourhood of Sūtī "opposite the village of Tardīpūr and on the Ganges."

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victory illuminated the world, and the rebels, whose star was extinguished, fled to the desert. Every one of the reckless fools fell into confusion.

The short account of this wondrous stroke of fortune is as follows: In the heat of the contest the Qāẓīzāda, who was one of the ringleaders, came from Fatḥābād[1] and brought many well-equipped war-boats with him. Suddenly a cannon-ball reached him, and he was killed. M'aṣūm K. appointed in his room Kālā Pahār, who was singular for his skill in river-fighting. He too was soon reduced to annihilation. Also there arose dissension between M'aṣūm K. and the Qāqshāl clan and Khāldīn. Crapulousness laid hold of the drinkers of the wine of presumption, and they became foolish. Able negotiators set themselves to win men over. Many returned to obedience. First Khāldīn came in and made oaths and agreements. Then M. Beg Qāqshāl, Jabbārī, and others secretly took the oath of good service. It was agreed that they should withdraw from fighting and go to their homes, and that after some days they should come to the camp and become good servants. They acted according as they had said. The presumptuous rebels were thrown into great confusion, and were compelled to fly with saddened hearts. Though the Khān Ā'ẓim endeavoured to pursue them, he was prevented by the foolish talk of some, and the cowardice of most. The rebels withdrew, and when the news of victory came, thanksgivings were offered to God, and the brave men, who had been sent to assist, turned back.

One of the occurrences was that the Qāqshāl officers joined the imperial servants. When M'aṣūm trod the desert of defeat, he hastened off to the homes of the Qāqshāls in order that no harm might happen to his family, and also that he might revenge himself upon them. M. Muḥammad Qāqshāl had out of friendship conveyed his family[2] (?) to a place of safety. The Qāqshāls took up a strong position near Ghorāghāt and prepared for battle. M'aṣūm K. plundered

[1] A Sarkār in East Bengal, comprising Farīdpūr, etc. See J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 217, and J. II, 132.

[2] The text has بپای اورا, which I do not understand. The I.O. MSS. have بسای اورا "into his protection (?)." From the Iqbālnāma it appears that M. Muḥammad removed M'aṣūm's family to a safe place.

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Ghorāghāt and proceeded to attack the Qāqshāls. The Khān 'Āẓim sent off Muḥibb 'Alī K., S. Ibrāhīm Fatḥpūrī, Babūi Manklī, Sikandar Cikni (?) and other combatants to the number of about 4000 horse **401** to that place under the command of Tarson K. They arrived when the Qāqshāls were in difficulties, and the rebels fled. The heroes set themselves to pursue them, but turned back in Ghorāghāt. M. Beg, Khaldīn, Wazīr Jamīl and the others adhered to their former promises and made submission. They took upon themselves the task of inflicting retribution upon M'aṣūm K. and separated from the victorious army.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Amīr Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī.[1] He was singular for theoretical and practical knowledge. Though he had acquired much in the schools of Khwājah Jamālu-d-dīn Maḥmūd, Maulānā Kamālu-d dīn Shirwānī and Maulānā Aḥmad Kurd (?), yet his science was greater than theirs. 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr had by great efforts brought him from Shīrāz to the Deccan. When 'Ādil K. died, he, in accordance with an old wish, and a command, proceeded to the holy threshold. On the 25th he attained this blessing. So much learning had he that if the old books of wisdom had disappeared, he could have laid a new foundation (of knowledge), and would not have wished for what had gone. As was right and just, he, with so much enlightenment, desired to become a disciple of the world's lord. By good fortune he gained his desire. He frequently said in the meetings, "If I had not entered the service of this adorner of multiplicity, and chooser of unity, I had not become a traveller on the road of Divine knowledge. His (Akbar's) personality and magnificent nature have made the wine of learning digestible by me. Otherwise the current sciences had been a veil over the face of the search for truth." And it is evident that there are two classes of men. There is he who having been taught in the Divine school has the pure temple of his soul filled with the light of knowledge without the stain of effort. He comes forth in the course of ages, and the form worshippers of the day seldom recognize him. The other is he who takes pains and who by thousands of strivings acquires some of the knowledge possessed by his predecessors. The general public do not see anything beyond

[1] See B. 33, n. 1, and Badāyūnī, Lowe, 325 and 381.

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him. At the present day, by the good fortune of the age and of mankind, the world's lord is the Primate (*Peshwā*) of the first class. Hail to the brilliant star which gathers eternal bliss by this knowledge and which imparts glory to the record of actions!

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to Bengal. When M'aṣūm trod the desert of failure, as has been related, the victorious army proceeded against Qutlū. As the Khān 'Āẕim disliked the climate of that country, he begged for employment elsewhere. The gracious sovereign accepted his earnest request and issued orders that if some officer could undertake the control of
402 the army and the administration of the country for some time, he might make over charge to him, and come to Bihar, and repose in his fief. Otherwise he should wait a little, and Shahbāz K. would soon be sent. On 8th Khurdād the important duty was made over to him (Shahbāz), and he took leave and went off with many officers.

One of the[1] occurrences was that the grand-daughter (*nabīra*) of Māldeo obtained a new life. In the wide country of India, on account of truth-choosing, and jealous honour, when the husband dies, his wife, though she have spent her days in distress, gives herself to the fire with an expanded heart and an open brow. And

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[1] This interesting incident is as usual told by A. F. in a stilted and obscure manner. He does not tell us where the Satī was going to take place, or where Akbar was at the time, and he does not clearly tell us who Jaimal and Udai Singh were. B. 427, 428 may be consulted, and also the Maaṣir II. 110. It appears that Jaimal was the son of Rūpsī who was the nephew of Rajah Bihārī Mal, and consequently a cousin of Rajah Bhagwān Dās. A. F. says that Udai Singh, who wanted to make the widow burn, was *pisar-i-ao*. Blochmann takes this to mean Jaimal's son, and it may be that he was the widow's stepson and not her own son. But grammatically it looks as if the words meant that he was the widow's own son. Elliot VI. 69 calls him Māl Deo's son, but this is clearly wrong. At p. 326, A. F. mentioned that Lonī was the residence of Bihārī Mal's nephews, and perhaps this is the Lonī in Sarkār Rewārī mentioned in J. II. 288, though B. regards Lonī or Lūnī as being near Ranthambor: see p. 398, n. 1. But either place was perhaps too far for Akbar to ride to, and presumably the family was staying in Agra or Fatḥpūr. The news was brought to Akbar's zanāna. Presumably he was there then, but possibly some of the ladies of the Mota Rajah family got the news first. Another daughter of the Mota Rajah, the sister of Jaimal's widow, was married to Jahangir in 994, 1586.

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if from wickedness (*tardāmanī*) and love of life she refrain from doing this, her husband's relatives (*kheshāwandān*) assemble and light the flame, whether she be willing or unwilling. They regard this as preserving their honour and reputation. From the time that this ever-vernal country has been kept verdant and fresh by the justice of the world's lord, vigilant and truthful men have been appointed in every city and district in order that the two classes of cases may be continually kept distinct, and that forcible burning may not be permitted.[1]

At this time H.M. had sent Jaimal by relays of horses to the Bengal officers On account of immoderate expedition, and the excessive heat, the torch of his existence was extinguished in the neighbourhood of Causā. His wife, the daughter of the Mota Rajah (The Fat Rajah), had not the courage to burn herself. Udai Singh her son and some bold and foolish persons set themselves to work this injustice (to make her burn). It was high dawn[2] when the news came to H.M.'s female apartments. The just sovereign fearing that if he sent others there would be delay, mounted a swift horse and went off to the spot. As the circumstances were not known there was confusion for some time. Foolish talkers, and imaginative simpletons, made up wonderful stories of a fight. The loyal and devoted, and the happy warriors, got agitated and assembled in troops. There was a time of confusion and they set about putting on their armour and making ready for battle. The loyal but feeble-minded were at a loss, while the strong and well-disposed galloped off. The two-faced and wicked misunderstood matters and talked unintelligently. The crooked in their ways and the inwardly dark raised a song of triumph. Such had been the rapidity that even

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[1] See the instruction to the Kotwāl or Police officer, J. II. 42: "He should not suffer a woman to be burnt against her inclination."

[2] چاشتي بلند بود *cāshtī buland būd.* I am inclined to think that we should read چاشني *cāshnī*, for I find that this word is construed with *buland; cāshnī buland būd* would mean it was high dawn. I think that this the time meant, and not *cāsht*, which would be about 9 a.m. The translation in Elliot VI. 63 makes the disturbance to be caused by the Rajputs, but I do not think this is the meaning. It was Akbar's followers who did not know why he had gone off and who were disturbed and got ready for battle.

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the guards had not been able to come up, but some of the personal attendants arrived near the spot. The faction gave up their proceedings in presence of the Shāhinshāh's majesty. When that cavalier of fortune's arena had come near the spot, Jagannāth and Rai Sāl went ahead and seized the ringleader of the ignorant and turbulent ones and brought him to H M. The appreciative sovereign read the writing of repentance on the foreheads of the crew, and in all this ebullition of anger gave them their lives, but imprisoned them. In a short time the prudent prince made use of justice, graciousness, 403 and courage, and brought things into tranquillity. The dust of turbulence was laid and the pæan of joy rose high.

One of the occurrences was the sending of I'timād K. to the government of Gujarat. At the beginning of the conquest of this country, he had been nominated to this high post. From wickedness and perversity he indulged in evil thoughts, and the Shāhinshāh's fortune put chains on his feet and sent him to the school of the prison, as has already been related. From much cupidity he had begged for the government of the province. When the Shāhinshāh treated him with kindness, Mīr Abū Turāb for his own advantage made him more keen in the prosecution of his desire. The truth-seeking Shāhinshāh's idea was that if some goodness should appear in him, and if it was his wish, he should fulfil what he had said. As at this time there was some appearance of this, he proceeded to grant his long-cherished wish. He made over to him the military command and the administration of the province. He adhered to what he had said and ripened his hopes. Though right-thinking and far-seeing persons represented, "When he was in full strength, and had numerous helpers, he was not able to control the factious people of Gujarat. At this day, when his bodily frame is declining, and he has no single-hearted comrades, how can it be proper to dispatch him on this service?" Yet as the decree of heaven had passed, the speech of the wise did not take effect, and he went off in great elation. Mīr Abū Turāb was sent off as Amīn to the country, and Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad was made Bakhshī. Khwāja Abu-l-qāsim became Dīwān. They were accompanied by Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abu-l-Moẓaffar, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Mīr Muḥibbullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Mīr Sāliḥ, Mīr Hāshim, Shāh Beg, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, Saiyid Jalāl

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Bhakharī, Saiyid Abū Isḥaq, Qambar Īshak Āqā, Pahlwān 'Alī Sīstānī and others. Each was exalted by receiving a robe of honour, and a choice means of conveyance (*bāragī*). They also received valuable counsels. They took leave on 7 Tīr, and Karm 'Alī Darogha of the perfumery was sent to bring away Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. The order was that when the new governor came, Shihabu-d-dīn should come with his soldiers to court.[1]

Also at this time Mīr Sharīf Gīlānī came from the Niẓām-ul-mulk together with other ambassadors from the Deccan and did homage and presented gifts. They were received with favour.

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[1] This account of I'timād's appointment should be compared with Abū Turāb's *History of Gujarat* recently published by Dr. Denison Ross.

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CHAPTER LXXI.

The Watering of the Garden of Dominion, and the uprearing of the Palace of World-rule.

Inasmuch as the dominions are extensive, and the soldiery numerous, as cupidity increases daily, right-thinking diminishing, 404 the courageous and veridical not to be found, the false and flattering plentiful, the wicked contrivers in troops, and the acute and just-thinking scarce (*khāl-khāl*), there soon comes a great rift in affairs, and evil grows prevalent. Therefore is it that the world's lord every now and then augments his circumspection, and imparts new freshness to the garden of the State. Accordingly at this time, he, from brilliance and foresight and from the quest of truth, erected a new palace of administration. He made over every department to distinguished loyal men who were unavaricious and well-disposed, and he associated the majesty of the Shahinshah with paternal benignity. He made over to Prince Selīm the Divine tasks of severity and lenity, and the superintendence of marriage and birthday feasts—which are sources of stability and ornament of eternal dominion. That pearl of the crown of the sultanate carried out whatever the just sovereign ordained and addressed himself to giving currency to the orders. As colleagues are indispensable, M. Khān, S. Abū-l-faiẓ Faiẓī and the faithful Fatḥ Ullah were appointed to assist him. The management of the household—which is equal to the administration of a great kingdom—was made over to Prince Sulṭān Murād. Rai Sāl Darbārī, Karm Ullah, Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Shīrīn Qalm, Muḥammad 'Alī Khazāncī served under him. The superintendence of faith and religion and of wisdom and work was committed to Prince Sulṭān Daniel. Ghāzī K. Badakhshī, Rai Sarjan and the writer of this noble volume were appointed to lay matters before him. First, they (i.e. the officers in charge of the departments) studied the choice regulations which had lighted up the heavenly soul (of Akbar) and had adorned therewith the raw

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material of the minds of the simple; and secondly, they guided the bewildered to the highway of Divine worship. Allowances and charities were made over to Sulṭān Khwāja, Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ, Mīr Abū Turāb and to the Qāẓī and the Muftī (law officer). The development of the dominions, and the appointment and dismissal of the officers of the Khālṣa were made over to Rājah Todar Mal, Khwāja Yahiya, Rai Durgā and Yār 'Alī. The charge of the army and the arrangements for the pay of the soldiers were made over to Shahbāz K. J'aafar Beg and 'Alī Dost K. The superintendence of the rates of goods was assigned to Zain K. Koka, Ism'aīl Qulī K., Payinda K. and Hājī Ḥabīb Ullah. The care of the armour and the looking after the roads were made over to Qulīj K., Jagannāth, Lon Karn and Ṣāliḥ 'Āqil. The watching over the property of deceased persons and the conveyance of it to the heirs were made over to Sharīf K., Rajah Askaran, Naqīb K. and 'Abdu-raḥmān the son of Muyīd Beg. The department of buying and selling jewels and other minerals was made over to I'timād K. Gujrātī, Bāqī K., Jagmāl, Ḥakīm Ain-al-mulk, and N'aamat K. The charge of buildings was 405
given to Naurang K., Qāsim K. Makhṣūs K. and Laṭif Khwāja. The administering of justice to complainants was made over to Rajah Bīrbar, Qāsim 'Alī K., Ḥakīm Hamām and Sham Sher K. Kotwāl. The writer of the book of fortune (A. F.) was also appointed to this office. An order was issued that they should not be satisfied with witnesses and oaths, but make a profound investigation. The deeds of the one party (the oppressor) were very base, and the condition of the other (the petitioner) very bewildered. On account of the bribery of the oppressor and of his high position, and of the empty-headedness and helplessness of the oppressed, it was necessary that there should be no slackness in the inquiry, and that the thought of presents (*pāra*) should not turn the heart out of the way, nor that the shafts of injury should lead one to the lane of cowardice, and cause the veiling of the truth. In a short time the outer world attained an excellent management and the spiritual world a new development. There was, as it were, a new palace constructed for the appreciativeness of the sovereign, and humanity was tested in the square of knowledge. The wicked descended into the hollow of ignominy, and the good were exalted. Every great one who makes use of the medicine for senselessness, and chooses, with a thousand

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eyes of the heart, watchfulness, will assuredly make Fortune his servant, and the empire of rulers will come under the shade of his justice.

Verse.

Hail! the garden of the two worlds rejoices because of thee,
The foundation of life is firm because of thee.
Solomon had a ring, thou hast faith,
Alexander had his mirror, thou the code,
Alexander with his mirror, Kaikhusrū with his cup,
Have not seen what thou art beholding for many days.

One of the occurrences was that Wazīr K. was victorious and that Qutlū Nohānī (Lohānī) was defeated. When the Divine aid had deprived the rebels of endurance, M'aṣūm K. Kābulī and the other seditious and ill-fated ones took flight, as has already been narrated. Thereupon the Khān Â'ẓim and the other great officers set about finding a remedy for the crafty Qutlū. He by wiles and flatteries brought forward a proposal of peace, and sent eloquent and skilful persons to court, and made use of blandishments. The answer came that if his works corresponded to his words, they should admit him as a servant and restore Orissa to him. At this time the Khān Ā'ẓim's heart was alienated from the country and he was eager to depart. He wished that on the arrival of the order of leave he might hasten off to his estates, and that Ṣādiq K. might in these few days take the command and conclude this great affair (the settlement with Qutlū) to a conclusion. He (Ṣādiq K.) made unsuitable stipulations, and so the Khān Ā'ẓim turned to Wazīr K. He gladly accepted the task, and the Khān Ā'ẓim went off to Ḥājīpūr (where his estates were). Upon his departure, the devious Qutlū in his shortsightedness and narrow capacity uplifted the head
406 of presumption, and made unfitting conditions with regard to the peace. The officers, who had betaken themselves to repose, were somewhat annoyed and marched from Sherpūr[1] in order to give battle to him. On 10 Tīr they encamped at Bardwan. That turbulent one was six *kos* off and had recourse to vulpine tricks. He

[1] Sherpūr 'Aṭāī in Sarkār Sharīfābād, B. 341. The I.O. MSS. have Sherpūr 'Aṭāī.

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made use of humility and supplications. They were deceived by him, and added Madāran, Mednīpūr and other places to Orissa. He agreed to take the burden of obedience on his shoulders, and to send his brother's son with choice presents to court. Again he had recourse to rebellious thoughts, and determined that he should by stratagem get one of the leaders into his clutches—perhaps in this way he might gain his object. He represented that he was sending the apple of his eye to court, and asked that Ṣādiq K. should come without a large retinue from the camp, while he too would come out with a few followers so that they might see one another and be materially comforted, and that he might make over to him the cream of his life (his nephew). Ṣādiq K. had the foresight to keep away, and S. Farīd Bakhshī[1] was sent. He from his good intentions and simplicity, went off along with Ḥusain K., Abū-l-Qāsim, 'Abdul Hādī, and Maḥmūd K. Khwāṣ. When he came to the appointed place, there was no trace of Qutlū. As he was continually sending messages of concord, he went on. Some plausible persons brought him to his quarters and he (Qutlū) prepared a feast. From time to time he expressed fresh supplications, but his sole intention was that when the men had gone to their repose he should seize the Shaikh and take him to a remote place, and gain his objects by using him as a hostage. The Shaikh perceived this and at the beginning of the night proceeded to depart. No horse (*bārugī*) had been left in the stable, and when they had gone a little way there was a hot fight for a while, and some men were killed. In the midst

[1] See B. 413, who refers to Stewart's Bengal. Stewart, p. 177, tells the story differently from A.F., but as I think not altogether in accordance with his authorities. What Stewart says is that Farīd did not treat Bahādur Kurfarah with sufficient respect. But what Niẓāmu-d-dīn and Badayūnī—who, I presume, are his authorities—say is that Qutlū received Farīd with respect (herein differing from A.F. who says Qutlū was absent) and acted as if he was his servant, or at least as the servant of Akbar, but that Bahādur wanted to treat Farid on a footing of equality. Bahādur was a Bengal Zamindar, as well as an officer of Qutlū, but Farīd chose to regard him rather as Qutlū's servant than as a landholder, and behaved haughtily to him. See Elliot, V. 429, where the translation is wrong, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 333, where also the translation is not correct. Both should be compared with the originals.

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of this the Shaikh came out on his own elephant. By the jugglery of fortune the animal proved unmanageable and rushed off into space. Owing to the darkness of the night his men could not follow him. The Shaikh thought of crossing a stream and so escaping, but was bewildered owing to there being no ford.[1] Suddenly some men came up and shot arrows at him and wounded him. The Shaikh threw himself off the elephant and turned aside. By the guidance of the mysterious arrangers (i.e. protectors) he proceeded on his way. The scoundrels thought that the Shaikh was still in the haudah (*'amārī*) and was trying to escape. While he was going on in this bewildered way a faithful servant joined him and gave him a mount (*bāragī*) and conducted him to the camp. The officers[2] emerged from their heavy slumbers of negligence and attacked that contriver of long plots. They crossed the Damūdar river and went on for two *kos* in battle array. That scoundrel (Qutlū) established[3] forts and firmly planted the foot of audacity.

407 Qutlū and many others took refuge in a fort, and in another place Bahādur Kūruh[4] prepared for battle. In the beginning of Amardād, Ṣādiq K., Shah Qulī K. Maḥram and others advanced to do battle with Bahādur. After a severe struggle they took the fort, and he escaped and joined Qutlū. Next day they attacked his residence, and mounted guns on high places. By the Divine aid the rebels were defeated, and fled in wretched plight. From want of energy and slumbrousness of intent they were not pursued. The imperialists halted on the bank of the river.

On the 2nd that majestic one—whom the spheres cannot counterpoise—was weighed against eight articles, and the feast of the lunar anniversary took place. The needy of the age attained their desires.

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[1] Text *pāi guzārī*, which may mean "looking for a ford." The I.O. MSS. have *be guzārī*, "the absence of a ford."

[2] The rest of the paragraph is translated in Elliot, VI. 69.

[3] *Qil'ahā sākhta.* Elliot renders this "entrenched his camp," and perhaps this is right.

[4] Badayūnī, Lowe, 333, seems to call him Bahādur Kur Farah. Elliot, V. 429, calls him Gauriya. The text of the T. A. has کوروه. See above, text, p. 384 and note. Perhaps Badayūni's Kur Farah is a mistake for Kar Farmā. See J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 200.

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One of the occurrences was that Burhān-al-mulk took the protection of the sublime court. He was the younger brother of Martaẓa Niẓāmu-l-mulk. When Ḥusain Niẓāmu-l-mulk died, the kingdom came ostensibly into the possession of the elder son,[1] but in reality into that of his mother. She, like the father, loved Burhān most and regarded him as superior to every one else. When the changing heavens had made some circuits, Martaẓa at the instigation of strife-mongers and intriguers arrested his mother and brother and sent each of them to a fortress. From lewdness and ignorance he discarded the pilots[2] of the time and subjected himself for spiritual guidance to a sect. Owing to the rawness of his guide and the severity of the ritual his brain became deranged. He withdrew from intercourse with mankind, and left affairs to a wretch named Ḥusain. This man rose from cock-fighting to become his companion, and owing to ignorance (on the part of Martaẓa) he acquired the title of Āsaf K.[3] The sense-robbing world's wine infatuated the weak-handed man. His evil propensities developed and

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[1] Ferishta has a long account of him in his history of the kingdom of Aḥmadnagar. See also the Darbārī Akbārī, 688. Martaẓa came to the throne in 972 A.H., 1565, and reigned till 1589. The next sentence is translated in Elliot, "He, like his father before him, preferred Burhān to all his friends," but I think the sentence refers to the mother. She was of Persian origin, and descended from Jahān Shah of the Black Sheep so that she was connected with Bairām K. Her name was Khūnza Humāyūn. Martaẓa was eventually killed by his own son, and Ferishta narrowly escaped death on this occasion.

[2] A. F. has surpassed himself in obscurity in this passage. Elliot, VI. 70, renders it "His ignorance and vicious propensities kept him aloof from the loyal and good, and threw him into the company of evil persons whose bad advice quite perverted his mind." The words in text are *nāguzrān-i-waqt* ناگزران وقت and I. O. MS. 236 has the same. I have supposed *nāguzrān* to be a word formed like *nākhudā* and to mean captains or pilots. I. O. 236 has *nagazīran-i-waqt* ناگزیران وقت which perhaps means "persons who were indispensable to the times." The word *rūḥānī* which I have translated by "spiritual" also means "a howling darwish"; c.f. Ferishta's account of Martaẓa's going to Bālaghāt and assuming a dervish's dress, etc.

[3] Āṣaf K. is the name of Solomon's vizier, see B. 368. Ferishta calls Ḥusain Ṣāḥib K., and the T. A. Muṣāḥib K. He was eventually killed by A. F.'s muscular brother-in-law Khudāwand K. Deccānī.

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a new foundation was given to self-conceit. The world thought that the days of the recluse were ended. At length that ungrateful and devious one set himself to make the Barīd war (viz. that against the Barīd Shāhs of Bīdar), and the dust of commotion rose high in the neighbourhood of Qandhar.[1] On learning this, the madman came out and went rapidly against him. At this time Burhān by the help of the governor of the fortress, came out and proceeded to create a disturbance. The opportunity for rascals came. As his intellect remained in prison, and his fortune was asleep, he fastened his eyes upon men's property, and was active in distressing people. Niẓāmu-l-mulk, on hearing of this, effected a reconciliation (with Ḥusain) and returned and reached Aḥmadnagar on the day that he (Burhān) intended to come. On seeing him the commotion subsided. He said to his companions: "For a long while I have been a recluse, and have been averse to mixing with men. My brother
408 longs for rule. Withdraw from me and join him." They replied. "It is proper that the innings of the base be broken up! When that has been done these matters may be considered. Otherwise few will know the real circumstances, and most will think that your action (in resigning or withdrawing from society) is the result of weakness and ill-health." He rejoiced at this pronouncement and a song of joy was raised on account of the uniting of hearts. He went in conquest of battle with a labour-loving heart and a right courage.

In addition to the fact that Burhān was not a match for Martaẓa in numbers, the right-thinking and truthfulness of his companions prevented matters from coming to a fight. Crowds of men turned back from Burhān, and he without engaging had to tread the desert of failure. For a while he sought asylum with the owner of Bījanagar.[2] He returned without effecting anything. From

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[1] Elliot, VI. 70, says, sixty miles N. Bīdar, and at VII. 25 note says 25 miles S. W. Nandar. In the maps there is a Qandahār some 80 miles N. Bīdar, and a long way to the east of Aḥmadnagar. It is on the Manāda, a tributary of the Godavery. Ferishta does not name it, though he speaks of Ṣāḥib K.'s attack on Bīdar. Possibly A. F. has chosen Qandahār on account of its remoteness, it being his rhetorical way of saying that the whole of Bīdar was disturbed. Qandhar is marked as Kandahr in Grant Duff's map. See I. G. XIV. 377.

[2] The text has Bījāpūr, but the variant Bījanagar seems preferable,

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there he went to 'Ādil K. in Bījāpūr. When craft and deceit did not avail, he returned to Aḥmadnagar in the attire of a jogī. There he lived in secret, and endeavoured by the help of wicked men to deceive people and to strengthen his party. The veil over his actions was removed. He then went off rapidly to Baglāna, but failing there he went to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. in Nadarbar, and gathered bliss at the sublime court. On the 11th he brightened his forehead by doing homage at the holy threshold. Inasmuch as the raising up of the fallen, and showing kindness to the fatigued is the praiseworthy quality of H.M., he was exalted by various favours. Two years before this, they brought one who called himself Burhān. Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn[2] Ḥusain Ānjū received him and introduced him, and he obtained lofty rank[3] by the kindness of the world's lord. On this occasion the two were confronted, and an investigation held. The shameless one made some long speeches, but was compelled by acuteness to tell the truth and to say, "I am the son of a certain Deccānī who had the title of Ḥakīm-al-mulkī. The mother of Niẓāmu-l-mulk had received me as a son. I was led astray by cupidity and short-sightedness." From fear he ran away, but was caught by searchers on the road to Agra and sent to the school of the prison.

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of 'Arab Bahadūr. His misconduct has been described, and how he failed. After he had become a vagabond in Sambal, he stirred up strife in Bihar. When the Khān 'Āẓim M. Koka had gone from Bengal to that quarter, some brave men, under the charge of Subḥān Qulī Turk, proceeded to inflict retribution on him. From far-sightedness he himself (the K. 'Āẓim) went there. There was an engagement between Tirhut and Campāran, and he was again disgraced. From

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as Bījāpūr occurs in the next clause. Ferishta says he went to Burhānpūr.

[1] J. II. 208. A Sarkār of Mālwa. Also written Naẕar-bār, the Nandarbār in Khandesh of the I.G.

[2] The Iqbālnāma says, Mīr Jamāl had means of knowing, for he was married to the real Burhān's sister. Ferishta confirms this and says her name was Khadīja, and that she was Burhān's full sister.

[3] Badāyunī, Lowe, 334, says he received a *jāgīr* in Oudh. See also Elliot, V. 429. Presumably he is the same pretender as the one mentioned at p. 703 as having been put to death in 1596.

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there he went off to Jaunpūr. By H.M.'s orders, Rajah Todar Mal sent his son Gaurdahan to chastise him, and 'Arab entered the hill-country.

Also at this time Ḥājī Ībrahīm Sirhindī was sent to the prison of instruction. For some time, he by effrontery and plausible speeches ranked among the searchers for wisdom. For a time he enjoyed himself as Ṣādr [1] of Gujarat. During that time some persons came and complained of his oppression. When his cupidity and
409 wickedness became evident, and his tyranny became patent, he was sent to the fortress of Ranthambor. The oppressed were heartened. He wished to descend by making a noose. The rope broke and his [2] days came to an end.

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[1] See supra III. 264. He was appointed in 987.

[2] See Darbārī Akbarī, p. 702, and Badayūnī, Lowe, 286 and 322. Badayūnī says he died in 994 (1586).

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CHAPTER LXXII.

The sending of M. Khān to quell the Disturbances in Gujarāt.

Who can reckon up the marvels produced by Existence, and who can understand them? The family[1] of contingent beings cannot comprehend them. How then can the children of men do so? But the sage can to some extent trace out the matter. It may be that the strong gale of sedition and the stirring up of the dust of dissension, even in spite of the truth-seeking, and righteousness of the Ruler of the age, have happened in order that the wondrous working of the world's lord's fortune may be impressed on mankind, and that the misery of the disobedient may be made conspicuous. Or it may be in order that the veil may be withdrawn from the actions of those wicked persons who, from the wide tolerance of H.M. and their own deceit, have taken their place among the good and auspicious, and in order that the lamp of perception might be kindled for the infliction of retribution upon them. Or it may be in order that the goodness of those who remain under the veil of obscurity and do not sell their service may be inscribed on the portico of manifestation! For such farseeing designs as these the pleasant land of Gujarat became stained with the dust of uproar. The turmoil of the evil-thoughted took possession of the world. Though the main cause of the sedition was the wickedness of the servants of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and of Quṭbu-d-dīn K., yet the neglect and unskilfulness of those two great Amīrs led to their ingratitude. They continually behaved with slackness towards the foolish praters. The garden of loyalty became full of dust, and from negligence they did not bestir themselves to gather together the single-minded, nor did they use intelligence in searching for good men. When the government of that country fell again into the hands of 'I'timād K., those who were slaves[2] of gold separated and withdrew from going to

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[1] Meaning the angels and other created beings.

[2] Meaning the subordinates of Shihāb and Quṭbu-d-dīn.

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court, and from the business of the branding. The self-will, and carelessness of 'I'timād K. and the delay in the arrival of assistance increased the evils. The strifemongers on 23 Shahriyūr (about 4th September, 1583) raised up Moẕaffar and prevailed against Aḥmad-ābād. The ancestors of that low fellow were not known to any one. Men called him Nannū.[1] In former times 'I'timād K. gave him that name and acknowledged him as the son of Sulṯān Maḥmūd Gujarātī. He was captured during the first expedition to Gujarat,
410 and for some time was a prisoner in the hands of Karm 'Alī,[2] the *darogha* of the perfumery department. Afterwards he was sent to Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān. When the latter died, he came back to court and Khwajah Shāh Manṣūr the dīwān looked after him. In the 23rd year he escaped, through negligence, and went off to his home (bangāh) and took refuge with the owner of Rājpīplah.[3] Quṭṭbu-d-dīn K. led an army against him, and he went off to Jūnagarh and took refuge with the Lonīkāthīs.[4] The officers did not regard him or bring him into notice. At this time, he, by the help of the servants of Shihābu-d-din Aḥmad K, emerged from this corner, and became a trouble. From the time that 'I'timād K. had gone from court, and an order had been issued, summoning Shihābu-d-dīn

[1] B. 325 calls him Nathū. Cf. J. II. 267. It seems probable that he really was the son of Sultan Maḥmud, and at all events he fought like a man of a good stock. Bayāzīd Biyāt tells us that Moẕaffar had been in his charge at Cunār, and that by Mun'im's orders he sent him to Gaur where he arrived on the very night that Mūn'im died, i.e. 23rd October, 1575. More probably he was taken to Tānda as it was there that Mun'im died.

[2] The M. Aḥmadī, lith. ed., 149, calls him the son of Mihtar Ramẕān. Perhaps he was made his custodian because he was one of those who went to look for him when he was first caught. B. 519.

[3] Text Balīlī, but the variant Rājpīplah is right. See. J. II. 251. Danvers in his history of the Portuguese in India says that Sultan Amodifar, i.e. Moẕaffar, managed to escape by the aid of some women. II. 53.

[4] Perhaps Lonikāthī is here used as the name of a chief as at A. N. III, 424. For the Kāthīs see J. II. 248. Possibly the name refers to their living near the sea and making salt. The M. Sikandarī 373 says Moẕaffar first went to Tarwārī, the ruler of Rajpīplah, and then went to the Lonakāthīs in the village of Kherī. See also M. Aḥmadī, p. 147, which calls the village Gadrī. The Rauẕāt Ṭāhirīn says that Moẕaffar took refuge near the seashore with the Kāthīs who are robbers.

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Aḥmad K., the servants of the latter had indulged in evil thoughts. On the 10th he left Aḥmadabad to proceed to court, and next day 'I'timād K. arrived in the city and sat on the masnad of authority. Mīr Ābid, Khalīl Beg, Mīr Yūsuf Beg, Mīram Beg, and some Badakhshīs and Tūrānīs became actively disloyal and went off to Dūlqa.

They had been plotting to kill their master (Shihāb) before the new governor ('I'timād) had arrived. One who was faithful[1] to his salt revealed the secret, and by an unfitting clemency the conspiracy was overlooked (lit. the rubbish was covered—khasposh). Now they renewed their evil design, and set out to join Nannū 'Umr Ḥājī[2] was the kindler of the disturbance, and was the leader of the wretches. This wicked man had for some time been diwan[3] of the Ṣadr at Court, and had been equal to Sharfu-d-dīn in evil conceptions. He acquired some consideration in Gujarat, and when that country was conquered he went to the Deccan. When Shihābu-d-din[4] Aḥmad K. became governor of the province of Gujarat, he on the strength of former acquaintance joined him. The whole talk of the mercenary men was, "To-day our jagirs[5] have gone. Until we reach the capital, and expenses for the meantime be supplied and the business of the branding be settled, it will be difficult to get a mouthful of bread. It is far better that we take the turbulent Nannū by the hand, and that we stir up strife." Though well-wishers and experienced persons represented (to I'timād) that Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad had withdrawn from conciliatory measures and was going to court and that the officers of the auxiliary force had not yet arrived, and that it was proper to restrain him from this journey and to give back the jagirs to him for some days, or to spend some money and quiet the uproar of those dog-fleas, or—before

[1] Lit. recognition of his salt made one reveal the secret. The Iqbālnama says his name was Jahāngīr.

[2] The I.O. MS. and apparently the variant have 'Umr Ḥājī Sipāh. The Iqbālnāma makes Mīr 'Ābid the ringleader.

[3] Dīwān-i-ṣadārat. The Ṣadr's Diwān?

[4] The Iqbālnāma says that Shihāb's servants were refractory men who had been in the service of the Mīrzās and who had only been kept in order by Shihāb's personal influence.

[5] Perhaps the meaning is that their master's jagirs had gone.

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the rebels had matured their preparations—to dispose by activity and alertness of this handful of traitors" : none of the suggestions was accepted. 'I'timād K replied : "The servants of Shihābu-u-dīn K. have started the disaffection, he can put it down, or will have to answer for it." In a little time the number of the rebels increased, and there were loud reports that Nannū was approaching.
411 Of necessity the first opinion was accepted, but as he (Shihāb) had gone some way, he refused. 'I'timād K. thought that he would go in person, and so shorten the time for delivering messages, and that he would by every possible means bring him back. Though acute persons said that to leave the city during this commotion was to make an easy matter difficult, their advice was not approved. He went off at night with Mīr Abū Turāb and Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad. They lost their road and only reached Karī [1] at dawn where they joined Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. After much talk he agreed to return. His wishes were complied with. His fiefs were restored to him, freed [2] from burdens, and two lacs of rupees were given him as a loan.[3] After that most of the day was spent in ratifying the agreements and in pledging oaths (i.e. taking oaths of fidelity from the officers and soldiers). Then Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. set off with his household. At the end of the night Zainu-d-dīn Kambū and Mir M'aṣūm Bhakarī met them, eight kos from Aḥmadabad, and represented that Nannū had joined the rebels, and that he had meditated an attack on Cambay, but that on learning that the city (Aḥmadabad) was undefended he had hastened there, and had prevailed [4] over the city. Pahlwān [5] 'Alī Sīstānī, the city kotwāl, had lost his life, and the property and honour of the inhabitants were being plundered. At first there was sorrow and bewilderment, and

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[1] Gadhī in text, but Karī in I.O. MSS. and in Elliot and J. II. 253. Karī is a pargana in Gujarat, Bayley's Gujarat, p. 11, and is I presume the Kuree of his map, and N. W. Ahmadabad and on the road to Deesa. If it was 20 kos from Aḥmadabad, Elliot V. 430, 'I'timād could not have lost his way very much if he got there by dawn.

[2] Perhaps it merely means that they were given back to him.

[3] Masā'dat, B. 265.

[4] The Mirāt Sikandarī 374 says Moẓaffar took the city on Wednesday, 27 Sha'bān, 4th September, 1583.

[5] He had been recently appointed. Elliot V. 430.

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then they of necessity set themselves to remedy matters. After talking, they resolved on giving battle. On the morning of the 24th [1] they halted at 'Uṣmānpūr on the banks of the Sabarmatī, and slumbered in the sleep of negligence. Though persons of foresight represented that the rebels were scattered throughout the great city, and occupied in plundering, and that they should draw up their forces and attack them, and so quell the disturbance, the officers adopted the easiest course, and did not set themselves to do this. They thought that the old servants of the governor would join on receiving his conciliatory letters, and that the activity of the rebellion would cease. With this idea I'timād K. and Mīr Abū Turāb went off from the camp to the houses of acquaintances, while Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. occupied himself in writing soothing letters. The rebels collected and prepared for battle. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. awoke somewhat from his slumbers and applied himself to arranging his forces. While he was doing so, Muṣtafa Shirwānī came forward with some wicked wretches. Ḥājī Beg Üzbeg, Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash, Ṣāliḥ Qundūzī, Khiẓr Khwāja,[2] and a body of known men to the number of about 500 took the road of faithlessness. The engagement had not taken place when a large number of men forded the river below 'Uṣmānpūr and fell upon the camp. Many took shelter with the enemy and some remained with their families, and out of an army of more than 7,000 horse, only a few relatives 412
remained around him (Shihāb). During this confusion one of the servants[3] struck him on his right shoulder with a sword, and his horse was thrown down by a gunshot. He fell to the ground, but some faithful servants raised him up, and gave him a mount. They took him rapidly away from that place of confusion, and, on account of their being busied in plundering, no one pursued him. On the 25th Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad K., I'timād K., Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, and some others, to the number of about 300, assembled in Pattan.

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[1] 24 Shahriyūr = 5th September, 1583.

[2] Is it possible that this is Gulbadan Begam's husband? I think it is. See *infra*, p. 437, where his younger brother is mentioned. Khiẓr's becoming a rebel may account for Abul-Faẓl not mentioning him in the Ain as a commander.

[3] The Mirāt Aḥmadī, p. 155, gives his name as Ābdu-r-Raḥmān Majhūlī and says he came from behind and struck Shihāb, but that the wound was not serious.

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Moẓaffar K. having got his heart's desire in Aḥmadābād took a great name to himself, and became presumptuous and infatuated. He assumed the royal power, and bestowed on the wicked wretches the titles of the Shāhinshāh's officers. 'Ā'bid Badakhshī was made Khān-Khānān; Khalīl Beg, Khān Zamān; Mīrak Yilāq,[1] Atgah K.; Mīrak Beg, Badakhshī; Khān 'Ālam, Qurbān Alī Bihārī,[2] Khān Kalān; Shāh Mīrzā, Naurang K.; Nauroz, Qarāca K.; Muḥammad Amīn Badakhshī, Maqṣūṣ K.; Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash.[3] Khān Jahān; Mīr 'Abdullah, 'Āṣaf K, and Mīr Bakhshī; Ṣāliḥ Badakhshī Moẓaffar K., and dīwān; Abu-l-wafā became Afẓal K. and mushrif diwān; Shāṭir Muḥammad, N'aamat K. and Mīr Sāmān. He did not know that unless God's favour be bestowed, and there be choice qualities, the night lamp of greatness does not shine.

Verse.

It needs a sun to burn up the stars.
Night becomes not day by thy lamp.

To assign to small men the titles of great men is to throw oneself along with the former into the abyss of disgrace. Accordingly every one of these soon became the dust of dishonour and failure. They showed levity in talk about officers and pay, and in the wish for fiefs they cast away their honour. Payinda Muḥammad Sagkash and Tahmak[4] lay in wait for one another, and their hostility led to bloodshed. Tahmak forged a letter from him (Payanda) to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and accomplished his object by corrupting his sealer. Moẓaffar without looking into the matter closely, and acting without consideration, consigned him (Payanda) to annihilation. By the cajolery of fate the work of friends was accomplished

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[1] بلاق in text but the variant پلاق is the reading of I.O. MSS.

[2] Biharāgī بهاراگي in MSS.

[3] Dog-killer, presumably it is the name of a Moghul tribe, sagkashi means a killing for which there is no punishment. Payinda has been mentioned already, pp. 21 and 22.

[4] Variant Tamak. The Mirāt of Aḥmadī has Samuk سمک and so have the I.O. MSS. Apparently Samak is the same person as Ḥājī 'Umr, for Samak is described as a ringleader and the Rauẓāt Ṭāhirin calls him Ḥājī Samak. Perhaps the sipāh or siyah of variant of text 410, l. 12, is a mistake for سمک.

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by enemies. At this same time, Sher K. Fūlādī arrived from Sorath.[1] As Moẓaffar was solicitous about Quṭbu-dīn K., and was continually tampering with his fly-like servants, he left 'Ābid at Aḥmadabad and went off to that quarter himself, and sent Sher K. Fūlādī and some rascals to Pattan. At the same time Saiyid Daulat,[2] who was one of the choice servants in the eastern part of Gujarat, did not wait to see Moẓaffar, but went off with some vagabonds to Cambay, and proceeded to plunder it. Khwāja 'Imādu-d- **413**
dīn[3] Ḥusain carried off 14 lakhs of rupees from that port, and by his activity conveyed them to the fort at Broach to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. Nearly 40 lakhs of dāms fell into the hands of Saiyid Daulat. He sent a portion of this to that futile one (Moẓaffar), and joined, and became a ringleader.[4]

When these events came to the royal hearing, H.M., whose mind is a mirror showing the future, remarked that the disturbance would soon be quelled, and that the rebels would meet with their deserts. He addressed himself to the composing of the distractions of the country, the soothing of the proprietors, and the punishment of the rebels, and sent a chosen army to that province. On 9 Mihr Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Shīroya K., Rai Durgā, Rai Lon Karan, Mednī Rai, Miyān Bahādur, Darvesh K., Rafī' Sarmadī, S. Kabīr,[5] Naṣīb Turkamān and many other strenuous men were sent off under the command of M. Khān, the son of Bairām K., in order that they might go by a straight road to Gujarāt, and address themselves to the punishment of the evildoers.[6] Qulīj K. and

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1 Wrongly, Surat in text.

2 The Mirāt Sikandarī and Mirāt Ahmadī call him a servant of Kalyān Rawad of Cambay. Presumably this is the Kalyān Rai Baqqāl of Badayūnī, Lowe 249.

3 The father of Ṭāhir, author of the Rauẓāt Ṭāhirīn, Elliot VI. 195.

4 The text from following the Lucknow edition has سه کروه آمد, "He came three kos," which makes nonsense. The reading of the I.O. MSS. is سرگروه آمد "he became a ringleader." The Mirāt Sikandarī says Moẓaffar rewarded him by giving him the title of Rustam K.

5 The Iqbālnāma adds, "Who is now, by the Shāhinshāh's favour, styled Shujā'at K." B. 519 says he got the title from Prince Selīm. He was of the Cistī family, and distinguished himself under Jahāngīr.

6 At the end of the account of M. Khān's deputation, the Iqbālnāma has the statement that Muḥibb 'Alī, the son of the Mīr Khalīfa, died at this time (991). It says that Akbar excused him from more active service

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Naurang K. were sent off to Mālwa that they might obtain the offices of that province, and then join the victorious army. An order was issued to Quṭbu-d-dīn K. to the effect that although from calculation it appeared that he was sufficient for putting down the dust of dissension, yet out of caution a large army had been nominated. If by heaven's decree the spark (of rebellion) could not be extinguished, help would come from the auspicious combatants.

One of the occurrences was the death of Jagmāl[1] and Rai Singh. The former was the brother of Rānā Pratāp, the latter the grandchild of Māldeo. When the first by the guidance of fortune brightened his forehead by doing homage, and was exalted by princely favours, Sirohī and its territory were made over to him in fief. Sulṭān Deorah was powerful in that country. An order was given to 'I'timād K. that when he came to that neighbourhood, he should take vigorous measures, and should make over the country to Jagmāl, and if it was necessary, should leave some experienced fighting men to help him. When he came there, he carried out the orders, and Jagmāl entered Sirohī. The presumptuous one (S. Deorah) retired to the ravines. Rai Singh, Beca, Deorah and men of Jālor were left to help Jagmāl. When the victorious troops marched to Gujarāt, that wayward one renewed his turbulence, and Beca and many Jālorīāns came to the rescue. The wicked man came upon their quarters by secret paths. Those two men (Jagmāl and Rai Singh) awoke out of the sleep of neglect and preserved their honour by bravely sacrificing their lives.

414 On the 25th (Mihr)[2] the feast of Shawwāl was celebrated and the Shahinshāh gave a feast. Magical minstrels administered the medicine of wisdom by the adit of the ear, and various artists did wonderful things. The archery of the strikers of the *qabaq* excited

on account of his age, and made him governor of Delhi, which appointment he held for a long while and until his death. B., following Niẓāmu-d-din, puts Muḥibb 'Alī's death into 989. The Muḥibb 'Alī who is mentioned later as co-operating with Shahbāz K. is Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsī

[1] Elliot V. 430 where Jagmāl is wrongly described as Sultan (or Saltān) Deora's brother. Niẓāmu-d-dīn joined 'I'timād at Jālor and brought with him 1000 *mohars* for Jagmāl's expenses. Rāi Singh was the son of Candar Sen, son of Māldeo.

[2] The 'Īd-al-fitr, celebrated on 1 Shawwāl and which occurred this year (991) on 8th October, 1583.

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astonishment, and there was a display of the game of *caugān*. Crowds of men obtained their wishes. Suddenly in the midst of the game Rajah Bīrbar fell from his horse, and became insensible. The world's lord cast the shadow of his kindness over him, and relieved him by his holy breathings. In a short time he returned to his senses, and uttered thanksgivings.

One of the occurrences was the death of Mīr Gesū Khurāsānī. He traced his lineage to the Saiyids (of Khurāsān). For a time he held the office of Bakāwal Beg (steward of the kitchen), and then for a time he was governor of Bhakar. At this time he was Faujdār of Mīrtha and some of the interamnal parganas (between the Ganges and the Jamna). Owing to ignorance of business he was continually having altercations with the base soldiers. The master from cupidity is intent on depriving evil soldiers of part of their pay and the wicked and ungrateful are intent upon getting more than their share. From a bad disposition, he did not expel avarice from his heart,[1] and did not treat them with frankness. At last on the eve of the 24th (Mihr), which was pregnant with the 'Id of Shawāl (8th October, 1583), he in the town of Mīrtha spoke to them in a shameless way and after reproaches turned some of his servants out of his house. At dawn he went to the 'Idgāh in a drunken state. Mūsā Bahlīm (?) one of the set came forward in a humble manner, and Mīr Gesū owing to his intoxicated state put him in prison. At this time Ibrāhīm of Nārnaul came in with some evil disposed persons and M. Gesū lost forbearance and abused him. The unfaithful servant replied with his sword. Some double-faced ones removed him under pretence of making a reconciliation, and some base ones turned their attention to releasing Mūsā. On perceiving this he went to their quarters and set fire to them. The mutineers turned out to fight, and M. Gesū's companions showed cowardice, and the Mīr was killed. Out of wickedness they reduced his body to ashes. When this became known active measures were taken to seize the evildoers. Many were punished, and some absconded. Justice revealed her countenance.

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1 از آزر دل بر میگرفت The text has az āz instead of āz az. For Mīr Gesū's biography see the Maaṣir III. 349. See also Elliot I. 241 for an account of his proceedings in Sind. There is an account of his son Jalālu-dīn Masa'ūd's death in Tūzuk J. 67, pp 141-42 of translation.

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CHAPTER LXXIII.

March of the Royal Standards to Ilahābād (Allahabad).

In every work the Shahīnshāh brings various distinctions into action, and whether in repose or in marching displays great ideas. He weighs profit and loss in the balance of foresight. For a long
415 time his desire was to found a great city in the town of Piyāg,[1] where the rivers Ganges and Jamna join, and which is regarded by the people of India with much reverence, and which is a place of pilgrimage for the ascetics of that country, and to build a choice fort there. His idea was to establish himself there for a time and to reduce to obedience the recalcitrant ones of that country, and to introduce peace down to the ocean. He thought that when he had laid the foundation of this city of fortune, he would go by boat to the eastern districts and root out the thorns of rebellion from that country. Should peace be produced there by the reverberation of the august expedition, he would proceed to the Deccan, and take possession of that country which was longing for a just ruler. Should the wide country of India be civilized by means of obedient vassals he would proceed to Turan, and he would put to rights M. Ḥakīm who, on account of the companionship of flatterers and shortsighted persons, did not sit at the board of good service, and who indulged

[1] Cf. J. II. 158. The translator has inserted an *r*, spelling the word as Priyāg, and this is in accordance with the Sanskrit, but in the Ain text the spelling is given, and there is no *r*. It is stated in the I. G. (old edition) that Allahabad was founded in 1575, and there is a similar statement in the Darbārī Akbarī (though probably 981 is a slip for 991), but it appears from this chapter that the city and fort were not founded till 2nd Āzar 991, i.e. about the middle of November 1583. There is a good account of Allahabad in the Ḥadīqa-al-iqalim, p. 663 of lith. ed., and there it is said that Akbar called the place Ilahābad and that Shah Jahān changed the name to Allahabad. (The name given in the T. A. and the Iqbālnāma is Ilahabad or Ilahabash). The author of the Ḥadīqa says, he saw a paper of Akbar's time which gave the cost of the building of the fort, etc., and the amount stated was two krors and some lakhs

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in foolish replies. He would also guide aright M. Sulaimān and Shahrukh M., who were stirring up strife with one another in Badakhshān, and would get possession of the land of his ancestors. In this way the various classes of mankind would experience the joys of concord.

With these far-reaching thoughts he on 5 Ābān (about the middle of October) set out from Fatḥpūr. As his intention was to proceed to the eastern provinces, he in accordance [1] with the rules of the experienced men of India, went off on a lofty elephant and travelled 3½ kos (a day).

On the 12th, near the village of Baraulī, the river-houses (the boats) were glorified by his advent. Some of the special courtiers had the bliss of attending him, while the main camp went by land. There were more than 300 boats for the passengers and the baggage. On the 17th they cast anchor opposite the town of Etawah. Zain Khān Koka had a delightful residence and garden there, and begged for the royal visit. H.M. granted his request, and stayed there a while. On the 22nd he came near Kālpī. Muṭṭalib K., the *tīyūldār* (fief-holder) of that place, arranged a splendid feast on the bank of the Jamna and got high honour by H.M.'s presence. Next day he arrived near Akbarpūr at the residence of Rajah Bīr Bar. By going to his house he gratified a long-standing wish of his (Bīr Bar's). Then he went on, hunting and dispensing justice, stage by stage. Mankind rejoiced. On the 1st Āzar he reached the wished-for spot, and next day in an auspicious hour he laid the foundation of the city, and planned [2] out four forts. In each he arranged for lordly residences. The beginning (of the city) was the place where the rivers joined. In the first (fort) he fixed that there were to be twelve buildings.[3] In every one there were delightful apartments. There

[1] There is no word for "daily," but I think *darnawardīdand* must mean that the journey was continuous and that Akbar marched 3½ *kos* daily till he came to Baraulī and the boats. The T. A. and Badayūnī describe him as starting by boat from Agra, but apparently he joined the boats lower down on the Jumna.

[2] *Bīrang* in text, but the I.O. MSS. have *sarang*. *Birang* seems right for *bīrangzadan* means "to sketch out."

[3] I.O. 236 has *sarābūstān* instead of the *manzil* of text, and the Darbarī Akbarī, p. 123, says there were twelve gardens.

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was a garden which was the special private chamber of the Shāhinshāh. In the second there was a place for the Begams and the Princes. In the third there were to be residences for the distant rela-
416 tives and for the personal attendants. The fourth was for the soldiers and subjects. The engineers produced master-pieces, and in a short time the first (fort) was admirably completed. Every one had a place suitable to his rank. In a short time a great city was established.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the litter of Miriam-makānī. She had been unable, for various reasons, to come at the beginning. At this time she set out on the camel of joy, and afterwards proceeded by water along with many Begams and other ladies. H.M. paid his respects in a new manner. An assemblage of joy was arranged, and the rose-garden of the Caliphate was refreshed by recognition of dignities.

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CHAPTER LXXIV.

VICTORY OF SHAHBĀZ K. AND THE VAGABONDAGE OF M'ĀSŪM K. KABULĪ.

It has been mentioned that after the defeat of the rebels, a body of the victorious troops proceeded towards Orissa and had halted on the bank of the Damodar, and that some great men had gone to Ghorāghāt and been the means of delivering the Qāqshāls. When some time had elapsed, M'aṣūm K. had come from the country of Bhātī with many strife-mongers and proceeded to make war on M. Beg Qāqṣhāl. The latter had gone to Tājpūr[1] and taken protection with Tarson K.[2] He (Māsūm) had the effrontery to send some men to ravage that country. Tarsūn K. shut himself up in a fort, and the rebels plundered to within seven *kos* of Tānda. There was a great commotion. When Shahbāz K. heard of this, he made wisdom the precursor of courage, and set about punishing the rebels. He sent off some men in swift boats in order to turn him back, and he himself marched out with troops from Patna, and proceeded by land. He soon arrived at the scene of disturbance, and produced tranquillity. The presumptuous retreated. M'aṣūm, who had arrived near the Jamna,[3] remained where he was. He (Shahbāz) wrote from Tānda to the officers who were connected with Orissa, to the effect that "Qutlū had not the strength to engage in battle with the imperialists, and it was better that some should come to this quarter." Accordingly, Wazīr K., S. Ibrāhīm, S. Farīd Baḳhshī, Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Pahār K. Mīrzāda 'Alī K., Bābūī Mankālī, Ḥasan K., Shāh Qāsim Badaḳhshī, Haidar Dost, Mīr Abu-l-ghaiṣ, S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī,

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[1] B. 342 says Tājpūr is in Dinajpūr.

[2] B. 342. There was a Sarkār Tājpūr in Bengal, I. II, 135. Cf. Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 109. He states that there is no town of Tājpūr now.

[3] The Jamna seems to preserve its name after the junction with the Ganges at Allahabad. Cf. A. N. II. 255, l. 5, and my note 15. Cf. Jarrett, II. 120, who quotes Wilford as saying that the waters of the three rivers do not mix.

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Jalālu-d-dīn Ma'saūd, Kamālu-d-dīn, Ḥusain Sīstānī, Kīcak Khwāja, Sikandar Caknī, Abā Bikr, and others took upon themselves the task of putting down Qutlū, while Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopal,[1] Khangār,[2] the sons[3] of Saiyid Muḥammad Mīr 'Ādil and others proceeded to help Shahbāz K. Shahbāz K.
417 crossed the Ganges and proceeded rapidly to chastise the rebels. By the Divine aid 3,000 artillerymen[4] from among the servants of Shāh Bardī, who had died about this time, came from Bhātī and entered into service, and brought the news of victory. Afterwards Tarsūn K. and M. Beg Qāqshāl joined. At this time the news came that an army of ill-fated ones had proceeded under the command of Bābāī Bhakarī towards the town of Santos,[5] and that the servants of Tarsūn K. had fled. Shāhbāz K. set himself to remedy matters and sent off Muḥibb 'Ali K. Qāsim K. Taimur Badakhshī and Selīm K., and afterwards sent on himself. The enemy fled on hearing the noise of the advance-force, and much booty fell into the hands of the soldiers. From there they marched 18 *kos* through a difficult country in order to do battle with M'aṣūm K. and halted on the bank of the Jamna. M'aṣūm took refuge on the other side but prepared for battle. Shahbāz sent a letter to advise and guided him towards obedience. He recounted to him the worthy qualities of the Shāhinshāh and abused him for his falling away. He gave him many salutary counsels and mingled threats and encouragements. During those twenty-four hours messages were sent three times, and choice replies expressive of contrition were received. Next day[6] the officers (of Akbar) arranged an assemblage and he

[1] B. 502 and 532. The Iqbālnāma adds the word Jādon, which completes the identification.

[2] Perhaps Kāngār, the nephew of Bihāri Mal, B. 436.

[3] The Iqbālnāma gives their names, Mīr Abu-l-m'aālī and Mīr Abu Qāsim.

[4] Probably these were Portuguese, but the numbers seem large.

[5] The I.O. MSS. have Santosh. It was in Bārbakābād Sarkār and is mentioned in the Ain under the corrupt form of Sīkh Shahr. It lies in South Dīnājpūr. See Mr. Beames' interesting note about Santosh or Mahī Santosh in R.A.S.J. for 1896, 116. It was on the Atrāī. Santosh is mentioned in the T. Nāṣirī, Raverty, 576, and n. 4.

[6] The passage about Shahbāz's operations is translated in Elliot VI. 71-72, but it is difficult, and the translator has evaded one thorny place by not translating the part about the negotiations. I am not sure of the

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(M'aṣūm) crossed two-thirds (*dobakhsh*) of the river and arrived within a javelin cast of the shore. He accepted the proposition to render loyal service, and a treaty was drawn up and sealed by the heads of the army. It was settled that on the following day he would make his apologies for the past and that there would be a feast of unity. Some persons who were lovers of strife increased his fears by secret letters, and rehearsed to him the downfall[1] of M'aṣūm K. Farankhūdī. As his fortune was somnolent he could not distinguish between counsel and fraud. He wrote, describing the circumstances,[2] and made excuses. Shahbāz K. got indignant, and behaved improperly to friends and to strangers A mist of discord arose and occasioned arrogance among the rebels. The warriors who sought for battle crossed the river amid a shower of bullets and arrows, and engaged in fight. There was a hot engagement. By the marvels of daily-increasing fortune the rebels took to flight on 4th Āzar (about 15th November, 1583) and the sound of victory spread far and near. During the crisis the royal fleet did not arrive, but Narain, the landholder (*būmī*), and Murād Qāqshāl, brought up their own boats and rendered assistance. Muḥibb 'Alī K. and Selīm K. Sirmūr[3] and some other brave men went rapidly in pursuit of M'aṣūm. M. Muḥammad Dastam and some ill-fated ones turned round and fought. On hearing of this, Shahbāz K. hastened

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meaning, but I think that *do bakhsh* must here refer to the two-thirds of the river, and not to two channels, as seems to be the case at Ain text I. 388, last three lines—J. II. 120. I think too that the officers "*umarā*" must be Shahbāz and his officers, and that it was M'aṣūm who crossed over two-thirds of the river and came within bow-shot, or javelin cast. The word is *gazāndāzī*. Cf. the use of gazāndāz at A.N. III. 137, three lines from foot.

[1] It is not surprising that the fate of M'aṣūm Farankhūdī should have frightened him. The text has a curious omission here. The I.O. MSS. etc. have the words *dāstān quruqcī* after *bīm afzūdand*; *quruqcī* is a Turkish word and means a sentinel over the women's apartments. Perhaps the phrase is—travellers' tales, the idle tales told by sentinels. The Lucknow ed. says that *quruqcī* means a fool, and so *dāstān quruqcī* would mean foolish tales.

[2] I am not sure of the meaning, but I suppose M'āṣūm wrote to Shahbāz, and referred to the assassination of M'āṣūm Farānkhūdī and to the warnings he had received.

[3] B. 436 also called Selīm K. Kākar.

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to the spot and arrived just when the first detachment was in difficulties. A great engagement took place, and many rebels fell headlong into the pit of annihilation. Qarā[1] Naqdī was taken prisoner,
418 and the rebels were properly defeated, and went off with blistered feet to the desert of failure. They escaped owing to the darkness of the night. The elephant Har Pershād and many others were captured. M. Beg Qāqshāl, Sangrām and Dalpat did good service. Next morning the victorious army crossed streams and miry places and arrived near Ghorāghāt. A portion of that city was[2] plundered. M'aṣūm K. took refuge in Bhātī with some followers. Jabbārī and some followers went to the country of Koc (Cooch Behar). Every one of the crew went to some corner or other. Shahbāz hastened to Sherpūr,[3] which was the home of many of them. Next day he arrived there and some of their families were captured, and much booty was obtained. Nearly 150 noted men were made prisoners. The news was brought to Ilahabad, and many thanksgivings were paid, and there was a fresh daily market for service (i.e. service was rewarded).

One of the occurrences was that Ṣādiq K. separated himself (from Shahbāz). On the first day that the officers joined, an elephant of Ṣādiq K. ran, on the march, at Shahbāz K. and nearly killed him. Though he was not hurt in his body, yet vexation abode in his heart, and from that day there was an interruption of friendship, and a display of hostility. He behaved himself improperly. He changed from the favour he had shown (to Ṣādiq) and became highly displeased with him When Shāhbāz was going to Bhātī, Ṣādiq separated himself in order to pay his respects to the holy threshold.

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[1] Or Qarā Baghdī. The translator in Elliot has read the name as Farānkhūdī and so has represented that Māṣūm Farankhūdī was made prisoner, whereas he had been assassinated at Fatḥpūr a year before this.

[2] Bari Ghorāghāt on the Karatoya in South East Dinājpūr. Beames in R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 126. Tiefenthaler I. 448 mentions Ghorāghāt as the residence of a military commander, and as a populous and well-kept town. He says it is 25 *kos* from Rājganj.

[3] The I.O. MSS. add Murca, which enables us to identify this Sherpūr as that in Bograh. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 221, and I.G. XXII, 273. It is not the Maimansing Sherpūr.

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One of the occurrences was the defeat of Sher K. Fulādī. When the delightful country of Gujarāt became filled with the dust of dissension, as has been related, Shihābu-d-dīn K. 'Itimād K. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī and some other officers assembled in Pattan. They were nearly going to Jālor, and retiring from the country altogether. At this juncture, Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abu-l-qāsim, Mīr Abū-l-moẓaffar, Bunyād Beg, Fīrūz, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Bulind K. Khwājaserā, Saiyid Abū Isaḥaq and others to the number of 1500 auxiliaries arrived. And 1000 men left the enemy and joined Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., and 700 horse joined I'timād K. But the newly-arrived slaves of money were empty-handed and made complaints. They opened the booths of wish and spoke foolishly. I'timād K., who had gained experience from previous events, gave them money, and made them zealous for service so that the thoughts of going away left their minds. Meanwhile Rawaliya Khāṣ-Khel (belonging to the clan of) of Sher K. (Fulādī?) stirred up strife in the town of Jūtāna. Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, who was in the neighbourhood, mingled skill with valour; and by the might of daily-increasing fortune obtained a victory. On hearing of this Sher K. sent 419
Ḥusain his son-in-law with a large force. Beg Muḥammad did not see it proper to fight, and retreated. The imperial servants appointed S. Muḥammad Husaīn, Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīr Abū-l-moẓaffar, Saiyid Muḥibb Ullah and some other experienced soldiers to assist him. The foe gave way, and Beg Muḥammad followed them up, and a hot engagement took place. After the manner of Rajputs he got off his horse, and fought in a determined manner. He was nearly slain when Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad arrived with some brave men, and the enemy was disconcerted. Daily-increasing fortune displayed her face, and the imperial servants decked out the assemblage of joy. Then Sher K. turned his face to do battle, accompanied by many scoundrels. The army expressed its wishes and complained of being empty-handed. I'timād K. was obliged to do something to relieve them. He and Shihābu-d dīn Aḥmad K. stayed to look after their households (*bangāh-dārī*), and the rest of the men went off to fight under the command of Sher K., the son of I'timād. In the centre were Sher K., Rādhan K., Pahār K., and others. Muḥammad Ḥusain

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Shaikh, Mīr Ṣāliḥ, and others were in the right wing, Khwāja Abū-l-qāsim diwān, Bunyād Beg, M. K. Nīshāpūrī, Saiyid Abu-Isahaq, and Ḥājī Sambal were in the left wing. Mīr Abū-l-moẓaffar, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn Fīruz, Sūr Dās, and Saiyid Musṭafā were in the vanguard. Khwāja Niẓamu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīr M'aṣūmbhakkarī, and Aṭal Ghakkar were in the reserve. On 27 Ābān the battle took place near Miyāna 18 *kos*[1] from Pattan. The left wing of the imperialists was shaken, but Ḥusain K. the leader of the enemy's right wing (Sher K.'s son-in-law) was killed by Maqṣūd Āqā. The left wing of the enemy fell upon the reserve, but was repulsed. The enemy's centre departed to the desert of failure without fighting. By the Divine aid a victory was obtained, and a large amount of booty was obtained. Many wicked men were killed. The opinion[2] of the experienced was that they should at one gallop proceed to Aḥmadābād, and make a difficult work easy, but the words of the foolish babblers prevailed, and there was a want of singleness of heart. The news of victory reached Allahabad and the servants were rewarded.

420 One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka and Rajah Bīrbar to bring in Rajah Rām Cand. He is the ruler of Pannah[3] and famed throughout India. He represented himself as one of the obedient and sent his eldest son to do service, but from short-sightedness did not come himself to court, giving as an excuse the length of the journey. Now that Allahabad was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's advent, there remained no room for the former excuse. An order was issued that an army should march to awaken this somnolent dweller in ravines. At this time his son represented by means of well-intentioned courtiers that his father's omission to come was not due to arrogance and disobedience. Owing to his living in a fortress, and to his not mixing with the world he was subject to timidity. If one or two of the known men of the court were dispatched to him, assuredly he would pluck up courage and come. Inasmuch as the Shāhinshāh considers the sword as the last remedy to be employed against refractoriness, the representation

[1] The T.A. says 15 *kos*.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 433. Niẓāmu-d-dīn strongly recommended this course. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 340.

[3] Patna in text. Patlah in I.O. MS. B. 406, and Badayūnī, Lowe 435.

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was accepted, and on the 24th the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah were sent off, to give protection to this savage and to bring him in.

One of the occurrences was the suppression of the disturbance of Jabbārī. It has been mentioned that Shahbāz K. and other officers went off to Bhātī, while Wazīr K. and others prepared for war in the direction of Orissa. The intervening country remained empty of troops. Meanwhile Jabbārī came from Koc to Ghorāghāt, and turbulent men gathered round him. He took Tājpūr from Selīm K. Sirmūr's[1] people, and Purniah from the relations of Tarsūn K. From thence he proceeded to Tānda. Ḥasan 'Alī Kotwal of the city was lying ill, and S. Allah Bakhsh the Ṣadr was agitated. From want of courage he was getting confused. Suddenly S. Farīd arrived, and produced tranquillity. He was returning, disgusted, from the army of Orissa to court, and by the royal orders he returned. When he came there, Jabbārī withdrew. The Shaikh hastened to Tājpūr and encouraged the men there, and the agents of the officers got possession of the fiefs.

At this time it was brought to H. M.'s notice that in the rainy season the Ganges was very violent, and injured many people. H.M. laid the foundation of an embankment one *kos* long, forty yards wide and fourteen cubits high. This was a protection to the people and a help to cultivation. As prices were high on account of the dryness of the year, the means of subsistence of many people came to an end.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of the Khān 'Āẕim. He had been living in Ḥājīpūr since he left Bengal He came to Allahabad on the arrival of H.M. and did homage on 4 Dai, and was exalted by various favours. Farīdūn Birlās, Ḥakīm 421
Moẕaffar, Khwājah Muqīm and many others did homage along with him. Also, during this time, S'aīd K. came from Sambhal and did homage, and received princely favours.

[1] He was an Afghan. See B. 436.

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CHAPTER LXXV.

March of H.M. to Fatḥpūr the Capital.

It was H.M.'s intention that when the affairs of the eastern districts had been excellently arranged, he would proceed towards the Deccan, and introduce order there. Suddenly the rebellion in the province of Gujarāt made a great noise and he turned some of his attention towards it. It appeared to him that he should go to the capital and march from there. At the beginning of the disturbance it was the opinion of small and great that when M. Khān got there and was joined by Quṭbu-d-dīn K., the dust of dissension would be easily laid. Now came the news of Quṭbu-d-dīn's death, and of dissensions among those who had been sent. H.M. set before himself the punishment of the wicked, and the composing of the distractions of the country. The brief account of the events—which were so pregnant with Divine aids and the marvels of daily-increasing fortune—is that when the ingrates and the turbulent had filled that pleasant land with the dust of strife, Quṭbu-d-dīn K. from ignorance and conceit did not set matters right. Whilst the officers in Pattan were representing, "To-day the crooked and worthless fellows are busy[1] about their jagirs and appointments, and there is no order among them. The proper thing is to march quickly and skilfully against them. In this way the success of the rebels would cease, and a difficult task would be made easy,"—he (Quṭbu-d-dīn) was slow in moving and was not doing good work. He made some objections about the soldiers' want of equipments and he also spoke about waiting for the troops from Mālwa. Meanwhile the disorder increased, and until a censure came from court, he

[1] The officers were referring to Mozaffar's distributing fiefs and appointments among his officers. They urged that their minds were taken up about these matters and so they were unprepared and could be successfully attacked.

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did not wake from the sleep of neglect, or take steps to remedy matters. He sent out troops in advance,[1] but those active men (the

[1] This is an obscure passage, and it strikes me that A.F. must have left something out when revising his draft. What it refers to is explained by the Mirāt Sikandarī, the Mirāt Aḥmadī and the T.A. The first two say, pp. 377 and 157, that when Moẓaffar set out from Aḥmadabad to encounter Quṭbu-d-dīn, Saiyid Daulat marched from Cambay with 4000 horse to join him and did so at Naryād. When Quṭbu-d-dīn heard of Saiyid Daulat's march, he sent Muḥammad Afẓāl and Mīrak Muḥammad with 1000 (the M. Sikandarī says, with 3000) horse to intercept him, and to prevent them (Daulat and Moẓaffar) from crossing the Mahindrī. They were to take possession of the ferries. They reached there, but they were in collusion with the enemy. So, when Moẓaffar came to the ferry, Quṭbu-d-dīn's men only showed a little fight and then ran away. Moẓaffar then marched on to Baroda and Quṭbu-d-dīn came out to fight him and was defeated. In the battle at the Mahindrī Quṭbu-d-dīn was not present. The Mirāts go on to say that Quṭbu-d-dīn resisted Moẓaffar for twenty-one or twenty-two days and displayed superhuman valour. He only yielded on account of the treachery of Carkas K. Rūmī and Muḥammad Mīrak. On the other hand, Niẓāmu-d-din, Elliot V. 432, speaks of Quṭbu d-dīn's having fought in an unsoldier-like manner (*nāsipahāna*). This statement must refer to the second battle, for, as we have seen, Quṭbu-d-dīn was not present at the engagement on the Mahindrī. The Mahindrī would have to be crossed by Moẓaffar when coming from Aḥmadābad to Baroda. Narīād, where he and Saiyid Daulat met, is about half-way between these two towns.

The M. Sikandarī gives some useful Ḥijra dates. It was on Wednesday, 27 Sh'abān 991, 5 September 1583, that Moẓaffar entered Aḥmadabad. On 17 Zī-l-q'ada or 22 November 1583 he left it for Baroda By this time Quṭbu-d-dīn had come to Baroda, having been brought there, or having come there with Zainu-d-dīn Kambū, a relative of Shahbāz K., who had been sent from Pattan by Shihābu-d-dīn and 'Itimād to urge him to advance. According to the M. Sikandarī 374, Quṭbu-d-dīn was then not in Broach but in Sulṭānpūr or in Nadarbār. "Sultanpur lies about twenty miles north of the Tapti, Nandarbār nearly the same distance south of it. Elliot V. 434 n." At Sulṭānpur Quṭbu-d-dīn was about as near Baroda as Broach. The T.A. Elliot V. 434 says that the Mālwa force was at those two places (Sultanpūr and Nandarbār) when Moẓaffar was at Broach. It is certainly strange that, as Badayūnī, Lowe 341, remarks, Naurang did not advance to help his parent.

The story of the treachery of Carkas Rūm and Muḥammad Mīrak is told in detail in both the M'irāts. See also Noer's Akbar, translation. II. 81.

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rebels) crossed the river Mahindrī and fought a battle near the town of Sarnāl, and the soldiers suffered a shameful defeat there.

From presumption and self-conceit he, on 8 Aban, about 15 October 1583, came out of the fort without putting Broach into a proper state of defence, and without conciliating the mercenary soldiers. Although right-thinking and acute persons represented that it was wrong to treat a great disturbance lightly, and to disregard the army, and that what was absolutely necessary for the times was to make presents to the offended and the loud talkers, and to labour to close their mouths and to win hearts, yet, as his fate was overturned, the words of wisdom did not enter his
422 ears. Accordingly, on 25 Ābān, about 2 November 1583, Moẓaffar approached with a large force. The armies were drawn up on both sides, but meanwhile Carkas K. and Mīrak Afẓāl, and many others, joined the enemy. Quṭbu-d-dīn and some of his clan (khāṣ khelān) made their way to the walls of Baroda.[1] Next day the haughty rebels invested the city (Baroda). Just then the news came of the defeat of Sher K., and Moẓaffar was nearly abandoning the siege and proceeding thither (to Maisana). He feared lest the victorious troops should prevail against Aḥmadābād. When he heard that they had gone back, he gave up the idea and became bolder in besieging the city. Quṭbu-d-dīn K. from worship of wealth (*khwāsta-parastī*), and love of life, had not the courage to sacrifice himself. He took into his head the idea of a peace. He sent Zainu-d-dīn and Saiyid Jalāl to express his wishes, and asked to be allowed to proceed to the Ḥijāz with his accumulations. As he was turned away from perception, he did not understand that the accumulation of wealth is for the protection of honour, and that life is only precious when consistent with honour. The rule of soldiering is to play away manfully unstable life in the service of one's master, and to acquire by such valour eternal life and sempiternal glory. Apparently the night of destruction was growing increasingly dark, and guiding wisdom was in heavy slumber. Moẓaffar was seized by arrogance on receiving this message. He had the first (Zainu-d-dīn) trodden under the feet of an elephant. To the other life was

[1] The text has not the word Baroda. I adopt the variant which gives it, and this is supported by the I.O. MSS.

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granted at the intercession of relatives.[1] It was time that Quṭbu-d-dīn should have been aroused, but love of existence only increased his somnolence. He took the treaty into his hands with much[2] fawning. On 13 Āẕar, H., 23rd November, 1584, he adorned himself and came before that wretch, and accepted eternal disgrace. Moẕaffar made some inquiries after his health and then made him over to the executioners. The star of his life set. Jalālu-d dīn Mas'aūd his sister's son was also put to death. Afterwards the fort of Broach was invested. Khwāja[3] 'Imādu-d-dīn Ḥusain and some others were admitted to quarter. The Kotwāl took the road of disloyalty and delivered up the keys of the fort. On the 19th (Āẕar) the fort was taken possession of without a contest. The Cambay treasure and the abundant wealth of the governor were plundered. Moẕaffar thought in his avarice of becoming a son-in-law. The wise mother[4] poisoned her child. The thorn of failure entered the foot of his desire. He made a practice of oppressing the people, and of pillaging the traders. The vogue of impropriety (*nāshanāsāī*) became great.

On hearing this news H.M. held before himself the resolution to send an expedition to Gujarāt. The countries of Garha-Raisīn were given in fief to the Khān Ā'ẕim. On the 29th, he obtained leave to go to Ḥājīpūr in order that he might collect equipments and 423
come to court. S'aīd K. was made an officer of the 3000 grade, and Ḥājīpūr and its neighbourhood were given to him in fief. He took

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1 The M. Aḥmadī says that Saiyid Jalāl was spared at the instance of Saiyid Aḥmad Bokhārī. Badayūnī, Lowe 340, says Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the Ṣadr was also spared.

2 Text, firmān, which does not make sense. The I.O. MSS. show that farāwan "abundant" is the true reading.

3 The Krorī of Cambay and father of the author of the Rauẕāt Ṭāhirīn. Cf. Elliot V. 433. He had brought the Cambay treasure to Broach.

4 Quṭbu-d-dīn's wife. The M'irāts do not mention this circumstance but the Iqbālnāma does.

5 In Bhopāl. The variant Garha and Raisīn is preferable to the text. See *infra* 436 six lines from foot. Garha is Garha-Katanga which was east of Raisīn. The latter at that time belonged to Mālwa. Apparently Garha-Katanga must have been taken away from Bāqī K., the elder brother of Adham, for he did not die till the following year. See *infra* 436.

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leave on that day after receiving valuable counsels. On 10 Bahman, 20 January, 1585, H.M. proceeded, under the guidance of fortune to the capital (Fatḥpūr).

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CHAPTER LXXVI.

Wondrous Fortune of the Shahinshah and the Defeat of Sulṭan Moẓaffar Gujrātī.

(This Chapter begins with twelve lines of reflections about Akbar's Fortune.)

As the soldiers of Gujarāt had joined Moẓaffar, and he had collected abundant wealth, the officers of Pattan thought of leaving the country and coming to Jālor. At this time, M. Khān arrived with a large force and produced tranquillity. He delayed[1] for a while to collect the officers, and he was also stayed somewhat by the foolish talk of ignorant people. Near Mīrtha, Khwajagī[2] Ṭāhir came to him from the officers of Pattan and told him what had occurred. M. Khān wisely suppressed what had happened to Quṭbu-d-din K., and sought for victory from the brightness of his star. On 20 Dai,[3] about 31st December, 1583, the army halted at Pattan. The soldiers there were incorporated, and there was rejoicing and a council was held. Some foolish propositions were brought forward. Some said that they should remain where they were until the Mālwa troops arrived. Some said that to march before the world's lord should advance towards that quarter would be to transgress the 424
rules of farsightedness. Some thought that the only thing to do was to march on quickly in reliance on the daily-increasing fortune

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[1] The delay was on the way to Pattan, and apparently at Jālor. Niẓāmu-d-dīn tells us M. Khān only stayed one day in Pattan. Elliot V. 434.

[2] This circumstance is mentioned by Ṭāhir in his book. He says, in the account of Akbar's 28th year, that Shihāb and 'Ṭimād wrote a report of what had occurred and sent it with him from Pattan, and he travelled with great rapidity and delivered it to M. Khān at Mīrtha near (east of) Ajmīr in the course of seven days.

[3] The M'irāts do not give the date. M. Khān reached Aḥmadābad, which was 90 miles from Pattan, on 6 Muḥarram 992, 9 January, 1584. As M. K. stayed a day in Pattan he must have left on 1st or 2nd of January.

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without regard to external arrangements. What occasion was there for equipments? There were plenty of brave and capable men. These uttered many heartening words. By the guidance of the star, and glory of Fortune, all agreed to this view, and resolutions of acting in unity were taken. They left 'Itimād K. in Pattan and went forth to do battle. They marched under the leadership of the Divine aid. The centre was made glorious by the loyalty of M. Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., Jān Darvesh K., Sulṭān Rāhtor, Mīr Moẓaffar, Abū-l-faṭh, M. Qulī Moghal. S. Muḥammad Moghal, Qarā[1] Baḥrī and a number of experienced combatants were also there. Shīroya K. Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Abū-l-qāsim Bunyād Beg, Fīrūza, Mīr Hāshim, Mīr Ṣāliḥ and others were on the right wing. The Mota Rājah, Rai Durgā, Tulsi Dās Jādūn[2] Bīcā Deora, Rai Narain Dās, the Zamindār of Īdar, and others were appointed to the left wing. In the vanguard were Payinda K. Moghal, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Hāshim, Rai Lonkaran, Rām Cand, Udai[3] Singh, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid Shah Ālī, Saiyid Naṣr Ullah, Saiyid Karm Ullah and many others. In the *altamsh* were Mednī Rai, Rām Sāh, Rajah Mukatman,[4] Khwāja Raf'ī, Mukammal Beg Sarmadī, Naṣīb Turkaman, Daulat[5] K. Lodī, Saiyid K. Kararānī, S. Walī, S. Zain, Khiẓr Āqā and others. In the reserve were Khwāja[6] Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, Mīr Abū Moẓaffar, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Mīr Ḥabīb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Hāth Bilūc and others. Mīān[7] Bahādur Uzbeg and other smart men were the scouts. In each body of troops there were swift, mountain-like elephants.

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[1] This name is not in text, but occurs in the I.O. MSS.

[2] The conjunction in text before the name Jādūn seems wrong, and does not occur in the I.O. MSS.

[3] Presumably the man who wanted to force his mother or stepmother to become a satī.

[4] B. 488. He was a Bhadauria. See Maaṣir Umarā II. 228.

[5] See Noer's Akbar II. 86, n. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 379. Badayūnī calls Daulat the reasoning soul of the Khān-Khānān. He was an Afghan. He was collaterally descended from the Daulat K. of Bābur's time, and the father of the famous Khān Jahān Lodī. See Tūzuk J. 42, etc.

[6] The historian. He was married to M. Khān's sister. Badayūnī, text I. 333, Lowe 342.

[7] Perhaps Sān Bahādur is the more correct reading. In one place it is Biyān.

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On hearing of this, Moẓaffar came to Aḥmadābad with a large force, and drew up in battle-array. He himself was in the centre. Sher K. Fūlādī commanded the right wing. In the left was Lonīh Kāthī, and in the vanguard Ṣaliḥ Badakhshī. They chose the crossing at 'Uṣmānpūr[1] as the battlefield, and they arranged their guns and other firearms in a proper manner.

Inasmuch as well-intentioned fabrications[2] have a good effect, a *firmān* from the court of the Caliphate was manufactured, and 425
was received with honours. The gist of it was: "In a certain auspicious hour we shall come out to assist the victorious troops and shall advance on a red (*gulgūn*) world-traversing steed as if for the purpose of hunting; until we arrive, do not be hasty to engage." A joyful banquet was arranged and the drums of joy beat high. The agitated took heart and the presumptuous enemy was terrified. The imperial servants, thinking that the Mālwa troops would arrive, and that the enemy's battlefield would be abandoned, and the news of the coming of Akbar might be impressed on the hearts of the troops, moved away from confronting the foe and proceeded towards Sarkec.[3] They arrived there on 6 Bahman[4] and chose a battlefield. On one side they abutted on the city,[5] and on the other on the river. They strengthened that delightful place by making a barricade.[6] Moẓaffar made a hasty move and came to that quarter

[1] The M. Aḥmadī 159 says Moẓaffar encamped near Usmānpur on the other side of the Sabarmatī at a distance of one kos from the city. M. Sikandarī says this was on Monday 9 Muḥarram, 12 January, 1584.

[2] *Sākhtagīhāī maṣalaḥat-āmīz.* Cf. *darogh* maṣalaḥat-amīz in first story of Gulistan.

[3] J. II. 241. It is famed for the architecture of the tombs there.

[4] The M. Sikandarī 378 says M. K. encamped near Sarkec on Wednesday 11th Muḥarram, 14th January, 1584, and that Moẓaffar also moved out and came from Maḥmudnagar and crossed the river and encamped near the tomb of Shāh Bhīkan. This agrees with the T.A. Elliot V. 434, which says that M. Khān encamped at Sarkej, 3 *kos* (it is about 5 miles) from Aḥmadabad, and that Moẓaffar pitched his camp opposite the Imperial army, two *kos* distant, near the tomb of Shāh Bhīkan (son of Shāh Alam and grandson of Qutb Alam. The battle took place on Friday, 13th Muḥarram, 992, 16th January, 1548. Elliot V. 434 wrongly has 16th Muḥarram.

[5] Though the word city is used, it appears from the M. Ahmadi that Sarkec is meant. It lies S. W. Aḥmadabad.

[6] *Shākhbandī karda.* The word is not in the dictionary, but according

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A party of misguided rebels made a night attack, but failed and had to return. At dawn the army prudently strengthened the barricade by erecting an earthen wall. The impious enemy hastened [1] to draw up his forces for fear that the royal standards should shed their rays, or the Mālwa army arrive. Though the leaders (of the imperialists) were not disposed to engage, partly because they were looking for the coming of the Mālwa officers and partly because most of the day was spent, yet they of necessity addressed themselves to fighting. As there was a rumour that Moẓaffar would appear from the rear with some men, while another army was in front, Rai Durgā hastened off in that direction with a portion of the reserve. The other troops pressed forward in the manner that had been arranged. On the way there was a great ravine, and there was much sand. The vanguard turned back somewhat in crossing, but the *altamsh* (reserve of the vanguard) pushed forward and encouraged the vanguard. When they emerged from these straits there was for a time a hot engagement.

Verse.

There rose a cry from the mass [2] of two armies,
The noise of resurrection reached the sky,
You'd say the earth split in two,
Isrāfīl blew the trump of the resurrection.

Saiyid Ḥāshim [3] lost a brief life and gained eternal glory. Before this he had stated that he dreamt that eighteen lancets had pierced him, and that much blood had flowed. The strange thing was that he took his last sleep after eighteen wounds! Khiẓr [4]

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to the Lucknow ed. it means a barricade of stone or wood, etc.

[1] It appears from the M. Aḥmadī that Moẓaffar, who had previously been separated from M. Khān by the river Sabarmatī, now crossed it, i.e., he came to the Sarkee side, i.e. to the right or west bank of the Sabarmatī, Aḥmadābad being on the left or east side.

[2] Qalb, centre of army and also body, so that there is a play on the double-meaning. Isrāfīl is the angel of the Resurrection. It is Sirāfīl in the verse.

[3] He was a Bārha Saiyid and younger brother of Saiyid Qāsim, M. Sikandarī, 379.

[4] The Khān's vakil. The Rauẓāt Ṭāhirīn calls him Khiẓr Beg Turkaman. He was killed.

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Āqā also displayed good service. The combatants on both sides clashed together and died bravely. The flames of war flashed on both sides. The heroes of the vanguard and the *altamsh* separately engaged in hand-to-hand combats, and each company of brave men engaged with a company of the enemy. M. Khān with 300 warriors and 100 elephants kept his eye on the marvels of daily-increasing fortune. Moẓaffar with 6 or 7000 men came in front of him and was behaving insolently. Short-sighted well-wishers seized the 426
Khān's rein and sought to turn him back, but that forerider of loyalty planted more firmly the foot of courage. He snatched the reins from the hand of those who recognized not Fortune, and took the path of battle. He brought on the rank-breaking elephants, and the elephant Shermār and others distinguished themselves. Before they reached the foe, the latter lost firmness. The breeze of victory refreshed the standards. Rai Durgā went in that direction and inspired fear into the enemy's right wing. This man and that man were saying "the world's lord is coming with a rush." The enemy became confused and fled without fighting. Moẓaffar, who had been haughty, went to the desert of failure in a wretched condition. He hastened by the route of M'amūrābād[1] towards the Mahindrī. Everybody of the enemy's troops fled, and many lost their honour, for some, blood was mixed with dust. The work of slaying went on till the end of the day. The fortune of the Shāhinshāh had her face brightened. Yet the victorious army consisted only of 10,000 troopers, while on the other side there were nearly 40,000 troopers and 100,000 infantry!

Verse.

A very few soldiers in the day of battle
Prevailed over numerous foes,
For in war victory comes from fortune,
Not from wealth and many soldiers.

On account of the much warring, and the day's being spent, the fugitives were not followed. The army encamped on the field of victory, and returned thanks to God. Next morning at dawn there

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1 Not marked in map. Badayuni, Lowe, 344, says it is on the Mahindri.

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was a joyous festival in Aḥmadabad. In every street and lane there was the sound of joy. On the 25th Bahmān (about 8th February) the couriers of rejoicing brought the news (to Akbar) in the neighbourhood of Kora Khātampūr),[1] and told the wondrous work of Fortune. The world's lord gave thanks to God. The sovereign's knowledge of mysteries was again impressed on the minds of all. The simple, whose luck was good, renewed the joy of devotion (to Akbar). Next day Zain K. Kokaltāsh did homage. Rajah Rām[2] Chand had come out of his fort and was proceeding to the court. The Koka preferred his request. On the 30th H.M. encamped near Etāwah, and at the request of the Kokaltāsh he halted for a while under the trees of that town—which is a delightful spot. Next day at time of marching he dismissed the Koka in order that he might give the landowner the news of favour and bring him with him. On 4 Isfandārmaz, 14 February 1548, the standards of the Shadow of God cast
427 their rays over Fatḥpūr, the capital, and crowds of men attained to joy. There was a new assemblage for truth-seeking, and new rules were inaugurated for appreciation. Success seized far and near, and the good tidings of eternal dominion quickened the hearing of mortals.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Rām Chand came and did homage at the holy threshold. When the envoys came to him and recited to him the tale of majesty, and imparted great counsels to him and in an excellent manner inspired him with hopes and fears, he, from his good fortune and auspiciousness cast out from his head long-standing arrogance. On the 12th (Isfandārmaz) he was exalted by the prostration, and he produced presents for the inspection of H.M. Of these, 120 elephants[3] were accepted in order

[1] Evidently this is the Korarah (Corah) and Ghātampūr of the Ain J. II. 167, and which are there given as two places in Sarkār Korarah. It is the Karra of the I.G., 42 m. N.W. Allahabad.

[2] This is Rām Chand Baghelah. B. 406. He was Rajah of Bhath which is another name for Panna in Bandalkand, Central India. Bīrbar was according to Badayūnī formerly the Rajah's servant.

[3] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 345, who says "120 rubies." Perhaps *fīl* is a mistake for *l'al*. One hundred and twenty elephants seems a large number for Rām Chand. Yet he was famed for his liberality, and his country was celebrated both for elephants and rubies. Badayūnī

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to gratify him, and also a ruby of great value. His territory and fort were returned to him, and his dignity was increased by great gifts. Among them was a present of 101 horses.

One of the occurrences was the death of Muḥammad Zamān. He was the cousin[1] of M. Yūsuf K. From the turbulence of youth, and the talk of shortsighted avaricious men he led an army against the Jālīyā,[2] who is one of the great landowners of Mālwa. He had recourse to supplications and sent presents, and ratified the promise of doing good service. From cupidity and inexperience Muḥammad Zamān suppressed the new treaty and hastened to the town of Mahrīya[3] and opened the hand of plunder. After this he plundered Deogarha. Hearing that the road of Surat[4] was shorter he, from irreflection, went off in that direction. He met with defiles which were difficult to traverse. He halted with a few men, and passed on his army and baggage. From somnolence of intellect he sate down to a drinking-bout. The landowner had his opportunity and came there, and M. Zamān's days were ended. Whoever takes the road of disobedience, and does not listen to the voice of well-wishers and does not stick to what he has said, will soon come to an end of this kind, and will fall into various misfortunes.

says one ruby was worth 50,000 rupees.

[1] The T. A. calls him brother (barādar) of M. Yūsuf. B. 533. He was a commander of 1000.

[2] This seems to be the name of a district, and to be the Jetgarh or Jetha of J. II. 200 in the Sarkār of Garha (wrongly printed as Kanauj in J. II. 199), and province of Mālwa. The Iqbālnāma apparently has "the Rajah of Jaithā." The T. A. mentions that M. Zamān was killed in Garha, the Garhākota of I.G. XII. 161, and now in the Saugor district.

[3] This is a mistake for Hararīya or Hariyā which is the form in I.O. MS. 236. Hararīya and Deogarh are mentioned in J. II. 200 as two estates. Harariya appears as Harai in the I.G. old ed. See also Deogarh id. iv. 202. Both places are in the Chhindwāra district.

[4] Sic in text. But the true reading seems to be *yūrat* "encampment."

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CHAPTER LXXVII.

The disgrace of Sulṭān Moẓaffar a second time.

The hearts of majestic rulers and just throne occupants, whose speech and action as well as the pure temple of their souls are illuminated by the glory of truth, are cups[1] which display the world. Especially is this the case with our world's lord, whom, on account of his right intentions, good deeds, ample intellect and wide toleration, the illustrious ones of the spiritual world as well as the chosen ones of the outer world serve with gladness. Whatever he desires is, as it were, the interpretation of destiny, and things which do not show themselves to the vision of the acute, easily come into existence for
428 him. The circumstances of this turbulent evildoer are a fresh proof of this, and are a charm to awake the somnolent. After that burnt-out star had taken the road of flight, and the[2] departure of the Shāhinshāh had enlightened mankind, he could have been seized if a little pursuit had occurred, and that thorn would have been pulled up from the root. But in the joy of victory they did not attend to this, and the foolish talk of the wicked and crooked in their ways was an additional obstacle. After the lapse of one[3] day, Qulīj K.,

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[1] Alluding to the cup, or mirror of Jamshīd.

[2] *Guẕārish*. I suppose this refers to Akbar's leaving Allahabad, but it may also refer to the myth of his coming to Gujarat. It may also refer to his statement or prophecy that the war would be over soon. The word *guẕārish* occurs in the sense of utterance a little lower down, p. 428, l. 13.

[3] It would seem that this statement is wrong if A.F. means that the Mālwa army arrived at Aḥmadabād. As far as I can gather it did not come there at all at this time. The author of the Mirāt Sikandarī was with the Mālwa army and his statement is therefore entitled to more credit than either A.F.'s or Niẓām-ud-din's. He says, p. 379, and so does his copyist the author of the Mirāt Aḥmadī, that the Mālwa army under Qulīj K. and others reached Baroda in the morning after the victory at Sarkhej. When they got the news they stayed where they were, and then Naurang and Zāhid,

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Sharīf K., Naurang K., Tūlak K. and others arrived, and there was an active discussion. Meanwhile that wretch righted himself by the might of gold-scattering. He went to Cambay and seized much property from the traders. The slaves of gold gathered round him, and the peasantry, thinking him to be the child of their former Sulṭāns, showed him loyalty. The assemblage of men, and the drawing rein by the victorious army, made more courageous him who had lost heart, and he renewed the war. He gave out that the foot of his courage had slipt, at the report of the coming of the august retinue. The imperial servants, on account of the soldiers' complaining that they were destitute, and of the foolish talk of ignorant cowards, did not set their face to fighting, and begged for the august advent. They were too pressing in their wishes and became unduly apprehensive. The world's lord heartened them by excellent counsels. He said that the strifemonger would soon be reduced to ashes, and that the imperial army would be successful. No long time elapsed before the dust of turbulence was laid, and the Shāhinshāh's knowledge of secrets became impressed on mankind. The officers got courage and took up again the idea of fighting. Many were of opinion that all should unite and endeavour to drive away Moẓaffar. But some thought that as the first army had endured hardships it might now repose, and that Qulīj K., Naurang K. and the Mālwa army might apply themselves to this work, and that M. Khān and the other strenuous ones might go to Ahmadabad and exert themselves in civilizing the country. At[1] last they agreed to act together,

the son of Sharīf, made a rapid expedition against Broach. They hoped to take the fort at once but failed, and so they sate down before it. M. K. left Aḥmadabadfor Cambay on 2 Ṣafar, 4 Feb. 1584, and he wrote to Qulīj K. and the others who were besieging Broach to leave that place and join him in attacking Cambay. They marched accordingly "after 15 days" and joined him Bārīca (?) 7 kos from Aḥmadabad. When Moẓaffar heard of the junction he left Cambay and went to Baroda, and from there went to the hill-country. This is a different story from Niẓāmu-d-dīn's who speaks, Elliot V. 435, of the Mālwa troops coming to Aḥmadabad three days after the victory. This must be wrong, especially as it is evident that when the seat of war had been shifted to Cambay there was no occasion for the Mālwa army coming to Aḥmadābād.

[1] Perhaps this is also part of what some advised, viz. that they should afterwards act together and put down

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and addressed themselves to the putting down of Moẓaffar. They went on one or two stages, and then proceeded to spend their time. M. Khān, relying on the fortune of the Shāhinshāh, could not bring himself to remain (behind) and left Saiyid Qāsim, who was wounded, Muḥammad Ḥusain S., Shādmān, Khwāja Abu-l-qāsim dīwān and others with 2000 men to protect the city, and he and the other officers joined the army that had gone on, and proceeded to Cambay which was the seat of Moẓaffar's turbulence. The latter sent Saiyid Daulat with some troops towards Dūlqa, and the sons of Ikhtiyar-al-mulk, and Musṭafā Shīrwānī to M'amūrābād, and prepared in his presumption and shortsightedness, for war. When the victorious troops had reached the distance of ten kos (from him), Moẓaffar lost courage
429 and went off to the town of Bāshad[1], which is the residence of Acal Harpār[2], landowner. The imperial troops went on to Baroda. Tūlak K. was sent off to punish Saiyid Daulat and to return. The rest of the army addressed themselves to the chastisement of Moẓaffar. On 19 Isfandārmaẓ (about 1 March 1584) they came to heights and valleys. They traversed difficult routes and had some fighting with a large body of rebels. By the Divine aid they gained the victory, but on account of the excessive heat they did not pursue them. Moẓaffar crossed the Narbadda and withdraw to the town of Nadot.[3] From there he went to the Koh-i-Cāmpa (?)[4] That is a village sixty kos from Aḥmadābād. The world is eloquent about its strength.

Moẓaffar, but that meanwhile they should only march one or two stages.

[1] The text has sabad سبد, but the variant Bāshad is supported by the I.O. MSS. and by the Basad of the T. A. Elliot, V. 435, where it is said to be on the Mahindrī and near Patlād (Pitlād, and the Petlād of I. G.). See also the note in Elliot which says the maps show a Wassud on N. bank Mahindrī. After all it appears that Vāso is the real name. See I. G. XXIV. 300. It is the Basso of Tiefenthaler I. 379, who describes it as 20 m. from Petlad. The سبد sabad of text is evidently a mistake for بسو Baso.

[2] The Iqbalnāmā has Aḥal Barmār. Apparently the last word should be Parmār, which is the name of a tribe and is a variant on Bib. Ind. text. See J. II. 242.

[3] The Nāndod of I.G., capital of Rājpīpla.

[4] Jahānīya جهانيه in text. Variant Cānpa. I cannot identify it. Perhaps it is the Jubboogaun of the maps. The Mirāt Sikandarī has Kohistān-i-Jhānpa. Jubboogaun appears to be the Jamūngāon of J. II.

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There are lofty hills E., W. and N. of it. S. is the river Taptī.[1] When the imperialists encamped at Nādot, a council of war was held. Every one gave his opinion according to the extent of his wisdom, about advancing, or halting, or returning. The first idea was adopted, and the foolish talkers were put to silence. At this time came Tūlak *Fīrūzmand*, and those acquainted with secrets took an augury of victory. Also at this time the death of Simak[2] produced joy. Whoever from an evil fate turns away from the dominion which is conjoined with eternity soon has the dust of failure poured upon his head by the celestial managers, and is sent down to annihilation. This wretch was the source of the disturbance, and had few equals in wickedness. When the noise of the approach of the world-conquering troops came near, Moẓaffar left Naṣīrā,[3] Carkas, and that wretch (Simak) in Broach. Inasmuch as the double-faced and ten-hearted adorn the lips with the words of friendship, but have not internal knowledge thereof, he was continually sending letters of concord to Payanda K. Moghul. Some of these fell into Naṣīra's hands, and he was lying in wait to kill him. He played a trick and represented himself as ill. The evildoer came to sympathize with him, and was put to death. Three hundred Tūrānīs, who were his comrades, accompanied him to the abyss of annihilation. The defeat of Saiyid Daulat was also a joyful news. When Tūlak[4] K. had turned him out he returned and again took possession of Cambay, and turned his attention to plundering Petlād. Khwājam Bardī the *thānadār* fought with him, and was victorious. At this time Atālīq Bahādur fled. During this campaign this shameless Uzbeg left the enemy and joined the imperialists. Miyān[5] Bahādur represented his loyalty

254 and the Djamongāon of Tiefenthaler I. 372.

[1] From I.O. MS. 235 it appears possible that a tributary of the Taptī is meant.

[2] As I have already said, I think this must be the 'Umr Ḥājī of p. 410. It is Lamak in text, the variant is Shimak.

[3] The M. Sikandarī calls him N'aṣīr K. The T.A. Elliot V. 434 calls him Moẓaffar's brother's son, whilst Badayūnī, Lowe 342, 344 calls him "his wife's brother (*khusurpūra*, father-in-law's son). This is more likely, for Moẓaffar presumably had no brother. The M. Sikandarī speaks of a son of Moẓaffar.

[4] Elliot V. 433 has Naurang, but this seems a mistake in the MS.

[5] Apparently Sān is the proper reading. See Elliot V. 436.

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and took him into his charge. Both of them from wickedness and crooked thoughts spoke idle words and confused simple men. One
430 day, when the camp came to Nādot, that wicked tyrant (qābūcī, lit. *janitor*) went off with some men on a roadless road (i.e. were put to death). The other was sent to prison, and the vogue of folly was destroyed. There came eagerness for battle.[1] M. Khān, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. and others were in the centre. Sharīf K. Naurang K. and others adorned the right wing. Qulīj K., Tūlak K. and the *jāgīrdārs* of Mālwa were in the left wing. Payinda K., Rai Durgā and others were in the vanguard. Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīr Mʿaṣūm Bhakkarī and others were in the reserve. On the 29th (about 10 March) they marched from Nādot. Moẓaffar was terrified and went off to a high hill. Many audacious men came forward and prepared for battle. The imperial left wing made a fine attack, and several times each side repulsed the other. The brave on both sides contended on foot. During this contest, a party of brave men belonging to the right wing got to the top of a high hill, and by cannon and musketry disconcerted the presumptuous foe. Then the reserve attacked them. Then the brave men who were alongside of the imperial left wing made a general attack. Many of the enemy were killed, but most of them fled, covered with dust and blood.

Verse.

The hearts were arrows,[2] and the brains cleft,
Their clothes were bloody, and their steps[3] dust.

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[1] This is the battle described at length by Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 436. He is represented there as saying that he drove back the enemy *for a good kos*; but according to the Lucknow lith., and a MS. in my possession, what he says is that he fought with Moẓaffar's infantry and drove them to a high hill (*koh* not karoh). He describes himself as having been sent on in front, and as having taken the chief part in the action. A.F. however puts him in the reserve, and says nothing about his being sent forward (though I have no doubt that this is true), and the M. Sikandarī, which also describes the battle, p. 379, says that as the Mālwa army had had no share in the first battle, it took the chief part in this (as indeed A.F.'s account of the arrangement of the forces indicates). It gives as the site of the battle the hill country of Jhāmpa, in the district of Rājpīpla.

[2] That is, were pierced by arrows: see Lucknow ed. note. Or perhaps it means their hearts were bloodless, their brains split. *Khadang* is the white poplar, and also the bow and arrow made of it.

[3] Possibly kām is the true reading,

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One, with cuirass on breast, had his head laid low by the mace,
Another fell on his head with the dagger in his hand.

The leader of the rebels lost heart, and took to flight. When things came to a hand-to-hand fight the rebels vainly strove. As the daily-increasing fortune was in the ascendant they lost the power of struggling, and they were disgraced and took the road of failure. The brave men hastened to hunt for lives, and, in a short time, nearly 2000 persons were killed. Five hundred were made prisoners and went to their last sleep. The enlightened Khedive offered fresh thanksgiving for this great victory, and he exalted the loyal servants by various favours. M. Khān was raised to the rank of a *panchazāri* (5000) and got the title of Khān-Khānān. In him good intentions were allied with skill, and wide capacity went shoulder to shoulder with benevolence and so fortune unveiled her face to him, and made him the executant of good deeds.

At the time when the news of the Gujarat disturbances arrived, H.M. inquired from Amīr Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz—who was an astronomer 431
acquainted with the[1] minutest details of the science—about the circumstances of friend and foe, and about the final result The Mīr made researches in the heavens, and reported that it appeared that in this year two battles would be fought, and that the imperial servants would be victorious. As he reported, so did it turn out, and there was a fresh currency of the recognition (of Akbar's and Fatḥ Ullah's merits).

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and the meaning would be: "Their desires were dust." I.O. MS. 236 has khāk in the first line, and cāk in the second, and this perhaps makes better sense. The brains were dust, and desires (kām) or feet) gām) were split.

[1] I.O. MS. 236 has a *yā* after akhtar-shināsī, as if the meaning were that Fatḥ Ullah was not only a compendium of astrology but of all philosophy.

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CHAPTER LXXVIII.

Beginning of the 29th Divine Year, to wit, the year Amardād of the third cycle.

In this commencement of fortune there arrived the New Year with fresh achievements of Fortune conjoined with eternity, and another joy was imparted to the new generation of mankind. The leafless ones of creation had a novel glory.

Verse.

You complained of the coming of leaf-shedding Bahman.
Look up and behold the garden for Bahman[1] is in flight.
Hark to the thunder, verily 'tis the sound of the tabor.
The world holds a bridal, and the garden comes in bridal dress.

The imperial artificers gave profound attention to the adornment of the palace, and made the preparations for the festival in an excellent manner. The feast of joy was prepared on 25 Isfandārmaẕ in the garden which had been made by H.H. Miriam-Makānī four *kos* from Fatḥpūr. Many secluded ladies were received in that pleasure-house. When four minutes of the night of Wednesday, 8 Rabī'-al-awwal 992, 10 or 11 March 1584, had passed, the world-illuminating sun bestowed a fresh glory on the Sign of Aries, and the rosy hue of uniformity decked the face of day and night (the equinox). The fifth year of the third cycle began, and the world had new splendour. Also on this day the Khān 'Ā'aẓim M. Koka arrived from Ḥājīpūr and did homage, and increased the joy. On the 15th (Farwardīn) there was a great feast in the special garden (Bāgh Khāṣa) and crowds of men attained their desires. From the time of entry (of the sun) to that of exaltation (19 Farwardīn) there was a great festival every day, and the Shāhinshāh gratified the wishes of high and low. In the beginning

[1] The 11th month of the Persian Year corresponding to 15 January—15 February.

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of this year the Divine Era was introduced, and produced joy among mankind, as has already been related.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of M. Beg Qāqshāl and other men from Bengal. When it had been conquered for the third time, M. Beg, Wazīr Jamīl, Khāldīn, Farrukh Īrghalīq and others took the road of loyalty by the help of skilful and right-thinking men. They were however always alarmed and confused on account 432
of their own bad conduct. When Shahbāz K. was victorious, and Ṣādiq K. was proceeding to court, the persons above mentioned joined him. They regarded this opportunity as a boon. When news of this was received, Mohan Dās was sent by relays of horses to turn back Ṣādiq K. and to send him to the army of Wazīr K. who was confronting Qutlū. He was also to make the Qāqshāls hopeful of princely favours, and to bring them to court. That swift messenger joined them in Tānda. Ṣādiq K. obeyed the orders and went off in that direction (i.e. to Wazir K.). In order to soothe the apprehensive Qāqshāls, his eldest son Zāhid was sent along with them. They arrived at this time and reaped bliss by doing homage. The Shāhinshāh exalted them by various favours, and joy seized thousands whose hopes had been broken.

One of the occurrences was the death of Tarsūn [1] K. When Shahbāz K. had defeated M'aṣūm K., he went off to the country of Bhātī, and did not heed the typhoon-like violence of the rivers. His idea was to test 'Īsā [2] K. the ruler of that country, who was always expressing his loyalty. If he delivered up M'aṣūm K. and the other rebels, his lips and his heart would accord. Otherwise the veil over his conduct would be removed, and his wickedness would have its retribution. Bhātī [3] is a low country and has received this name

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1 M'aaṣir I. 471.

2 See ante pp. 257, 260.

3 The word Bhātī is spelt letter by letter in the text. Cf. J. II. 116, B. 342 and J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 226. In Serishtadar Grant's Analysis of the revenues of Bengal, etc., p. 257 of Fifth Report, there is the passage: "The low marshy lands of Hejellee, anciently called Batty, as being in a great part subject to the overflowing of the tide, parganas 16." Further down on the same page he says, speaking of Boklah (Bāqla) or Ismaelpoor, that it extends laterally, eastward of Khaleefatabad in Jessore, and extends to the mouth of the Ganges, near the island of Rabnabad "which forms the S.-E. angle of the Bengal Delta, as also the further

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because Bengal is higher. It is nearly 400 kos in length from east to west and about 300 kos from north to south. East of this country are the ocean and the country of Ḥabṣha (?).[1] West is the hill-country where are the houses of the Kahīn (?)[2] tribe. South is Tānda.

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extremity of the lowlands of Bhatty, commencing on the west from Hejellee." For Rabnabad, which includes three islands, see I.G. XI. 341. (Old ed., not mentioned in new ed.)

[1] Text حبشه Ḥabsha. Ethiopia? and there is the variant Khasrū. Professor Dowson, who has translated the account of Tarsūn's disaster VI. 72, has read the word as Jessore, and in this he is supported by the I.O. MS. 236 which has جسر. It is probable also that the variant given in Bib. Ind. text supports him, with the exception of the misplacing of a dot for خسرو. Khasrū is probably خسر Khasar, the *u* at the end being a conjunction. I.O. MS. 235 has چين Chīn China, but this is probably a guess. I am inclined to think that the country meant is Jaintia, east of Sylhet, for in the Āīn J. II. 139 this is spelt Jesa or Jaisa جيسا. It is evident from J. II. 116 that Abul Faẓl regarded Bhātī as lying on the east of Bengal as well as on the south of it, and he probably regarded the whole of Sylhet, the southern part of which is very low, as belonging to Bhātī. It will be seen from the text, p. 432, and from the Āīn J. II. 116, that Bhātī was considered as being larger than Bengal Proper, even with the inclusion of part of Behar, for the length of Bengal from Chittagong to Garhī is given as 400 *kos*, and its breadth from the northern mountains to Madāran as 200 kos, whereas Bhātī is said to be 400 *kos* from E. to. W. and nearly 300 from N. to S. I doubt if Jessore can be right, for Jessore and Baqriganj seem to have been included in Bhātī. Moreover Abul Faẓal would hardly have spoken of Jessore as a wilayat or country. In his time it was not even a sarkār. It was only a pargana in Sarkār Khalīfatābād, J. II. 134, where we find a large maḥal or pargana entered as Jessore, otherwise Rasālpur. See Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 121, and B.J.A.S.B for 1873, 217. The quotation from the Haft Iqlīm in Raverty's translation of the T. Nāṣirī, p. 593 note, where Bengal is said to be bounded on the south by Jesūdah, is according to Blochmann, J.A.S.B. for 1875, 285, a copyist's error for Chittuah. However it is right to point out that Jessore is mentioned along with Bhūsna as a country or district in Bengal, A. N. III. 787, five lines from foot.

[2] Text كهين variant كهن. I do not know what tribe this name represents. In I.O. MS. 239 it is كهش kahash. Apparently it is the same word as the Khīta or Kīsa of p. 397, l. 5, and which I have supposed to represent the Cossyahs. Possibly the word is Kohsār or some such word meaning a hillman. What we should expect to find would be Santāl or Kol. Perhaps the word is Koc or Konc. A. F. speaks at p. 397 of the Khītas being like Calmacks (Qulmā p)

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North also the ocean[1] and the terminations of the hill-country of Tibet. The father of this chief (*būmi*) belonged to the Bais[2] tribe of Rajputs. In that fluviatile region he continually displayed presumption and refractoriness. In the time of Selīm K., Tāj K.[3] and Daryā K. went to that country with large forces, and after many contests he came in and surrendered. In a short while he again rebelled. They managed by a trick to get hold of him and sent him to the abode of annihilation, and sold his two sons 'Īsā and Ishmael to merchants. When the cup of Selīm K.'s life was full, and

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in appearance, and the T. Nāṣirī, Raverty 560, says that in the mountain between Tibet and Gaur (Lakhaṇawaṭi) there are races, the Kūne, Mej and the Tihārū, and that they all have Turk countenances (i.e. Mongolian features). Cf. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, vol. 42, p. 239 7.

[1] Certainly the name nearest in spelling to Khen is the Khyin or Cin tribe in the Arakan hill tracts, but then how should they be in the west of Bengal? See note at p. 397 of text. I can make nothing of this extraordinary northern boundary, the ocean. Possibly *dariyā-i-shor* is a mistake for darīyā-i-surma, "the river Surmā" in Sylhet, but against this is a fact that we have the word *nīz*, "also", in the original which must refer to the occurrence of the ocean as the north boundary. Nor do I understand the mention of the mountains of Tibet. However we have just seen the T. Nāsirī speaking of the mountains between Tibet and Gaur, and from the great length, 300 *kos*, of Bhātī from N. to S. it looks as if A. F. included Gaur or part of Assam in it. It is evident that 'Īsā had associations with North-Eastern Bengal, for we find that he made an expedition to Kūc Bīhar. Professor Dowson well says, l. c., "The whole description is unintelligible."

[2] See Elliot's Supplementary Glossary I. 13 for an account of the Bais clan. It originally belonged to Baiswāra in Oudh. It is curious that in the Āīn J. II. 117, 'Īsā is called 'Īsā Afghan. Perhaps the account in the A.N. was written after A.F. had got fuller information.

[3] Tāj K. was Sulaimān Kararānī's elder brother and reigned before him. See Stewart's Bengal 148 and the Riyāẕu-s-salātīn, Bib. I. ed. 152. I do not know who Daryā K. was. B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 225, also mentions a Tāj K. Masnad-i Ālī who established himself at the mouth of the Rasūlpūr river about 1505. This is a local legend, and the Tāj Masnad-i Ālī may be Sulaimān's brother. Tāj K.'s name appears in the list of the rulers of Bengal, J. II. 147, immediately before Sulaimān's. See also id. 149, where it is said that Taj K. killed Jalālu-d-dīn (the brother of Bahādur Shāh, otherwise Khiẓr K.) and assumed the government and was afterwards succeeded by his younger brother Sulaimān. The best account of Tāj K. appears to be that in the

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Tāj K. became predominant in Bengal,[1] Quṭbu-d-dīn, the paternal uncle of 'Īsā, obtained glory by good service, and by making diligent search brought back both brothers from Turān. 'Īsā acquired fame by his ripe judgment and deliberateness, and made the twelve *zamindārs* [2] of Bengal subject to himself. Out of foresight and cautiousness he refrained from waiting upon the rulers of Bengal, though he rendered service to them and sent them presents. From a distance he made use of submissive language.

433 When the bank of the river Ganges near Khiẓrpūr [3] became an imperial camp, there were strong forts on the two sides of the river owing to the spot's being a thoroughfare. In a short time both of these were taken with severe fighting, and Sonargaon came into the possession of the imperial servants. They also reached Karābūh? [4]

Rauẓat-ṭ ṭāhirīn in the chapter on the Kings of Bengal.

[1] Can this be the Quṭb K. who is said to have abandoned Sher Shāh's service in disgust at his breach of faith to Purān Mal? See A. N. translation I.—399—5.

[2] These are the Bāra Bhūīahs, for whom see Dr. Wise's papers J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 197, and 1875, p. 181, and Gait in id. for 1893, p. 281. According to Pimenta, 'Īsā himself was one of the twelve. Here I may note that the fullest account of 'Īsā K. is in Dr. Wise's paper already cited, p. 209 of J.A.S.B. for 1874. It appears from it that 'Īsā's father was called Kāli Dās Gajdānī and that he became a Muḥammadan and received the title of Sulaimān K. If this was so, however, one would hardly expect his children to have been sold into slavery, for it is contrary to Muḥammadan law to sell believers as slaves. There are several references to 'Īsā K. in the A.N., and I have pointed them out in a paper in the A.S.B.J. for 1904, p. 57. 'Īsā died in 1008 A.H., 1599-1600 A.N. 763. He had a son named Dāūd, A.N. 809.

[3] About a mile N. of Narainganj in the Dacca district. J.A.S.B. for 1872, vol. XLI, p. 96, note by Dr. Wise. It is entered under Sonārgāon in the Āīn J. II. 138. See also Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 133, and Dr. Wise's article, J.A.S.B., vol XLIII, p. 211. There is however another Khiẓrpūr (Kidderpūr) marked on Rennel's map which is perhaps the one here meant. It is on the Brahmaputra to the N. of Dacca.

[4] This name is doubtful. The Māaṣir in its account of Shahbāz K. II. 595 has Katrāpūr. I.O. MS. 236 has Kashrābu and No. 235 has Katrālu. Blochmann suggests Bakterāpūr. Possibly the *ba* of the text is part of the name and the word is Bikrāmpūr. Or the name may be a corruption of Khatābazū in Sarkār Bāzūhā J. II. 138, or it may be Kerapūr in Sarkār Sonargāon, J. II. 139. In Rennel's map of the Ganges and Brahmaputra there is a place called Goraboe, marked near Ekdalla, which

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which was his ('Īsā's) home. That populous city was plundered. A force was sent against Bārā Sindar,[1] which is a large town, and much plunder was obtained. From there they came [2] to the Brahmaputra. This is a great river which comes from Assam.[3] After a little fight, which took place with the scouts (qarāwalān), Ma'ṣūm lost firmness and took refuge in an island.[4] He was nearly made prisoner. At

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is probably the place in text. It was probably near the place called Doordoreah by Dr. Taylor, p. 112 of Topography of Dacca, and situated eight miles above Ekdalla, but Doordoreah was on the other side of the river. The name Karabuh recurs at p. 733, and there as here we have the variant Katrabuh. Now in Dr. Wise's paper Katrabo is mentioned, p. 211, as a place in Dacca where a branch of 'Īsā's family still resides. It seems probable that this is the place meant by the text. Dr. Wise also in his supplementary paper, J.A.S.B. for 1875, p. 181, quotes Sebastian Manrique's mention of Catrabo as one of the twelve provinces of Bengal, and on the following page he says, "Catrabo is Katrabo, now a 'tappa' on the Lakhya, opposite Khiẓrpūr, and which for long was the property of the descendants of 'Īsā K." He also quotes Clementī Tosi, who says, "Katrabo Capo d'una provincia." Finally at p. 214, J.A.S.B. for 1874, Dr. Wise tells us that the Jangalbari family (descended from 'Īsā) have a *sanad* dated 1700 which mentions Kaṭrābo in Bāzuhā. Dr. Wise tells us, J.A.S.B. for 1874 211, that Khiẓrpūr is generally associated with 'Īsā K.'s name and that it is situated about a mile N. of Narainganj. But may not 'Īsā's Khiẓrpūr be the one marked in Rennel's map on the old Brahmaputra and E. of Toke? Most probably Katrābuh is the Katārmalbāzū of the Āīn, J. II. 138. There is the variant Katabal. Tiefenthaler has Katārbalbāzū and Gladwin has Kuttermul Bazoi. If Katrabuh was opposite the Narainganj Khiẓrpūr, it cannot be the Goraboe of Rennel. The reading Bahtārāpur as the name of Isā's residence is probably a mistake for ba-katrāpūr, i.e. with or to Katrāpūr.

[1] This may be Kiyāra or Katāra Sindūr, J. II. 124, but the I.O. MSS. have a quite different word, viz. Mashhadī, which I do not find in the Āīn. The same word also occurs in a MS. belonging to myself. Perhaps the place is Masjid Ḥusain Shāhī or Masjid Andarkhāni in Sarkār Ghoṛāghāt. J. II. 136.

[2] Apparently they marched or sailed up the Brahmaputra, i.e. up the Lakhīa to the Brahmaputra (the old bed).

[3] There is the variant Khitā (Cathay), and Khitā is given as the source of the Brahmaputra in the Āīn J. II. 121.

[4] B J.A.S.B. for 1873, 231 n., says that 'Īsā was strong enough to make war on Kūc Bihar. This however refers to a subsequent period. See below p. 716. 'Īsā appears to be

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this time ʿĪsā, who had gone to Koc (Cooch Bihār) arrived with a large and well-equipped army. The imperial servants took post at Totak on the bank of the said river and opposite the city of Kināra[1] Sindār and established a fort there. On both sides there were hot engagements by land and water. The imperialists were continually successful. They sent to Ṭarsūn K. and directed that he should make a demonstration at Bajasrāpur[2] and so distract the enemy (lit. make them of two minds or hearts). Two roads led from the town of Bhawāl[3] (i.e. Nagarī). One was far away from the enemy and the other was by the river bank, and this was very near them. By heaven's decree Ṭarsūn K. took the latter route. Maʿṣūm K. heard of this and marched rapidly with a large force. Shahbāz K. sent Muḥibb Ālī K., Rajah Gopāl, Khangār and others. He also sent a swift courier to warn him and to bid him take up a strong position until the reinforcements arrived. He (Ṭarsūn) did not believe[4]

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the Gaur Pāshā of Gait, J.A.S.B. for 1893, pp. 290-91.

Perhaps the island, *jazīra*, is the peninsula between the Brahmaputra (old) and the Lakhia. The word *jazīra* has both meanings.

[1] Probably this is Toke, a well-known and beautiful spot N. of Dacca. It is opposite Agāra Sundar in Rennel's map and probably we should read Agāra instead of Kināra here. Toke is at the head of the Banān or Lakhīa river where it leaves the old Brahmaputra. Toke is said to be the Tugma of Ptolemy. See Taylor, *id.* 116. I think that the Totak of text is a mistake for Tonk, the dot appearing to be after the k instead of before it.

[2] بجور ابور There is the variant Bajhrāpūr. I cannot identify the place. Perhaps Bajitpūr in the Maimansingh district is meant. This may be the Bāyazīdpūr of J. II. 135, or the Bājpatārī of *id.* 136. Both are in Ghorāghāt.

[3] In Elliot, this is identified with the Bhāwal in Dacca, and presumably this is right. The Dacca Bhāwal is entered in Sarkar Bāzūha. See Beames, i.e. 127. The Bhāwal entered under Sarkar Madāran is a mistake, see *id.* 105. When Ṭārsūn K. was last spoken of he was in Tājpūr; see above, p. 416, and Elliot VI. 71.

[4] This is an obscure passage and it is left untranslated in Elliot. Part of the difficulty is due to an error in the text. That has, at nine lines from foot, *bawezish nayaid*, "Not come to an engagement." But the true reading, as shown by the I.O. MSS. and the Maʿāṣir I. 474, last line, is *bawārash nayāmad*, "he did not believe him." Ṭarsūn did not believe the courier and was sorry for Shahbāz, thinking that he had been deceived into sending away a part of his forces. This is clear from the line in the Maʿāsir, top of p. 475. Therefore, though he did so

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the message and grieved for Shahbāz K., thinking (or saying) that the rebels had committed a fraud, and had by this contrivance separated a body of troops from Shahbāz. As the courier was very urgent and his companions represented the advantages of caution and the evils of carelessness, he set about looking for a shelter and found a suitable place. But as he in no way believed what the courier said he did not halt there but went on towards the camp (of Shahbāz). Just then news came that an enemy was approaching. He cast away the thread of farsightedness and concluded that it was the reinforcement, and was preparing to receive it with hospitality. He had gone some steps when the tumult of the foe filled with dust the field of his security. Though his well-wishers urged him to hasten to the shelter until the men should come from the camp (of Shahbāz) and urged that possibly the officers of the reinforcement might come up, it was of no avail. He set himself with a strong heart and a tranquil mind to engage in combat. Some went off, alleging that they were going for arms. Though not more than fifteen men remained with him, he boldly took the field. Farīdūn Ḥusain, 434
and 'Alī Yār, who was related to him, were favoured by fortune and bought eternal fame with the money of life. Ṭarsūn K. was wounded and made prisoner. Ma'ṣūm K. spoke lovingly to him and wanted him to join him. As he was of a loyal disposition, he reproached and censured him, and gave him lofty counsels. The shameless one of narrow capacity put him to death, and Ṭarsūn gathered in his old age an everlasting good name.

One of the occurrences was the death of the painter Daswanth.[1] He was the son of a Kahār (pālkī-bearer caste). The acuteness and appreciativeness of the world's lord brought his great artistic talents to notice. His paintings were not behind those of Bihzād[2] and the painters of China. All at once melancholy took possession of him, and he wounded himself with a dagger. After two days he paid back the loan of life, and grief came to the hearts of connoisseurs.

Another occurrence was the wounding of Sānwal[3] Dās; he was

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far yield as to seek out a shelter, he went on.

[1] He is mentioned in the Ain. B. 108.

[2] A famous painter, mentioned by Bābur, 197. He was at the court of Sh. Ḥusain M. of Hirāt.

[3] B. 525.

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Rajah Gopāl Jādūn's brother's son, and was one of the personal attendants. At the end of the day he was hurrying to go on guard. Bīcā [1] Bhāthī from his enmity towards him thought that in this rapid movement Sānwal had the evil intention of killing him. He therefore attacked him with a sword and struck [2] him such a blow that experienced physicians thought he would not recover. The world's Khedive visited him and cast the shadow of his graciousness over him. By his breathings, Sānwal recovered from his mortal injury, and after three years became quite well.

Among the occurrences were the disturbance in Badakhshān, and the apologies of M. Ḥakīm. Evil-minded strife-mongers stirred up the dust of dissension between MM. Sulaiman and Shāhrukh. From carelessness and love of flattery these two could not distinguish friend from foe. They fell out with one another and did not attend to the administration of the kingdom. The soldiers were discontented, the subjects suffered injustice, the country was uncultivated, the forts unprovisioned. Whoever attends to his own comfort and neglects the helpless will soon strike his foot against the stone of failure. And whoever does not regard the winning of hearts as a great blessing will soon become a wanderer in the desert of ruin. While indulging in such evil conduct they turned away from supplicating Shāhanshāh, and (at the same time) spent their days in pride and conceit. 'Abdullāh K. Uzbak, the ruler of Turān, got his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and got possession of
435 that strong country without a battle. The Mīrzās fell into the desert of helplessness. M. Ḥakīm awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit, and sent skilful ambassadors, and made a thousand entreaties. The world's lord granted the envoys' wishes and dismissed them. The gist of the reply was "The Mīrzās of Badakhshān are receiving the retribution of their ingratitude. Make yourself glorious, outwardly and inwardly, by the splendour of sincerity so that far and near it may be perceived. Assuredly in that case others will be afraid of you. If before this be recognized, any one make an attempt on your country we shall, in the first place, send skilful

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[1] There is the variant Bījā and I.O. MS. 236 has Bīmā. Bhāthī is a Rajput tribe. See Elliot, Supp. Gloss. I. 37. It is also spelt Bhāttī.

[2] There is the variant "*barrān*," "on the thigh."

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and faithful men to administer good advice (to 'Abdullāh). If this be not effective, we shall send warriors who are grippers of victory, rank-breaking elephants, vast treasures, and a large part of artillery under the command of one of our fortunate sons." The envoys had not come out of the kingdom when a second petition arrived to the effect that "The Mīrzās of Badakhshān have, with repentant hearts and ashamed countenances, taken shelter at this eternal dominion (i.e. Kābul). What is the order?" M. Ḥakīm also represented his own state of confusion. The order was "At our court, repentance is purchased at a high price (i.e. much is given for it). Give the Mīrzās news of joy, and send them off after making them hopeful of the Shahanshāh's favour. And do you yourself rely upon our daily-increasing fortune, and stand firm, and be under no apprehensions." The language now used is the same as that in the previous rescript.

One of the occurrences was the submission of Qutlū Kararānī. It has been mentioned that part of the victorious army of Bengal had marched to the Bhāti country with Shahbāz K. and that another portion was with Wazīr K. in Bardwān and was stationed there to repress Qutlū. This army was spending its time there on account of the ill-timed moderation of Wazīr K. When Ṣādiq K. joined, real work was done, and the face of fortune assumed fresh glory. That presumptuous one (Qutlú) lost endurance, broke up his camp, and went off with shame to Orissa. The officers pursued him and arrived at Tukarōī.[1] His condition became desperate and he took refuge in the forest of Dharmpūr.[2] With craft he mixed gold with entreaty (*zar bazārī*, "gold and greeting"). The officers, from cupidity, and the hardships of campaigning, did not attend to the circumstances, and made use of a former order which was to the effect that if the dweller in the ravine of ruin should bind himself to the saddle-straps of eternal dominion, they were not to take his past into account, and were to make over Orissa to him. He out of gratitude sent his brother's son to court, and also sent sixty choice elephants and other presents. On 1 Tīr, 11 June 1584 S.,

[1] The text has بیک کروهی within one *kos*, but the true reading is بتکروی "to Tokarōī" as Elliot VI. 75 and I.O. MS. 236 show.

[2] Harpūr in original, but Dharmpūr, or Dharpūr, seems to be the correct reading. It is Dharmpūr in Iqbālnāma. See ante p. 122 and note.

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Ibrāhīm Fatḥpūrī was exalted by doing homage, and brought the envoys to the court. When the assembly of peace had been held,
436 Wazīr K. was sent back to Tānda, and Ṣādiq K. to Patna. Every one rejoiced in getting his fief. On the 13th the lunar weighing of the world's lord took place and a delightful feast rejoiced far and near.

One of the occurrences was Rajah Bīrbar's having a renewal of life. The caugān-ground had been fitted up and there was an elephant fight going on. Suddenly the elephant Cācar, which was unique for violence, and for the killing of men, rushed to kill a foot passenger, but then passed him by and turned towards the Rajah. He was nearly killing him with his proboscis. The Shāhanshāh from his general benevolence and especial kindness (for Bīrbar), and great courage, urged on his horse and came between the monster and the Rājah. The enraged brute rushed at the cavalier of the arena of courage and a cry went up from mankind, and the livers of iron-hearted men became like water. All at once, it stood still, overcome by the majestic "Avaunt" (Dūrbāsh). Amazement seized the beholders.

Among the occurrences were the deaths of Ghāzī [1] K. Badakhshī and Sulṭān Khwāja [2] Naqshbandī. The first was a hero elightened by

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[1] Ghāzī K. was also called Qāzī Niẓām. He was originally in M. Sulaimān's service. He is famous for having invented the *sijda* or prostration. See B. 440, and the long notice in the Máaṣir II. 857. See also Badāyūnī, Lowe, 185-86 and 351 and the Darbār Akbarī 816. Badāyūnī's account of what Ghāzī K. said to his servant etc. is not very intelligible. Badayūnī has also a notice of him under the name of Qāzī Niẓām in vol. III. 153. A. F. gives two causes for his death, but he might have added old age, for the Ma'āṣir says he was 70 when he died. The same authority says that his son Ḥusāmu-d-dīn was married to A. F.'s sister, and that he became a darvesh. See Tūzuk 80, quoted by B.

[2] See B. 423 and the long account in the Māaṣir II. 379, who takes occasion to give a full account of Akbar's religious views. He was buried outside the fort of Fatḥpūr towards the north. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 351. Mulla Aḥmad of Tatta, afterwards killed by a Sunnī, found the chronogram Sulṭanu-l-Khawārij (prince of heretics), but it is one short, yielding only 991. According to the Māaṣir II. 382, who quotes from a work by Lāl Beg Nahshbandi, Badayūnī's story about Sultan Khwājah's mode of burial is not true.

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wisdom. To the sword he added the high dignity of the pen. Though stupid in conventional learning, yet by the blessing of his discipleship of the world's lord he in company with the illuminate-sages (*dānishwarān-i-'Ishq*) and the pure Ṣūfīs, performed his devotions (to Akbar). Thus, though tied by external circumstances, he gathered a share of deliverance. He always had a weeping eye (*chashm-i-giryān*) and a burning heart. He made the final journey (i.e. died) in the city of Awadh on 4th Amardād (about 15th July 1584). Apparently, an act of sexual intercourse and improper food conducted him to the abode of annihilation.

Though the second (Sulṭān Khwāja) had not garnered much knowledge, and had never ascended the heights or sounded the depths of learning, yet many of the heartfelt words of Ṣūfism had polished his nature, and he became cognisant of the spirit of the age by the virtue of the Shāhanshāh's glance. By a genuine discipleship he pressed on towards the pleasant abode of Freedom (*īṭlāq*). On the 5th (Amardād—25th July 1584) he died at Fatḥpūr from weakness of the stomach and heart. The loving sovereign was grieved at the departure of those two wise men, and by lofty counsels administered comfort to their children and other mourners. He took upon himself the charge of providing for them.

One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān Āẓim M. Koka to Mālwa. It has been mentioned that when he was in Allahabad he became disgusted with holding *jāgirs* in Bengal and Bihar. Accordingly Raisīn and Garha were assigned to him. On the 17th he set out for those places after being loaded with counsels. On 25th Shahrīwar, about 4th September 1584, Bāqī[1] K., the brother of Adham K., died. His surviving family was cared for by the sympathetic Shāhanshāh.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Saiyid Daulat.[2] When there was some disturbance in Gujarat, this impure one again prevailed over Cambay. The Mota Rājah, Medinī Rāi, Rājah Mukat Man, Rām Sāh, Udai Singh, Rām Cand Bāgha Rathor, **437**

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[1] See Badayūnī, Lowe 351, where it is stated that he died in Garha Katanga which was his jāgīr. Bāqī K. is also mentioned at p. 59 of *id.* He was Adham K.'s elder brother. There is a short notice of him in the Māaṣir I. 394.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 435-36.

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Tulsī Dās, Jādūn Rahādur, Atūl Ghakkar, Abūl fatḥ Mughal, Qarā Baḥrī, Daulat K. Lūdī and others were appointed to chastise him. Before they arrived, he had cast his eye upon plundering Petlād. Khwājam Bardī and a body of brave men gave him battle, and he was wounded and had to fly. Also at this time 'Ābid, Mīrak Yūsuf, Mīrak Afẓal, 'Abdullāh and Timar Ḥusain came out of the hill-country of Rājpīpla and stirred up strife near the town of Mūnda,[1] and oppressed the peasantry. The Khān-Khānān sent from near the Mahindrī Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Mīr Abūl Moẓaffar, Khwājr Rafī, Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī, Sulṭān Rāthor, the son of Saiyid Hāshim,[2] and other brave men.[3] When they came to Dhūlqa (Dholka of I.G.) the rebels had dispersed, and so they returned.

Also at this time Bahar[4] K. Ghakkar stirred up strife in Badhnagar.[5] Qābil K.[6] Gujarātī, Rādhan K. and other fief-holders of that quarter gave him battle, and many of the strife-mongers were slain. That turbulent one had to sit in the corner of failure.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army against Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujarātī. On 25 Ardībihisht the Khān-Khānān arrived at Aḥmadābād and applied himself to the improvement of the country and the soothing of the weak. The distracted state of the country became somewhat lessened. At this time the evil-disposed one came out of the defiles of the hill-country of Rājpīpla and set off towards Pattan. Maqṣūd Ākā and many brave men were appointed, under the command of Shādmān Beg, and on hearing of this, Moẓaffar went off hastily towards Idar,[7] and took refuge in Kathīwāra. From there he crept off to the port of Ghogha.[8]

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[1] Mandah of J. II. 253?. Probably the Moondah of Bayley's map.

[2] Text, Saiyid Ḥāshim, but the variant "son of" must be right, for Ḥāshim was killed at the battle of Sarkhej. The variant is also supported by the I.O. MSS.

[3] Niẓāmu-d-dīn does not notice this expedition; probably this was because there was no fighting.

[4] The I.O. MSS. have Behār or Bahar Khokar.

[5] W. Īdar and Dūngārpūr, the Burnugger of Bayley's map.

[6] This is the nearest approach I can find to the name Giabiblica mentioned in Akbar's *parwāna* J.A.S.B. for 1896, pp. 60 and 61.

[7] So in text, and the I.O. MSS. fail us here. But I suspect some mistake, for Īdar would not be in the way from Pattan to Kāthīwār. However the Iqbālnāma has Īdar.

[8] A port in the Gulf of Cambay. I.G. XII. 301.

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Every one of his companions withdrew into retirement. Sher K. Fūlādī went to Baglāna. The ruler of that country sought to seize him. He left his property behind him, and by wiles got off to the Deccan. A few had the good fortune to go over to the victorious army, such as Mahdī [1] Sultan, the brother of Khiẓr Khwāja K., and the son of M. Muqīm Naqshbandī. Though some pursuit took place, yet if there had been celerity, that one of slumbrous fortune (Sher Fūlādī) would have been seized.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Broach. When, by the wondrous fortune of Shāhinshāh Sulṭan Moẓaffar had had to fly for the second time, Qulīj K., Naurang K., Sharīf, Tolak 438
K. and other fief-holders in Mālwa went off to take Broach. On 1 Farwardīn they invested the fort. As they were slow about it, and the taking of it was spun out, the Khān-Khānān sent a number of strenuous men to their assistance, under the command of Shihābu d-dīn K., and that Sarkār was given to him in *tiyūl*. The officers took up the work anew, and prosecuted it vigorously. On 10 Mihr the leader of the musketeers came out, and reported about the distressed and wearied condition of the besieged. He said that if the imperialists came to the gate, his comrades would open the door to them, and a difficult task would become easy. As his statements bore the marks of truth, they immediately set their minds on carrying out the plan, and words became deeds. There was the apparition of victory.[2] Naṣīra by craft came out of the battery of Sharīf K., but Carkis and many others were killed.

On the 21st Mihr the house of Rajah Bīrbar was made glorious by the feet of the Shāhinshāh. His wishes were gratified, and there was a great feast.

One [3] of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K. returned unsuccessful from Bhatī, and that steps were taken to retrieve matters.

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[1] This must be Gulbadan Begam's brother-in-law. See her Memoirs, 182. This renders support to the idea that the Khizr-Khwāja of p. 411 is her husband.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 437, and the Mirāt Sikandarī, p. 380. The latter says Nīṣar and Carkis came out at night and that Carkis' horse stuck in the mud (of the Narbadda) and so he was caught and killed. See also M. Aḥmadī, p. 163.

[3] This passage is translated in Elliot VI. 75.

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When he went there, he encamped on the bank of the Panār[1] which is a branch of the Brahmaputra. He occupied himself in sending messages and in giving counsels. The suggestion was that he (ʿĪsā) should deliver up the rebels, or drive them away from his presence. ʿĪsā had recourse to coaxing expressions, and for a time indulged in plausible speeches. When it appeared that his tongue and his heart were not in accord, there arose the turbulence of battle. For seven months there were victories from time to time, and the evil-doers were put to shame and suffered failure. It was a time when both parties[2] should have lighted the lamp of discernment, and have practised conciliatory measures. But from somnolences of intellect, there was an increase of blindness, and arrogance rose high. From self-conceit Shahbāz K. vexed people, and his officers snapped the thread of moderation and behaved in a silly manner. The evil-doings of the enemy increased. Death[3] made his appearance and the stock of life became dear. The enemy relied upon the circumstances that the rainy season was at hand, and that the victorious troops would be compelled to return. Fortunately the rainfall was less than usual, and so they had to wait in a shameful[4] condition for the dark days. They collected a number of diggers (*bīldār*) and cut the (bank of) river Brahmaputra in fifteen places. The water rushed upon the camp and the batteries were submerged. The enemy brought large war-boats, which had very high and long bows, and in the country-language are called *pitāra*,[5] and took them close to Shahbāz

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[1] The Bannar of Rennel, which is according to him another name for the Luckia, or Sītal Luckia (the Luckhyā of the I.G.). Taylor, Topography of Dacca, Calcutta 1840, says, p. 12: "The Bannar unites the Brahmapootra and Luckia (i.e. the Buriganga). It has formed a deep bed for itself in the hard kankar soil of the Northern Division, and in some places is more than fifty feet deep."

[2] Text *har du*. I. O. MSS. have *har du sū*, "both sides." The reference is to Shahbāz and his officers.

[3] I.O. MSS. have *margī*, "Pestilence." The expression "stock of life" is allegorical apparently, and does not mean that provisions became dear.

[4] Sharmgīnī. Both I.O. MSS. have "*sarkamīn*", lying in wait.

[5] Cf. J. II. 122, where it is said that boats are so adapted for a siege that when run ashore they overtop the fort. There is the variant *bināra*; Elliot has *liyàra*, and so apparently have the two I.O. MSS., though the word in these may also be read *pāra*. Probably the word is *palwār*. See

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K.'s fort. On both sides there was firing of artillery and muskets. The warriors were somewhat disconcerted, but by heaven's aid the enemy's leader was struck by a bullet and killed, and some boats were broken to pieces, and all at once the waters decreased, and the enemy had to fly. A large amount of booty was obtained, and many of the enemy were drowned. There was a hot contest in every 439
battery, and the Fortune of the Shahinshāh had fresh lustre. But the foe prevailed against Saiyid Ḥusain, the thānadār of Dacca, and he was made prisoner. 'Īsā awoke from his heavy sleep of ignorance and set afoot negotiations for peace through the instrumentality of his prisoner. Shahbāz K. accepted them. 'Īsā bound up the waist of obedience, and thought that by service he would obtain deliverance. He agreed that a royal *daroghah* should be appointed in the port of Sonargāon, and that M'aṣūm should be sent to the Ḥijāz. He also sent presents and *peshkash* and won over the hearts of the officers by large gifts, and the victorious army retired. When Shahbāz K. had crossed the rivers and reached Bhawāl, and was looking for the fulfilment of 'Īsā's promises (lit. for words to be converted into deeds), wicked men in the army [1] in improper language made 'Īsā doubtful in his mind. He changed his language, and brought forward conditions. The commander of the army was indignant, and said that to make confusions on every occasion and to introduce new clauses was not the rule with right-minded persons. He became stern and spoke harshly. Preparations were made for battle, and on 19 Mihr, divine month, 30 September 1584, that crooked-minded one ('Īsā) came forward to fight. The officers from short-sightedness saw their gain in what was their loss, and thought that the defeat of Shahbāz K. would be an advantage to themselves. The first to go off without fighting was Muḥibb 'Alī K. Every one left his place and went a roadless road. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram made some stand and fought, but from being unsupported and from being wounded he left Bhawāl. Shahbāz K. awoke from his sleep of haughtiness and made some effort to win the affections of his officers, but misplaced repentance is of no avail. He was obliged

Wilson's Glossary and Taylor's Topography of Dacca, p. 120, where it is said that the palwar is the kind of boat peculiar to the district.

[1] Apparently this means Shahbāz's army.

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to march for Tānda. All his collections were lost, and the sons of Mīr 'Ādila and others were made prisoners. S. Muḥammad Ghaznavī and others were killed. During the retreat Khangār Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Rajah Gopāl, Mīrzādas 'Ali K. and others fell in with Tarkhān Dīwāna, M. Muḥammd and Nauruz 'Alī Qāqshāl as they were returning from plundering. Owing to their evil fortune [1] (*az bakht teragī*) the rebels took the band of imperialists to be their own men and joined them. There was a hot engagement and the *days* of Nauruz [2] (*naurūz rā rūzgār*) came to an end and the others came off half-alive by dint of running. Victory displayed the face of joy, and abundant plunder was obtained. The officers after eight days obtained repose at Sherpūr-Murca.[3] Shahbāz K. tried to make preparation in this place and then to return and exact vengeance, but his companions were disgusted with his bad manners
440 and did not incline to accompany him. When they arrived at Tānda, Wazīr K. came forward with an open brow and a warm welcome. Shahbāz K. brought forward his former proposition, but opinions were not unanimous, and hearts did not emerge from double-mindedness. They were obliged to make reference to the holy threshold. When the news came, strenuous *sazāwals* were sent to turn back the officers, and suitable censures were conveyed to each of them, and counsels were also given. An order was issued to S'aīd K. and other fief-holders of Bengal and Bihar to act in unity and to exert themselves to punish the landholder ('Īsā). First, Peshrau K. and Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah were sent on this service, and afterwards Rām Dās Kacwāha and Mujāhid Kambū. They were by sharp words to produce a beneficial effect and make them keener for service.

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[1] Blochmann, 436, makes the mistake to have been on the side of the Imperialists, and apparently the Bib. Ind. takes this view, which is perhaps supported by the grammatical construction. But surely A. F. would not speak of the mistake being the result of evil fortune if it eventuated in a victory for the Imperialists. I think therefore that the meaning is that the rebels, who were loaded with booty, made the mistake, and the note of the Lucknow edition, p. 280 of vol. III, takes this view. The *giroh* in text is I think the band of Imperialists.

[2] Naurūz means New day and A. F. puns on this.

[3] I adopt the variant Sherpūr Murca.

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On 16 Āẕar, divine month, the house of Rajah Todar Mal was illuminated by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. The Rajah had for a long time cherished this desire, and he preferred his request in an excellent manner. At this time he gained his object and in thanksgiving had a great feast.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Jagannāth to Ajmīr. News came that the Rānā had come out of the defiles of the mountains, and was creating a disturbance, and was oppressing the weak. As the chastisement of the wicked is Divine worship, an army was appointed under his command. J'afar Beg was made paymaster (*bakhshī*). It set off on 24 Āẕar, after Jagannāth had received valuable counsels. In a short time they arrived there, and the landowner retreated, and men got their repose. After some days, Saiyīd Rājū was left in Mandalgarh with some men, and an expedition was undertaken against the Rānā's residence. He did not find himself able to oppose, but came out by another ravine and stirred up strife in the country that was submissive. Saiyid Rājū marched against him to give battle, and the Rānā returned towards Citūr. The Saiyid returned from the stage which the Rānā had left. Though there was no victory, yet the oppressed were delivered. Jagannāth attacked his residence, and joined Saiyid Rājū.

One of the occurrences was the birth of Ārām Bānū Begam.[1] On 12 Dai, 22 December 1584, divine month, and the 19th degree of Sagittarius, and according to the calculation of the Indians, one degree and 54 minutes, that night-gleaming jewel of fortune appeared, and glorified the harem of the Shāhinshāh. Astrologers announced the joyful news, and the world's lord conferred on her that great name. It is to be hoped that the advent of this lady of the family of chastity will be the means of increased life and will be an adornment to the kingdom.

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1 Cf. Jahāngir's Memoirs, Price's translation, p. 48. Her mother was Bībī Daulat Shād. Jahangir says his father was very fond of her. See also Tūzuk 16. Akbar called her his Lādla (Lārla) (darling), and Jahāngīr speaks of her as being of a violent temper. Shakra-n-nisā was her elder sister and by the same mother. Ārām Bānū died of dysentery on 7 Tīr in the 19th year of Jahangir in her fortieth year. Tuzūk Supplement, p. 386. The statement there that she left the world in the same state in which she entered it must mean that she never married.

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CHAPTER LXXIX.

The Arrival of Shāhrukh M. at the Court of the Shāhinshāh.

(This chapter begins with about twelve lines of reflections on the evils of flattery, etc. as illustrated by the history of the Badakhshān Mīrzās. It then proceeds as follows) :—

When M. Ḥakīm returned to Kabul from Badakhshān, M. 441 Shahrukh brought himself to the resolution of paying his respects to M. Sulaimān, and of living in harmony. M. Sulaimān, on account of suspicions, and his observation of the conduct of faithless persons, would not agree to this. After much talk, it was arranged that Uzbeg Sulṭān, the ruler of Hiṣār—who kept alive the rules of relationship and friendship—should send a party of men as sureties (bayāwarī) and that the Mīrzās should see one another in the midst of the river Āmūī (the Oxus), at a place [1] where there are nine channels, and that they should there enter into engagements of concord. It was also arranged that M. Sulaimān should cross four channels, and M. Shāhrukh five. When M. Sulaimān [2] arrived at the river-bank, he crossed one channel and then got frightened and turned his rein. Makers of difficulties were nearly putting a stumbling-block in M. Shāhrukh's path, but from his good disposition and intentions he crossed eight channels, and after waiting upon M. Sulai-

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[1] It would be interesting to know where this place is. It probably is in the upper course of the Oxus and south of Ḥiṣār Shādmān, which is another name for Ḥiṣār. The nine channels recall Arnold's expression "The shorn and parcelled Oxus." In Bābur's time, and also in M. Sulaimān's, Badakhshan included territory north of the Oxus.

[2] Sulaimān had crossed one channel, and presumably Shāhrukh crossed this and visited his camp which presumably was on the N. bank of the Oxus. But perhaps the meaning is that Sulaimān did not turn quite back but stayed at the south side of the first of the nine channels, and that the meeting took place there.

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mān expressed his desires for amity. He took his leave after having visited the Mīrzā's (Sulaimān's) quarters. The latter went off to Kūlāb and shortly afterwards he—under pressure from wicked men who regard evil as good and good as evil—enlarged his wishes and raised a disturbance. He sent a message that Mīhr 'Alī, Cūcak and **442** Mīr 'Imād should be delivered up to him, or if M. Shāhrukh could not agree to this, that he should dismiss them from his presence. M. Shāhrukh swallowed the bitter draught, and agreed to the last proposition. They went off to Kabul with the thorns of failure in their feet, and Mīr 'Imād went into retirement. Meanwhile Muḥammad Qulī Shighālī, who was the sword and the intellect of the country, left M.Shāhrukh .and joined M. Sulaimān. This increased the bad feeling, and it was not long before Mihr 'Ali returned from Kabul (text Zabūlistān) to M. Shāhrukh. As M. Sulaimān had suffered much opposition[1] from him formerly he sent a message to say that the surrender of Mihr 'Alī would be a proof of M. Shāhrukh's submission. The Mīrzā sent him along with Ḥājī Taman,[2] and M. Sulaimān made the latter his servant, and imprisoned Mihr 'Ali. He also sent S. Bābāī Wālī[3]—who under the disguise of a medicant's dress, was spinning snares—and represented that at the time of the agreement and the division of the country, Muḥammad Quli, Ḥājī Taman and Mihr 'Alī were of his (Shāhrukh's) party. It was proper now that his share (Sulaimān's) should be increased by Tālīqān and some territory (in order to support the retainers). M. Shāhrukh replied that the rules of humanity and graciousness required that the pleasant abode of unity should not be stained by the dust of the shameless and strife-mongering, and that M. Sulaimān should send back the set which had left him (Shāhrukh). M. Sulaimān did not agree to this and resolved on fighting. Shāhrukh too, from the intoxication of youth, and from not having any wise companion, went off. In Rustāq he halted, and made his petition, and had recourse to entreaties. He begged that no dust of conflict should be

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[1] The text has *pashimānī*, "repentance," but I think the I.O. MS. reading "*beshimānī*, "boundless," is more likely to be correct. I am doubtful, however, and perhaps the Bib. Ind. text is correct. The meaning then would be that Sulaimān repented of the former discord.

[2] The Iqbālnāmā has Ṣaman.

[3] Walī in text.

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raised, and that they should not give their enemies cause to rejoice. M. Sulaiman was nearly coming to terms, but strife-mongers did not allow him to do so, and there was a battle. Inasmuch as the breaking of compacts, and the non-acceptance of apologies are not auspicious, M. Sulaimān was defeated without a severe contest, and took refuge with the people of Ḥiṣār. M. Shāhrukh did not pursue and applied himself in some measure to the work of administration. He made over Kūlāb to his eldest son Muḥammad Zamān, and made Mihr Alī [1] his atālīq. He himself came to Qandūz. M. Sulaimān took help from Uzbeg Sulṭān, the ruler of Ḥiṣār, and proceeded towards Badakhshān. M. Shāhrukh also formed the design of fighting. He sent some active men ahead under the leadership of Qanghar, and gave battle with the assistance of the Kūlābīs. M .Sulaimān was defeated on this occasion also, and returned to Ḥiṣār. At this time the ambassadors of the Shāhinshāh arrived, and M. Shāhrukh's position became very strong. At the time when the august retinue had cast the shadow of justice over Zābulistān (Kabul) and M. Ḥakīm had been disgraced in the battle with the Prince (Murād), adroit and bold ambassadors were sent to M. Shāhrukh, who was agitating the chain of loyalty, to enquire after his health, and to tell him to come and do homage, or to send his mother, the Khānim. The Mīrzā expressed himself in submissive
443 language, and his affairs assumed a brighter aspect. The people of Ḥiṣār withdrew from supporting M. Sulaimān. But M. Shāhrukh did not, on account of the wickedness of his advisers, bring himself to wait upon H. M. But he was arranging to send his mother to make excuses when news came that H. M. was returning. Also his mother fell ill at this time. M. Sulaimān, having come to despair of the Ḥiṣārīāns, wished to do the work of an enemy under the guise of a friend, and came with some Uzbegs to Badakhshān. He brought forward proposals of peace. M. Shāhrukh accepted them, and it was agreed that each would pass over channels of the river to the place of the former compact, and that they would have a banquet of friendship, and make fresh treaties. M. Shāhrukh acted as he had said, M. Sulaimān did not cross, and sent a message that M. Shāhrukh should come over to his side of the river, and remove the dust

[1] Apparently he had been released and had returned to Shāhrukh.

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of doubleness (as apposed to unity). M. Shāhrukh understood his idea and turned his rein. At this time Mīrzā Shāhrukh's mother died, and all at once good counsels ceased. He fell into conceit and self-will. The condition of the army became bad. There was sport and play, and the peasantry fell into distress. M. Sulaimān went off to 'Abdullah K. Uzbeg, the ruler of Tūrān, in hopes that he might gain his ends. He had taken an army to Tāshkend, but his father Sikandar K.[1] received M. Sulaimān, and welcomed him with kindness. 'Abdullah K. on hearing this news had other thoughts and wrote that Sulaimān should be kept under surveillance until his arrival. The Mīrzā understood the matter and on a dark night took the road to Ḥīṣār. Some active men went with him, and by dint of courage he got away from that dangerous place. When 'Abdullah K. returned, he sent Qul Bābā,[2] his *vakīl* and general, to Uzbeg Sulṭān with the request that he would deliver up the Mīrzā. He observed the rights of kindness and sent off the Mīrzā to Badakhshān before Qul Bābā arrived. Sulaimān came, after failure, to Kūlāb via Qarātagīn. M. Shāhrukh came forward with submissive language and proposed to divide the country according to the former arrangement. M. Sulaimān had the dexterity (*pakhtakārī*) to refuse, and accepted *Kishm* as a fief. M. Shāhrukh, owing to the wine of conceit and a love of praise, only paid attention to the words, and did not try to read the lines of the forehead, nor did he distinguish friend from foe. In a short time the word-sellers had a daily market, and the right-thinking had to sit in a corner. Mīr 'Imād, Mīr Kalān, and Cūcak Beg took charge of the administration, and the office of Bakhshī (army payments) fell again to Yār Beg. Avarice and envy made these men foolish, and they were continually squabbling with one another. On account of the neglect of the lord of the country (or perhaps of the village-headmen) the avarice of his ministers, and the ignorance of his servants, there was great confusion in men's fiefs, and there was a brisk market for the sale[3] of villages, and the rank of folly became great. Kūlāb 444

[1] Or Iskandar. He died in 1583 (991) Vambery.

[2] His Kokal tāsh or foster-brother and governor of Herat. Vambery's Bokhara 292 and 296. Ābdullah's son Ābdu-l-mumīn put him to death.

[3] I have deviated from the text here, and adopted the reading of the

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was given anew to Qādir Qulī Koka, Qundūz to Qūrcī Beg, Tālqān to 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, Ghori to Mīr Niẓam, Kahmard to Khanjar 'Ali, Andarāb to Laṭfī Koka, Rustāq to Mast 'Alī and Baqlān to Sherbal. At such an inauspicious time 'Abdullah K. saw his opportunity and came to Badakhshān, and conquered that strong country without a battle. He always had had an eye on the Mīrzās of Badakhshān, and when he learnt that they had not gone to the Shāhinshāh, and that they were quarrelling with one another, and neglecting the administration, he had recourse to violence. He sent a message that they should make over to him Ghorī and Kahmard, and should send the Aimāqs of Turān—who for a long time had lived in that country (Badakhshān)—to him. M. Shāhrukh made no reply, nor did he become more active. An idle report had been spread that the ruler of Tūrān was dead and that Qul Bābā was preferring these requests. M. Shāhrukh remained on this account in the profound slumber of indifference. In this state of affairs, while the hearts of the Mīrzās were bad, the forts unsupplied, the soldiers distressed, friends in obscurity, and enemies in the enjoyment of success, the active foe arrived. The Mīrzās fled to the defiles. Qūrcī Beg joined the enemy, and Qundūz, which is the pillar of the country, was lost without a battle. Similarly Sherbal and some other Badakhshān officers took the road of disloyalty, while many remained with their families, and restrained their people from service. The Kūlābīāns attached themselves to Muḥammad Zamān and stood firm. Whoever spends his time in sloth and in looking after his own comfort, and defers the good treatment of men to the day of calamity, will be left alone in the world of social life, and shall not receive help. The knitting together of hearts is produced by abundant attention in the time of prosperity. Those who are infatuated with the world do not open the door of warmth of affection until they have fallen into difficulty. Till then they keep the shops of gentleness closed! When the Mīrzās had brought things to such a pass, every one to whom they applied turned away. Being helpless they abandoned

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I.O. MSS. Instead of *bāzār khūd faroshī u pāyā kharramī* of the text, and which means the "bazar of self-selling and the degree of pleasure," they have *dahfaroshī*, "the sale of villages," and *paya kharī*, "the rank of asinism."

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the defiles of Badakhshān and came to Bahārak,[1] which is a rugged place and difficult of access. They thought their old servants would be eager to help them, but most of them did not come forward. On account of the excessive ice and snow, and the turning away of old friends, they could not remain there, and came to Panjshir,[2] which is a dependency of Kabul. Their idea was that if M. Ḥakīm helped them, they would try to recover their home. Otherwise they would seek protection at the court of the Shāhinshāh. From the time that M. Sulaimān had been exalted by doing homage at the holy threshold, and had sold the desire of conquering Badakhshān for a pilgrimage to the Hijāz, he had felt ashamed, and would not turn his face to the august court. M. Shāhrukh's wish was that he might unite himself to eternal dominion, and as in the time of his prosperity he had not behaved well to the Kābulīs, he wished to go to India by the hill-route and without seeing M. Ḥakīm. M. Ḥakīm sent for M. Sulaīman, and after treating him with respect sent him to the Lamghānāt, and assigned some villages to him there. Shāh Muḥammad M., the son[3] of Shahrukh, was with M. Sulaimān. M. Shāhrukh was arrested and made over to Shādmān Hazāra. He was to keep count of him (awāra sāzad) and not let him go to India. The Mīrzā with his three sons, the twins Ḥasan and Ḥusain, and Badī-z-zamān, their mother, and some servants, in all about thirty persons, remained in those hilly defiles of the Hazārjāt with a thousand[4] inconveniences and disgusts, and thought every day would be his last. By the wonders of destiny a report arose that Ābdullah K. had been defeated, and that the Kūlābians had been successful against him. The Hazāra (Shādmān), who had had other thoughts, took the road of hope and sent off the Mīrzā towards Badakhshān. Fearing lest that savage should change his mind, he, after marching some distance, went off to a pathless place, and after fighting his way through ravines rested in Kahmard. The rural population there gathered round him, and in a short time it appeared that the

445

1 In Badakhshān. But perhaps some place outside Badakhshān is meant, e.g. the Bazārak Pass. See J. II. 399, 400.

2 Or Panjhīr, J. II. 411. It is N. of Kabul.

3 I.O. MS. 236 does not call him the son of Shāhrukh. Shāh Muḥammad is mentioned again as being in the Khaibar caravan.

4 A. F. puns on the word Hazāra, meaning both 1000 and a country.

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above report (of 'Abdullah's death) was not true, and that the Kūlābīañs were shut up in the defiles. The Mīrzā went off to attack Tālqañ.[1] Meanwhile news came that Kūlāb had been taken and that an army had been sent to drive[2] forward the Aimāqs. His companions scattered and his condition became worse than before. He could not remain where he was, nor could he turn his face to go back. He was nearly falling into the hands of the enemy. With a thousand efforts he proceeded towards Kabul (the country, not the city) and he met M. Sulaimān in Sāl Aulang.[3] M. Ḥakīm had, on the strength of the same report (of the success of the Kūlābīāns), given him leave to go to Badakhshān. He was now waiting at this station for reinforcements. They now came to recognize one another's quality somewhat, and consulted about remedying[4] matters. Suddenly some Uzbegs raised the dust of commotion. About this time the birth of a son had caused M. Shāhrukh's countenance to shine. They left it with a country woman and went off in haste. Mihr Ālī, Qādir Bardī, Jahāngīr, Ulugh Beg and others were coming close behind them.[5] At dawn the Uzbegs arrived and dispersed to plunder the baggage. As fortune would have it, M. Sulaimān's steed[6] stumbled and he was thrown. M. Shāhrūkh dismounted and tendered his horse. That too ran off. One of the companions got off his horse and gave it and mounted M. Sulaimān, and M. Shāhrukh cleverly caught the

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[1] *Batākht.* There is also the reading *nāhiyat*, "towards," but the Iqbālnāmā has *batākht*.

[2] That is, to drive the Aimāqs to Tranzoxiana. It seems that 'Abdullah claimed them as his subjects and demanded them back from the Mīrzās. We shall find later that 'Abdullah's son, 'Abdu-l-mumīn, excited Akbar's wrath by demanding the surrender of the Aimāqs from him.

[3] The Sāl Aulang of A.N. translation, p. 563, and the Saulah Aulang of Jarrett II. 400 n.l. It is N. of Kabul and between Panjhir and Ghorband.

[4] Text, "*becāra*," "helpless," but *cāragar* seems more likely, and is given in the variant and the I.O. MS. 236.

[5] *Dust u garīban mīāmadand.* They were faithful and were afterwards killed in the Khaibar. The baggage was with them and when the Uzbegs came up they proceeded to plunder this, and so the Mīrzās had time to escape (Iqbālnāma).

[6] *Takāwar*, "an ambling horse or mule." The Iqbālnāma makes it a mule.

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runaway. As they were galloping, two roads appeared, and they separated. The enemy went after M. Shāhrukh. A river was in 446
front, and the Mīrzā crossed it and then broke down the bridge. He now breathed safely. His young son Ḥasan got separated during this hurry-scurry (*ravārav*) and thus Time inflicted a new wound. Just then the news came that M. Sūlaimān was in Alsai[1] and Najrāo. The Mīrzā joyfully went there and paid his respects. In this time of happiness, Siyūndak K. came from M. Ḥakīm and conveyed a message of friendship. As they were aware of his evil disposition, this was a new grief to them. They did not know that he had been rebuked by the sublime court for his conduct, and that he was sorry for what he had done. They did not believe his friendly message, and sent some persons along with the messenger in order to find out what was the upshot of the affair, and ascertain if the promises were valid. At this time a courier of Kuar Mān Singh made them hopeful of royal favours. M. Sulaimān, who was ashamed to go to court, and whose hopes were fixed on M. Ḥakīm, stayed where he was. M. Shahrūkh proceeded to the court. He left the mother of the twins and one son and some old followers (*bāb-urīān*) near Cārīkārān to search for the child who had been lost. He himself went off by the Dāman-i-Koh to Daka. A large caravan was waiting there and was in a state of alarm on account of the brigands. He chose their companionship. In the caravan were his aunt Khānzāda Khānim and Shāh Muhammad M. (his son). M. Ḥakīm had given them leave to go to India. The Mīrzā (Shāhrukh) by the connivance of Shāṭī Afghan proceeded by that difficult pass. In every bit they traversed, the narrow parts were

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[1] The text has در ایسا و بحرا dar Īsā u baḥrā. There are variants and I think the true reading is در السای و نجرا او dar Alsāī u Najrao. There are two Tumāns or districts in the N. and E. of Kabul, J. II. 411, and their names nearly agree with the reading in I.O. MS. 236 which has در السا و نحرا dar *Alsā u Naḥrā*. In Badayūni, Lowe 355, we have Asālū or Asā. We are told by A. F. that M. Sulaimān got lands in the Lamghānāt from his son-in-law M. Ḥakīm, and this agrees with the positions of Alsāī and Najrao. See also J. II 407 and n.l. and 411. Niẓāmi-u-d-dīn mentions in the T.A.M.S. copy penes me, at the beginning of the 31st year, that M. Ḥākīm assigned Istālif to M. Sulaimān. But this must have been when he first came.

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closed with stones by the wicked people of the rāvine. In the more difficult places the Tārīkīāns (the Raushānīs) blocked the path. Shāṭī out of craft sent Qanghar Bāī, Jahāngīr, Khanjar Āli, Yār Beg and Abdāl, each one of whom was the Rustum of the age, to that evil crew on pretence of giving a message, and had them treacherously slain. His idea was that night would throw its dark shadow, and then a difficult business would become easy. When a watch of day remained, something of the state of things became known, and they turned back from Āli Masjid. The Tārīkīān were emboldened and came out to fight. The consternation of the traders affected the soldiers and they lost courage. Life and property were plundered. M. Shāhrukh fought bravely. He fell from his horse, but by his efforts and the help of Khadang Beg he mounted again and once more performed masterpieces of bravery. His son Badī'u-zamān [1] fell from his horse, but by the help of Jān 'Āli got to the station. By dint of fighting he (Shāhrukh) got out of the ravine, and at the end of the night rested in Daka. In the morning he considered what he should do, and saw no protection except in the hills of
447 Badakhshān. At this time he learnt that M. Sulaimān was in the neighbourhood. He got some comfort by seeing him, but was grieved by the death of his newly-born son. The Aimāqs had loyally concealed him and cherished him. On the first occasion, when they (Shāhrukh and Sulaimān) were staying together in the Langhānāt he had sent for him, and had left him in the kind guardianship of M. Sulaimān. "A flower passed away from life, without fruiting." [2] M. Ḥakīm had sent M. Sulaimān to the Lamghānāt according to the former arrangement. At this time an army of M. Ḥakīm's arrived, and represented that an order had come from the Shāhinshāh's court to the effect that M. Shāhrukh should be escorted in a suitable manner, and that it had been nominated for this service. Though he was somewhat rejoiced at this good news, yet he did not believe in it much until they turned back after having traversed the Khaibar, and the officers, who were in the neighbourhood of the

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[1] Slain by his younger brothers in the 18th year of Jahangīr's reign, 1623. B. 313, Tūzuk 360 and Iqbalnāma 203-04.

[2] The MSS. and the Lucknow ed. have *bar nachīda*, "without gathering fruit."

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Indus, came forward with all respect. Kuar Mān Singh[1] regarded his coming as a great honour, and showed him fitting hospitality. From there he went forward with a tranquil mind and a glad heart. The news of the safety of the son who had been separated from him, also rejoiced him. He had fallen into the hands of an Uzbeg during the scrimmage (*dūa dū*) and on the occasion of the hurry-scurry (*ravārav*) the Uzbeg's eyes had fallen upon the baggage. He had left the child and gone hastily after the baggage. A slave was on the watch, and he took up the child and brought it to Sāl Aulang, and made it over to the mother whose heart had long been consumed with sorrow. When M. Shāhrukh crossed the Indus this good news was a happy presage to him. The fief-holders everywhere gave him a warm welcome, and when he came to Lahore, Rajah Bhagwant Dās held a great feast. He also accompanied[2] him on his journey. Prince Daniel was sent to receive him one stage from Fatḥpūr, and he was accompanied by many grandees. On 23 Dai,[3] 3 January 1585, he was exalted by doing homage, and there was a daily market of hospitality. As the world's lord reads the roll of the heart from the lines on the forehead, he perceived the characters of nobleness in the Mīrzā, and taking him by the hand of kindness, he showed him favour. The star of his fortune which had sunk rose again. Everyone of the faithful exiles, who had quaffed the bitter cup of adversity, gathered the bliss of prosperity.

If a profound glance[4] be given to all the Badakhshis it will appear that the pearl of pure intelligence has been removed from that

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1 Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 350 and T.A. beginning of 30th year (not translated in Elliot).

2 Badayūnī, Lowe 352.

3 *Niẓāmu-d-dīn* puts the arrival of Shāhrukh at Fatḥpūr into the 30th year, 993 A.H. See Elliot V. 447. Both he and Badayūnī state that Mān Singh's letter announcing the arrival of Shāhrukh at the Indus arrived on 1 Ẕī-l-q'ada 992-25 October 1584. If this date is correct, Shāhrukh must have travelled very slowly from the Indus, or he must have been some time at Fatḥpur before he was presented.

4 These reflections are obscurely expressed and there is a word—*zamāne*—of which I do not see the force. The I.O. MSS. have *zamāna*, and it may be that this is the right reading and that it is in *iẓāfat* with Badakhshān and that the meaning is "That Badakhshī of the Age." Apparently what A. F. means is that if we look at the Badakhshīs, then Shāhrukh's removal from them was like removing a rare pearl from a

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troubled land of indiscretion, and if a comparison be made with the far-sighted ones of the sublime court it will appear that simplicity has been transferred to the school of the acquisition of wisdom. Hail to the glorious fortune which at the time exerts itself in testing piety and in the knowledge of mankind! The raw material of the simple-minded here acquires a refined soul, and their countenances
448 are brightened by varied knowledge. The Mīrzā by the action of Fortune, which is the awakener of the slumbrous but well-intentioned, awoke from sleep and became possessed of auspiciousness, for by this lucky circumstance he obtained exaltation.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of M'aṣūm K. Kābuli. It has been related what happened to the army in Bhātī on account of selfishness and envy. Shahbāz K. spoke in a lofty manner and decided to go to court, and the Bihar officers, with the exception of Muḥibb Ālī K., abode in their estates. From prudential[1] motives 'Isā did not leave his home, but M'aṣūm, at his instigation, came to Sherpūr[2] and some rebels took possession of the country up to Māldah, twelve *kos* from Tānda. Though Wazīr K. had not the courage to rely upon the daily-increasing fortune and to resolve upon fighting, yet he stood firm and guarded that great city and many other places. The *sazāwals* by right behaviour and bitter speeches turned back Shahbāz K. and made the fief-holders of Bihar accompany him and act in unison. An order was issued to Shahbāz K. to the effect that if he wanted more troops, Rajah Todar Mal, Maṭṭālib K., S. Jamāl Bakhtiyār and many other able and zealous servants would be sent to him. He replied that he had plenty of troops and that his whole soul was set upon accomplishing the task. On 18 Dai, 28 December 1584, he entered Bengal and applied him-

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place where it was not appreciated, and if we look to the society into which he entered at Fatḥpūr, then it was the case of an honest simpleton coming into intellectual society. Jahāngir's account of Shāhrukh, Price 35, may be compared with the remarks of A. F. There is a good account of Sulaimān and Shāhrukh's wanderings in Noer's Akbar, translation II, pp. 121-29.

[1] See Elliot VI. 77.

[2] I think this is Sherpūr Feringhī in Bikrāmpūr, the Serrepore of Fitch. See B.J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 230 note, and Taylor's Topography of Dacca 108. Taylor says that Serripūr was destroyed by the Kirtīnāsa. Ap-

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self to the conquest of Bhātī. On the banks of the Jamuna [1] he learnt that M'aṣūm K. had halted in Sherpūr,[2] and that he did not imagine that the imperialists would cross the river. Bewilderment [3] seized the brave men among the rebels and they fled without fighting. Shahbāz K. set himself to cross and to advance. The officers had no heart for this, but Rām Dās and Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah by skill and energy left no room for pretexts and sloth. Willing or unwilling, they had to cross the great river. When they came near the rebel, he fled in distress. Some prisoners were made and much booty obtained. Success unveiled her countenance. As it was not proper to leave the country unprotected and that all should follow the fugitives, and as most officers were not single-hearted, Shāhbāz K. wished to leava Ṣādiq K. and some others midway, and to advance in person with the rest of the troops. Men did not agree to this. At last, Shahbāz, Shāh Qūlī K., Maḥram and others stayed there, and Sāīd K., Wazir K., Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb Ālī K., Saiyid 'Ābdullah K. and others sent off on 8 Bahman. Rām Dās and Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah accompanied [4] them. They made such a march that when the enemy heard of their approach they evacuated the country, and the territory which had been lost was again taken possession of. Some booty was obtained and then the officers returned to Sherpūr.[5] By celestial aid the dust of dissension and the tumult of **449** rebellion were dispersed, and victory declared itself. The enemy was discomfited.

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parently it is the Feringhībazar of Rennel. E. Idārkpur.

[1] This is apparently the Ganges and not the Janai, or what is now known as the Brahmaputra. See I.G. VII. 134, old ed. The quotation from the Arāīsh-i Maḥfil, Elliot VI. 78n., is a paraphrase of a passage in the Ain.

[2] Apparently Sherpūr Feringhi or Feringhībazar.

[3] It appears from the I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. that this sentence is misplaced here. It should come in immediately after the words "the conquest of Bhātī." This seems to make better sense. The rebels fled on Shahbāz's approach and M'aṣūm was astonished, not thinking that Shahbāz would cross the river. It appears also from Elliot VI. 77 that the sentence in question occurs before the sentence which mentioned the Jamūna.

[4] The I.O. MSS. have *bāmīnī*, "in order to inspect," and the Iqbālnāmā has *bāmīnī u sāzawālī*.

[5] It is Sherpūr Murca in I.O. MSS. and also in Elliot VI. 77.

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One of the occurrences was the defeat of Dastam Qāqshāl.[1] He was one of the ringleaders among the rebels. From men's want of courage and the concourse of base people he became powerful. At the time when the victorious army collected in Sherpūr,[2] M'aṣūm hurried off towards Fatḥābād[3] in the direction of Orissa. That vain-imagining[4] one remained in this neighbourhood (that of Sherpur). His idea was that in this way the imperialists would be split up into two forces, and that he might thus be successful. Before news came about M'aṣūm, Dastam increased his commotion at a distance of twelve kos from the imperial camp. Shāh Qūlī K. Maḥram, Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopāl Dās, Mīrzāda 'Alī K., Khwāja Baqār[5] and other brave men went off to give him battle. Khwāja Muqīm[6] who had come there as a wāq'a-navīs (intelligencer or recorder) joined them as an[7] Āmīn. The news of coming of the battle-lovers robbed the enemy of firmness, and the officers pursued him to Shāhzādpūr[8] and then returned.

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[1] His death is mentioned later. A.N. III. 462.

[2] Apparently this is Sherpūr Ferīnghī, which seems to add a fourth to the Sherpūrs mentioned in J.A.S.B. for 1874, p. 283 note. Perhaps, however, it is Sherpur Murca.

[3] Fatḥābād corresponds to Farīdpūr and part of Jessore etc. Fatiabas is marked on De Barros' map, J.A.S.B. for 1872, p. 108, as a town in the direction of Orissa from Dacca.

[4] The Bib. Ind. makes a new clause after *shitāft* as if the vain-imagining one were Dastam, and I have translated the passage accordingly. But I am inclined to think that this is wrong. The vain-imagining one is probably M'aṣūm who went to Fatḥābād and remained there, thinking that this would lead to a division of the imperial forces (as indeed it did). Apparently Dastam advanced to within 12 kos of the imperial camp, in ignorance of M'aṣūm's flight. Presumably he came from the Ghoraghāt side where the Qāqshāls had their homes.

[5] The Iqbālnāma has Bāqar Anṣārī.

[6] I do not think this can be the father of Niẓāmu-d-dīn. The M'aaṣīr Raḥīmī MS. J.A.S.B. mentions a Khwāja Muqīm who was alive in 1024 or 1025, 1615 A.D. This could hardly be the man who was in service at the time of Bābur's death in 1530. Moreover the Iqbālnāma says he is now called Wazīr K. and has a manṣab of Rs. 2,000.

[7] The text has "with thirty men", but the variant *bamīnī* as an Amīn or in order to inspect, is supported by the I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnama and must, I think, be right.

[8] The pargana meant is probably that in Sarkār Jinnatābād J. II. 121. There is also one in Bāqirganj, id.

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One of the occurrences was that the victorious troops were divided into two bodies. Inasmuch as evil thoughts and selfish views turn wisdom into foolishness, and fill the ear of the understanding with the quicksilver of insouciance, the holy counsels (of Akbar) were of no avail. Shāhbāz K. was made furious by the evil thoughts of his companions, and lost moderation. Ṣādiq K. got disgusted with the work and gave vent to his feelings by his language. Though the officers had life-sacrificing courage, they did not possess along with it practical wisdom, so that they might carry on their king and master's work and lay aside selfish views, and regulate the feast of friendship. As they could not carry out their own designs, they indulged in wrath and destructive desires. They left the highroad of justice on one side and went on a pathless course. Though they used to bring the word "loyalty" on their lips, how shall[1] I write that they had no share of honesty? Apparently they had taken the usual share (of this quality) in this rose-garden of joy!

In the books of instruction composed by those who have chaunted the lay of loyalty, two classes are reckoned. First, there are those who choose singleheartedness (or Unity) when combined with their own advantage, and in this way raise higher the rank of their self-will. But though this class is separated somewhat from traffickers, yet the discerning do not give the name of singleheartedness to such slaves of selfishness, and do not attach value to their adhesion. The second class is that of the noble truth-seekers who keep their altruistic hearts filled with the light of love, and are pre-eminent among the chosen ones of the Creator. More wonderful still, the capital of 450
success comes in heaps to this class, as fodder for cattle comes[2] to the husbandman! Enough of many words and little substance! Those men (the officers) seized upon harsh language and severity at a time when gentleness was befitting.

134, but that seems too far east and south.

[1] The meaning is that though the officers had no right to be continually talking about loyalty, they were not altogether dishonest. They had apparently the ordinary share of it. The "rose-garden of joy" seems to mean Akbar's court, and A. F. says these men had as much loyalty as most of the courtiers had.

[2] I suppose this means that it comes spontaneously without effort. Artificial grasses are not, or at least were not, known in India.

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At this time the commotion of M'aṣūm K. was discussed, and it was resolved that as the enemy was in two places, so the victorious soldiers should be divided into two armies, and address themselves to service. On 20 Bahman, about 1 March 1585, Wazīr K. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ṣādiq K., Muḥibb 'Alī K., Rajah Gopāl Dās, Kīcak [1] Khwājah and others took upon themselves the task of defeating M'aṣūm K., and so separated. S'aīd K., Shahbāz K. Bahādur K., Saiyid 'Abdullah K., Mīrzāda 'Alī K. Bābūī Manklī, and Abā Bikr, and Ormaz the brothers of Tarson K., Timar Badakhshī, Shāh Qāsim and others remained where they were, and occupied themselves in putting down the evildoers in that quarter. The private disputes which occurred every day were at an end, and each body went off to do service.

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Kashmīr sent his son to court. When Yūsuf K. saw himself cherished and exalted at court, he sent his eldest son Y'aqūb thither with the rarities of the country in order that he might gather bliss in the service of H.M., and also might be a reminder of himself in the august assemblage. On 29 Bahman, 9 February 1585, he arrived and performed the *kornish*, and became the [2] subject of favours.

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[1] Perhaps this is the Khwājah Kasak or Kīsāk whom Gulbadan Begam seems to refer to as a writer. Mem. translation. O.T.F. 163 and note.

[2] Ḥaidar Malik says, I.O. MS. 510, p. 185a, that Akbar was not pleased with Yūsuf for sending Y'aqūb. He said Yūsuf had not come himself, and had at first sent a boy (Ḥaidar) who was not fit for service, and then Y'aqūb who was not free of madness and wickedness. It was such language as this which led Y'aqūb to fly to Kashmīr after having been about two years in Akbar's court at Fatḥpūr.

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CHAPTER LXXX.

Marriage of Prince Sulṭān Selīm.

Those who are awakened of heart and profoundly intelligent, never neglect five points, but regard them as the great methods of doing the will of God. The first is to regard man's corporeal frame as a Divine building and so to watch over it. They reform the wicked by severe language, and severe action, and by exiling and imprisoning them. Secondly, they guard the camp of wisdom from the strong gale of self-indulgence, and do not drop from their hands the proper measuring rod for the edification of their outer and inner nature. Thirdly, they control their desires—with which the issues of things in matters spiritual and temporal are bound up—and keep them in their proper place. Fourthly, they subject lust and wrath to wisdom, and do not prey upon men's honour. They treat high and low with respect, and so keep the garden of dominion verdant. Fifthly, in arranging marriages they are especially careful about race on both sides,[1] so that there may be good offspring. The effect of putting (good) seed into a saline soil illustrates the value of this precaution. God be praised. The sovereign of our **451** time has succeeded in every thing and has raised aloft the standard of achievement, especially in the matter of marriages! If, as in the case of those who have chosen celibacy, there be no marriages, then the great fountain-head of humanity shall become choked, and the stream of Divine benevolence shall sink into the sand. And if the jewel of equality be obscured, the limpid waters of life will soon become brackish. Hence it occurred to the holy heart that he ought to bring a jewel of chastity into the grasp of that star of the mansion of sovereignty—Prince Sulṭān Selīm—so that by this present there might be a fresh illumination of the hall of fortune.

[1] The original contains the metaphor of a doubt thread, the meaning being that both bride and groom should be superior. The disquisition may be compared with the chapter on marriages in the Ain. B. 277.

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At this time it was represented to H.M. that Rajah Bhagwān Dās Kacwāha, who held high office, and who had lofty lineage and abilities, had a daughter whose purity adorned her high extraction, and was endowed with beauty and graces; and that it was the wish of her family that she should be united to the prince. H.M. accepted their wish, and made a number of persons joyful. Experienced persons were appointed to make the arrangements, and in a short time the private and public hall (*daulatkhāna*) was decorated. There were glorious feasts and assemblies, and there was a daily market of gifts. There were marriage presents and scattering of largesse according to the usages of the great. On 5 Isfandārmaẕ (about 16 Febuary 1584) H.M. and the principal men of the kingdom visited the Rajah's abode, and the marriage took place. On the same day the pure form was conveyed to the chamber of fortune, and the bridal night of joy was celebrated.

Verse.

Hail to State and Church, for this glorious wedding
Has taken place and given form to realm and religion.
In dominion's palace they have, for the light of the Shāh's eyes (Selīm),
Decked a bridal alcove like beauteous eyelashes.

My spiritually and physically elder brother S. Abū Faiẓ Faiẓī produced an ode, each line of which gave the date of this great event.

Verse.[1]

Hail to the pearl-scattering marriage of Sulṭan Selīm
Which gives glory to the year of hope,
By the fostering care of the sun [2] of Aquarius
There has come a conjunction of the moon [3] and Venus.

---

[1] Each of the four lines yields by *abjad* the date 9 9 3.

[2] The sun enters Aquarius in February.

[3] The moon is masculine with the Orientals. Badayūnī's account of the marriage, borrowed from Niẓāmu-ddīn, may be referred to; Lowe 352. The marriage was really "pearl scattering" according to Niẓāmu-ddīn, for the bride's father Bhagwān Dās scattered pearls and other jewels.

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CHAPTER LXXXI.

The disgrace of Moẓaffar Gujarātī for the third time. 452

At this season, when the Age was in the flash of joy, and mortals were embracing delight, happy-footed couriers came from the province of Gujarat and conveyed the tidings of fresh victories. They raised a high tent for thanksgivings to God, and the tongue of the ruler[1] of the world uttered marriage-blessings. A wise man, who makes the increase of glory the adornment of supplication to God, and whose prudence increases from time to time in this season of the slipping of the foot of discretion, will assuredly be assisted by the celestial superintendents of affairs. The fortune of the Shāhinshāh tells of this, and this noble volume rehearses somewhat of it.

It has been mentioned that base and wicked men made the worthless Moẓaffar an instrument of turbulence, and now, in spite of abundance of men and money, he, time after time, failed and was struck with shame. It was now time that the hare-brained one should awake from his careless slumbers, but as selfishness deprived him of vision, and he considered what was his loss to be his gain, and as fortune had given him some worldly goods and had raised him up in order that he might become intoxicated and fall into the pit of disgrace, he foolishly imagined that these things were the materials of greatness. Many wished-for things come together also in the houses of tradesmen, but they are not the materials of power and grandeur. That is a ray from the Divine halo, and it comes not into the hands by striving.

Verse.

In the garden, the gourd lifts its head beside the cypress.
Such exaltation is but brief.
Between the cypress and the gourd the heavens know
Which head is worthy of sublimity.

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[1] I read with the I.O. MS. 236 *karkardār* instead of the *karkard* of text.

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Many laudable qualities must unite in a son of man before he be fit for the diadem of ruler and be a suitable throne-occupant. I with my stammering tongue cannot enumerate them. But something may be said, and a sketch may be made. 1st, He must have sublime intelligence in order that he may understand the degrees of noble deeds, and may bring forth the Truth. 2nd, At the time of administering justice he must make no difference between relatives and strangers, between friends and foes, so that the oppressed who have neither force nor gold, may obtain redress, and that evildoers and oppressors may sit in the byelane of failure. 3rd, He must have God-given courage in order that the might of tyrants may not withhold him from doing justice, and that he may not be agitated in time of commotion. 4th, Laboriousness. In ruling the world he must not separate the night from the day, and not prefer ease to toil. 5th, Magnanimity. Silver and gold must have no weight in his heart's antechamber, and he must by liberality and largesse subdue to himself a mercenary world. 6th, A wide tolerance, so that he endure the disagreeables of fortune with an open brow, and he not led by failure into the narrownesses of grief. 7th, Differences in religion must not withhold him from his duty of watching, and all classes of men must have repose, so
453 that the shadow of God may confer glory. 8th, Increasing Love. He must be grieved by men's distresses, and endeavour by kindness to remove them, so that the refractory and crooked in their ways may bind the burden of obedience upon their shoulders, and that the dust of doubleness may be swept from the pleasant hall of his dominions. 9th, He must bring choice deliberation to bear upon his work and do well what is proper for the time, so that the thornbrake of evil may be rooted out, and the troubled house of the world have repose. 10th, Little passion. He must cast away unfitting desires, and not depart from wisdom, so that wrath may not prevail, and daily-increasing Fortune may show her countenance. 11th, He must take opinions, and not rely on his own knowledge and perception. He must inquire of the able. He must not disclose his secrets to every one, and let him not incur[1] the reprobation of the acute and right thinking, so that loss of Fortune may not accrue to him, but happiness be always

[1] The meaning of this clause is not clear.

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conspicuous. 12th, Hatred of sequacity (*taqlīd*). Let the love of inquiry always precede his actions, and the cult of proof be his method, so that he may not be moved from his course by perceiving the view of a multitude, and may not by altercation be made impatient of research.

In fine, as Moẓaffar had no part or lot in these qualities, and abundance of desires had made him silly, he did not turn his rein, though his brainless head had twice struck against the stone of ruin, but increased in turbulence. He opened out the collections of treasure, and made a great show. Fly-like slaves of gold gathered round him and he went to the town of Gondal [1] fifteen *kos* from Jūnagarh and stirred up strife. He made friendship with Amīn K.[2] Ghorī and the Jām. The landowners took money on pretences, and were always meditating some other purpose. That wicked man (Moẓaffar) had seated himself in the ambush of opportunity. When the victorious troops returned, and the receipts [3] of the fief-holders became less on account of the disturbances, and there was some disorganization, the turbulent fellow saw that his time had come and stirred up the dust of dissension. The Khān-khānān left Qulīj K. along with some able servants in charge of Aḥmadābād, and appointed two armies, each to go in a different direction. Medinī Rai, Beg Muḥammad Toqbāī, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Kāmrān Beg, Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Khwājam Bardi, and others were left in the village of Hadāla [4] seven *kos* from Dandūqa-Mīyān [5] Bahādur; Maḥmūd Sabzawārī, S. Muḥammad Haravī, Mīr Muḥibb Ullah, Mīr Sharafu-d-dīn, Bunyād Beg, Bhūpati Rai, were left in Parāntī,[6] eight *kos* from the city; and Saiyid Qāsim and the Saiyids of Bārha were left in Pattan. He himself set off on 12 Āẕar, 22 November,

[1] Gondal, capital of the Gondal State and N.-E. Jūnāgarh.

[2] Son of Tātār K. and consequently grandson of Sulṭān 'Alāū-d-dīn (M. Sikandarī). The Jām is apparently Satarsāl of the family of the Rajah of Jhalāwār. Elliot V. 538. But it seems that a Jhalāwār Rajah was driven out and migrated to Kac and founded Nawānagar. See J. II. 250.

[3] The M. Aḥmadī says that little could be obtained from the fiefs, and consequently the sepoys did not get paid.

[4] 20 m. N.E. Dandūqa. Elliot V. 439.

[5] Corrected in errata from Biyān.

[6] Text Berāhi (!). Parāntī is 30 m. N. Aḥmadābād (Elliot). The Parrantaje of Bayley's map.

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1584, in company with Naurang K., Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and other brave men to chastise Moẓaffar. He was in Morbī, and was waiting for the landholders (lit. was keeping his eye on the road 454
of the zamindārs). He was sending evil men in every direction to collect funds, and he caused Rādhanpūr [1] to be plundered.

At this time Moẓaffar became distracted by the news of the approach of the imperial army. He went off to Kharārī [2] (?) and Rājūt [3] Kot, which is a large city in Kāthīwār. The Khān-khānān left his camp behind him and went on rapidly. From Bīramgāon [4] to Kharārī there was no cultivation for sixty *kos*, and the warriors had to carry their provisions with them. Moẓaffar was unable to make a stand anywhere, and went off to the mountains of Barda.[5] These are high mountains near the ocean. They are thirty *kos* long and ten broad, are well-watered, and produce abundance of wild fruits. Dwārka [6] lies twenty *kos* to the north of them. The imperialists established themselves in that country. On perceiving this, the landholders came forward in a supplicating manner. They represented that the ill-fated one had come there of his own accord, that they were not in league with him, and that they were loyal. Amīn K. Ghorī agreed that he would send his own son to serve. Mīr Abū Turāb went and brought the son, and the nursling of his (Amīn Ghori's) wishes was fostered. The agents of the Jām represented that Moẓaffar was behaving presumptuously forty *kos* away, and that if some active men were appointed, he would assuredly

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[1] Capital of Rādhanpūr State near the Rann and W. Pattan.

[2] Perhaps the Kharaghora of Bayley's map, west of Veerumgāon, i.e. Bīramgāon. More probably however it is the Garidharī of J. II. 258 as there is the variant there of Kararī Dharārī. It is the Gariadhar of Bayley's map, apparently, and is in South Kāthīwār, in the district of Halaria. I. G. XIII. 94.

[3] Rājkot, capital of the State of that name.

[4] Paramgāon in Elliot 438, but it is Bīramgāon in Bayley and the Veerumgāon of his map. It lies W.N.W. Aḥmadābād and not east as stated in Elliot. See also J. II. 242.

[5] Text Barra. See J. II. 248 and note 3. They are near Porbandar and 12—18 m. from the coast. The highest point of the cluster is Venu, 1730 ft. (I. G. VI. 431), but in account of Nawānagar *id.* XVIII, 419, Mount Venu is said to be 2057 feet above the sea!

[6] J. II. 248. It is really W. N. W. of the Bardā hills.

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be captured. The Khān-khānān set out rapidly in pursuit of him, but no trace of him could be found. It was stated that he had gone from that quarter to the hill-country of Bardā. The Khān-khānān divided the army into four[1] bands. One was put under Naurang K., another under Niẓāmu-d dīn Aḥmad, another was under Daulat K. Lodī. Each band entered a corner of the country. The Rājputs there fought stubbornly and played away their lives. That fertile country was plundered, and abundance of booty was obtained. Though no trace could be found of the wretch, yet the fraud[2] and tricks of the Jām were discovered. It appeared that Moẓaffar had gone to the Jām's country, had left his son with him, and gone off towards Aḥmadābad. The Khān-khānān paid no regard to this move, and addressed himself to the chastisement of the Jām. He too, thinking that the imperial army would be confused on hearing of the departure of Moẓaffar, collected daring men and advanced. After proceeding four *kos* he awoke from the heavy slumber of self-conceit, and came forward with protestations and fawnings. By the intervention of Rai Durgā and Kalyān Rai his wishes were accepted. He sent his son Jaisā, the elephant Sherza, and other presents, and entered into the shelter of good service. The Khān-khānān returned from within ten kos of Nawānagar,[3] which was his (the Jām's) residence, and hastened to Aḥmadā- **455**
bād. There were rejoicings in Morbī on account of the report of the victory of the imperialists and the flight of the rebel. The latter by the help of the collusion of the landholders came to Aḥmadabād, and a number of wicked mercenaries were collected. The troops which were in Hadāla[4] united with those in Parānti.[5] The other fief-holders also prepared for war. The presumptuous one, from apprehension[6] that the forces would unite and make

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[1] Only three columns are named. Perhaps the 4th was that commanded by the Khān-khānan in person.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 439.

[3] M. Kāthiawār, I. G. XVIII. 421.

[4] Elliot, V. 439.

Parantī appears to be the Parāntīj of the I.G. XIX. 408. It is 35 miles N.N.E. of Aḥmadābād.

[6] The word is andesha, fear or apprehension, but it appears to me now more probable that the word is used here to mean expectation. It is used in this sense at p. 462, line 12. Moẓaffar thought that the troops at Parāntī and Hadāla would join

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his position difficult, came near Parāntī. The imperial servants drew up their forces. Madan Cohān, Rām Cand, Udai Singh, Saiyid Lād, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid Shah 'Alī, Bhupat Deccanī, Gīsū Dās Rāthor, Bāgha Rāthor, and others of the vanguard performed masterpieces of valour. Khwajam Bardī and other brave men of the centre joined in the fighting. Moẓaffar fled, and though many of the victorious troops were wounded, yet the leaders of the enemy, such as Qurbān 'Alī Bihāragī, S. 'Abdullah, Ṣāliḥ Mīānā, Tamtam Ḥusain, and Gadā Beg, were killed. By the daily increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh a great victory[1] was gained. Some of the rebels were killed, and some sent into obscurity, the commotion subsided, and the world's lord on receiving the joyful news increased his devotion and his justice, and added another good omen[2] to the glory of the marriage (Selīm's).

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him, and so he marched in that direction. Morbī, which is mentioned at p. 455 of text as the scene of rejoicings, is the Morvī of the I.G. XVIII. 4, and is the capital of a state of that name in Kāthīāwār.

[1] Cf. Elliot V. 439.

[2] The victories occurred before the marriage, but the news apparently arrived after that had taken place.

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CHAPTER LXXXII.

BEGINNING OF THE 30TH YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH, VIZ. THE YEAR SHAHRIYŪR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this time of joy when the nuptial banquet was full of delights, the variegated spring illuminated the countenance of the age. The garden of dominion acquired new freshness.

Verse.

'Tis the glorious feast of Farwardīn,
The market-day of the rose and the *nasrīn* (wild-rose).
What lacks the world for the nuptials?
The soul is light and the dower is heavy.

After the lapse of six hours and fifty-seven minutes the light-increaser of the nine heavens cast his rays on the mansion of Aries on the night of Thursday, 19 Rabī'-al-awwal 993, 10 or 11 March 1585. Piety was made brilliant by the embroidery of joy, and there was a new palace of liberality. At the beginning of this august feast the officers of Berār were exalted by doing homage, and obtained princely favours. Berār is one of the southern countries. **456** An account of it has been given in the final volume (the Āīn). It was in the possession of Martaẓā Naẓāmu-l-Mulk. From lust[1] and bad companionship he departed from his proper work, and applied himself to the holy service of the spirits. This is a fearful task, and one hardly to be executed by the emancipated ones of purity under the guidance of those who have made the journey. How then can it be accomplished by those whose feet are caught in the skirts of wickedness? In a short time the shining jewel of wisdom fell into the dark ravine of madness, and realm and religion were endamaged. He became disgusted with external things and confined himself to

[1] A. F. here repeats what he had said at p. 407.

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communications by writing. Mercenary men took advantage of him and made him an ensample of madness. Ṣalābat K. Carkas (Circassian) obtained sway over his insane disposition, and ruled the kingdom. He set about ruining the fief-holders of Berār. Mīr Martaẓa[1] Sabzawārī, who was the head of that body of men, together with Khudāwand[2] K. Mashhadī, Jamshed K. Shīrāzī, Canda K. Deccanī, Sher K. Nohānī and others, collected troops and hastened to Aḥmadnagar. He (Ṣalābat), under the leadership of Niẓāmu-l-Mulk's son, did battle with them. Many fell on both sides, but at last the Berārīāns were defeated, and Jamshed K. was made prisoner. They lost much property, and had no more the power to remain in the country and so turned the face of entreaty to this eternal dominion (Akbar's). The officers of the borders kept them back and represented the case to the august court. An order was issued to the effect that "our court is open to mankind, whoever is helpless and takes refuge there will obtain his desires." At this auspicious time they arrived, and brightened the blackness of their fate. They received various favours, and obtained high office and fertile *jagīrs*. Every day there was a fresh feast, and the records of the Age were filled with eulogy. One of the great officers begged that the daily[3] increasing fortune would deign to adorn the feast. The sovereign, the granter of desires,—who is the joy-giver of the spiritual spring,—filled the place with light by his advent.

Verse.

The Shāh sits on the throne and indulges in pleasantry,
His heart seeks wisdom, and listens to cleverness.

On the day of Farwardīn (19th Farwardīn) the world's lord celebrated the feast of the sun's exaltation (*sharf*), and implored blessings from the incomparable God.

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[1] B. 449.

[2] He afterwards married A.F.'s sister. See Badayūnī, Lowe 384.

B. 449. See also Darbārī Akbarī 721. Cf. also Elliott V. 441 and 448 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 354.

[3] A nobleman had the charge of each day's feast, and the meaning here seems to be that he begged Akbar to be present.

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Verse.

May his name abide for ever.
May his glory be always like Jupiter (?).
From him I got a good name in the world.
May there be a good fulfilment to him from the world.

During this great festival good servants were exalted by the increase of their rank. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. obtained the government of Mālwa. Rajah Bhagwant Dās was made a Panjhazārī 457
(5000), Rajah Todar Mal a Cārhazārī (4000), Zain K. Koka and Mīr Yūsuf K. 2500, 'Abdul Maṭṭālib K. 1500, Rajah Askaran 1000, Ḥakīm Abu l-fatḥ 800, S. Farīd 700, Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn 600, Burhān-al-mulk 500. The writer of the noble volume was, without his having given any proof of service, exalted to the rank of a Hazārī (1000). I hope that good service will show itself and vindicate the discernment of the world's lord! All the commanders were distinguished by great favours. Also at this time Amīr Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī was made Āmīn-al-Mulk, and an order was issued that Rajah Todar Mal should conduct the financial and administrative officers of the empire according to the Mīr's counsels, and that he (the Mīr) should bring to a conclusion the old transactions which had not been examined since the days of Moẓaffar K. He was to report to H.M. what occurred to his far-reaching intellect. The Mīr addressed himself to this important duty with an open mind, and in order to facilitate his proceedings, he submitted certain propositions (*faṣle*), and made the exquisite replies thereto his guide. For the sake of information I have given them textually.

Firstly.—The accountants have not rendered clear statements, and have not observed the sacred regulations. They have based this business—which rests upon inquiry and investigation—on conjecture and approximations. In the year when the whole empire became crown-land (*khālṣa*), the officers, on account of excessive work, could not go to the bottom[1] of the business and wrote down large sums as

[1] Text *jazū* a part. The MSS. are not clear, but none of them seems to have *jazū*. I think that the word is probably *jarr* in the sense of "bottom, foundation." Possibly the word is baḥr, for this word, which means ocean, is used in a phrase for "getting at the bottom of things." However jazū or jaz is right and means that they could not go into details.

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arrears. They decided the matter upon the fifth [1] or sixth share of the produce. The cunning got the joy of their hearts, while the honest fell into soul-exhausting trouble. Those who had gone a little astray were kept back from paying by the enormity of the demand. If accounting were done according to knowledge, the former inconveniences would cease. *Secondly.*—It was a regulation that the collectors of revenue should give receipts (*yāfta*) to the ryots and that they should make a list, and that the clerks should base their accounts thereon. Now, that arrangement (*serishta*) has been given up (lit. has gone from the hand), and whatever the khālṣa-collectors write in the names of the cultivators, and which they make the cloak of their embezzlements, is accepted. It is right that in future the two documents [2] above named should be used *Thirdly.*—The accounts are made up according to a perfect year (*sāl* [3]*-i-kāmal*) or according to *krorbandī* [4] papers which have been written by hasty and inconsi-

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[1] The words "fifth and sixth share", *panjam u shashm bakhsh*, occur in the Āīn in the chapter on the currency of the means of subsistence (with the difference of *tā* instead of *u*), and are translated by Colonel Jarrett II. 57. "The 5th or 6th produce of the soil." A. F. is there treating of tribute, or revenue, and he says that one kind is *maqāsamah* (divided) and is the 5th or 6th share of the produce.

Probably A. F. here means that the accountants reckoned the produce on the demand (here called *baqāya*, i.e. balances on arrears) at a very high figure and then demanded one-fifth and one-sixth thereof.

[2] *Sanad.* In B. 259 a *sanad* is defined as "a written statement of accounts."

[3] A year, I presume, in which there was no loss of crops. A "sixteen-anna year," as it is sometimes called.

In the account of the ten years' settlement, Aīn, Persian text I, pp. 347, 348, we have on p. 348, line 5, the phrase *harsāl jins-i-kāmal.* This is translated in J. II, 88 by "the year of the most abundant harvest. The whole sentence there is: "The best crops were taken into account in each year, and the year of the most abundant harvest accepted, as the table shows." Apparently, it was this system, which was begun on the 24th or 25th year, that caused Fatḥ Ullah to object. See also J. II, 45, and note, where *jins kāmal* is used to mean superior kinds of produce.

[4] Cf. Badayūni, Lowe 192. The country was divided into tracts, each of which was reckoned equal to producing a kror of *tankas.* Badayūni says many krorīs died in prison.

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derate persons. In consequence of this many have been imprisoned. The just course would be to base the demand, simply and honestly, on a series of years (*paiwasta*[1] *sāl*). *Fourthly.*—Owing to the somnolence of the collectors, the agents (*gomāstagān*) have been powerful and have robbed[2] the cultivator.

The Patwārī rejects from his accounts (*qarār wāq'a*) private[3] documents and vouchers—commonly known as "crude papers" (*kāghaz*[4]*-i-khām*). The proper course is that whatever appears in them should be entered in his name and he should be responsible for the contents. If he (the *patwārī*, or perhaps the collector) does not produce what his agents have taken, he should be obliged to refund

[1] I do not feel sure of the meaning of this expression. I think it is explained by the directions to the Bitikcī at J. II. 47 where his duty is stated to be to take from the qānūngo the average decennial state of the village. The original words are, I. 288, *mūāzana-i-dahsāla*.

[2] Badayūnī, Lowe, 274. Fath Ullah's words justify Badayūnī's remarks.

[3] *Nigashtahāī mukhaṣṣiṣ u qābiz. Mukhaṣṣiṣ* is explained in Steingass as "one who appropriates," and the allied word مخاصه *mukhāṣa* is given in Wilson 352*b* as having the technical meaning of land assigned to an individual at a quit-rent. There is also the word مقاصه muqāṣa which has no connection however with *mukhāṣa*, but means the balancing of accounts. In Steingass this is spelt with a *ṣwād* مقاصه, but in the Ain, B. 263, the end of Ain 11, it is spelt *muqāsa*, and is explained as meaning statements of accounts taken by taḥwīldārs from the mustaufī. It was a word much used by the Mahrattas, Grant Duff I. 455 and note. In the text the word *mukhaṣṣiṣ* seems to mean private, unauthenticated papers. *Qābiz* also has perhaps a technical meaning: see Carnegy, Cutcherry Technicalities, s. v. *ḳabz*. But here, I think, it used to mean private papers, what in Bengal are called *gharao kāghaz*, "home-made papers."

[4] This means in the Ain I. 286, 6 lines from foot, "unofficial documents." J. II. 45. Khām also has a technical meaning in revenue language, viz. a settlement made directly with the cultivator. The word *qarār-wāqā*, which I have translated accounts, seems to be synonymous with *qarārnāma* which is used at B. 263 and explained to mean "the revenue-collections of the collectors on account of the ryots." Apparently what Fath Ullah is reprobating is the practice of the inferior agents taking rent from the ryots, and then the patwari not giving the latter credit for such payments on the ground that they are not entered in the official accounts. See the chapters about the duty of the collector et cetera, J. II. 43 *et seq.*

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it. Otherwise the oppressor will escape from his obligations. Whatever stands in the names of extortionate persons, such as qānūngoes,[1] maqaddams[2] and pākārs,[3] should be accounted for by
458 such individuals. *Fifthly.*—Any over-plus which in this way is brought to light should be credited to the arrears due by the ryot, name by name, or should be carried to account in the next year, and there should be no second demand for it, nor should it be again demanded from the collector. And as the computers of the current revenue (*siyāq navīsān-i-ḥāl*) demand village expenses (*malba*)[4] which in clerical phraseology are termed *istiṣwābī*[5] and *akhrājāt*, this also should be deducted from the demand. *Sixthly.*—The fluctuations of cultivation are apparent to every one. If in a village some land fall out of cultivation, one endeavours to increase cultivation elsewhere. Similarly, if a crop be lost or damaged, compensation for this should be sought elsewhere. The accountants[6] (*ahl-sīyāq*) look only to the diminution and tighten[7] the load of the demand. If they would look to the total assessment, the ryots would be relieved. *Seventhly.*—The *mastaufi* (auditor) holds in deposit one-fourth of the collectors (salary) for the purpose of clearing off arrears. If the arrears result from desertion or contumacy of tenants, and the efforts of the collector are without avail, or if they are the result of his having been untimely removed,[8] they are not due to

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[1] See Wilson's Glossary.

[2] The headman of a village.

[3] More commonly paikār, and meaning a middleman, or a sub-collector.

[4] Text منبه *manba*, but the variant *malba* is right. See Wilson's Glossary where it is spelt malbā. The word literally means sweepings. It appears under the form *malwa* in the account of the settlement of Rājnagar. See my history of Bāqir-ganj, 100.

[5] The word means reference and inquiry and also a legitimate demand.

[6] Apparently the meaning is that the office-men, who are at head-quarters, only take into account the fact that a certain amount of land has fallen out of cultivation, and charge rent for it, whereas if they would look to the total they would see that they should not charge for this as well as for the land which has been cultivated in lieu of it. See J. II. 44, where the collector is enjoined only to charge for land in actual cultivation.

[7] *bar-ī khwāhish gushāīnd.* We should read *kashāīnd.* The metaphor seems to be taken from loading a beast of burden.

[8] Text *nā bahangām*, but in the I.O. MSS. it is *tā hangām.*

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his fault. If there have been remissness in making demands that reason[1] should be entered on the arrears, on condition that the arrear appear in the revenue-roll.[2] *Eighthly.*—Some persons are occasionally appointed to assist[3] the collector, and their pay is allowed to them for a fixed time. Sometimes, they remain longer and draw their pay for that time, but no such allowance is made to the collector. If their being kept on be necessary, he should be allowed the expense thereof, and the circumstance be reported.

Ninthly.—It would also be just if the (cost of) calling[4] for the accounts of the former collector and his subordinates were allowed among his expenses.

Tenthly.—After the collectors have been removed, they remain in the *pargana* for the purpose of collecting the arrears. If their pay for that time and for the period before the notification of dismissal has reached them and for the period of travelling (to court) be allowed among their expenses, it would be just. *Eleventhly.*—If the collector's pay, and that of the branding officers, be allowed, after they have been removed, for the period that they are on duty at court, and be included in the amount credited to them under the countersignature of the record-keepers of the attendances (*caukī-navīsān*), this would be a relief to them. *Twelfthly.*—Sometimes the pay of the auxiliaries (*kumākīān*)[5] has been entered as payable from the arrears left by a former incumbent; and on account of the ryots being non-existent, or not acknowledging the *debt*, or of their contumacy, these arrears have not been realized. If the collector shall, owing to the contrivance (*kārsāzī*) of that set (the auxiliaries), have paid the wages, he should get credit for them. *Thirteenthly.*—Officers are arrested because they have not submitted reports. They reply that they did submit reports to the court and got no answer. If the registrars (*wāq'anavīsān*) would look after this department and would make over the replies to the collectors' agents, such defences

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[1] *Wajh.* It sometimes means "pay," and this may be the meaning here. See B. 260 n. 3.

[2] *Taujīh.* It appears from B. 260 that *taujīh* has also the special meaning of military accounts. The meaning here is obscure.

[3] *Bakamak*: these are the kumākīāns, or auxiliaries, mentioned lower down.

[4] Ṭalab-ḥiṣābī. Perhaps ṭalab here means salaries.

[5] See B. 232.

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would be impossible. *Fourteenthly.*—It would be a comfort to the collector if he got half his pay[1] by assignment.

Fifteenthly.—For the purpose of the work of collection footmen (*piādas*) should be given, equal in number to the troopers, or to the half thereof. If it is indispensable that the former collector be kept under surveillance, respectable men should be appointed to guard him(?). *Sixteenthly.*—Great profit accrues to the Qānūngoes. If a man[2] from each *pargana* remain at court, assuredly there will be more enlightenment on this subject.

Seventeenthly.—The pargana treasurers have to make large
459 advances.[3] Some able and upright men should be appointed to carry on this work. *Eighteenthly.*—The statements of arrears made by former collectors should not be acquiesced in without scrutiny.[4] *Nineteenthly.*—Whoever[5] keeps his fief in a good state by attending to the distribution of corn at a time when other estates are suffering loss and are in a bad condition, should, when there is a question of

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[1] *Nīma-i-āznās.* I believe the word to be *arnās* or *arinās*, lit. destruction of enemies. Here I think it means salary. See B. 250 and R.A.S.J. for January, 1904, p. 167.

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that if a *qānūngo* from each pargana be brought to court. See J. II. 66 about the *qānūngo*.

[3] *Dādanī*, i.e. advances to the ryots. See J. II. 45, where the collector is enjoined to make loans to needy husbandmen.

[4] Cf. J. II. 44: "He should take into account with discrimination the engagements of former collectors."

[5] This is an obscure sentence, and there is one word "*sarasarī*" which I have had to leave untranslated. In the text it is joined with *ghalla bakhsh* by an '*iżāfat*, but on the I.O. MSS. there is a conjunction "*u*" between the two words. *Sarāsari* or *Sarsarī* is used to mean summary, and was applied to summary suits. It also means "average or medium," but neither of these meanings is applicable here. Wilson's Glossary gives Sarāsarī-sharai as meaning the average proportion of the crop set apart for the village officers and servants, and probably something of the kind is meant here. The phrase "*ābād gardānid*" probably means developing estates by increasing the number of tenants, or by improving their condition rather than developing its material condition by raising more crops. At p. 286 line 9 of the Persian text of the Āīn, Vol. I, the word *ghalla-bakhsh* is used to mean "corn bearing." (See J. II. 44 last line). Perhaps then the phrase *ghalla bakhsh-i-sarasarī* may mean "the average production of corn." It should be noted that I.O. MS. 236 has *yā mulāḥaża* instead of bā mulāḥaża.

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increasing[1] the revenue, have such increase applied to the augmentation of his rank and allowances.

Twentiethly.—A soldier's horse dies, and he immediately buys another, and produces a correct descriptive roll of it; or sometimes he gets a new horse after two years and more. In the first case the soldier suffers loss, and in the second the king's property is injured. Also on account of the distance he cannot[2] bring the animal to be branded. If his pay be deducted from the date when he ceased to have a horse it will be hard. If they transfer the *aznās*[3] to the new horse, and so do not make a deduction from his pay, he will be relieved.

As these remarks had been written with a good intention and from right-thinking, they were accepted. The old accounts were put into order, and by the labours of this wise man the tribunal of the vizier become a house of delight for the public.

One of the occurrences was the discomfiture of M'aṣūm K. Kabulī. Though, owing to evil ideas and selfish motives, there had been dissension among the imperial officers, and for a time the rebels had been successful, yet as there was the aid of heaven, and there was daily-increasing fortune, the rebels fell into dismay. M'aṣūm hastened off to the place which has been mentioned,[4] and on account of confusion of plans and the tidings of the approach of the victorious army, he was unable to achieve any success. He chose a strong position and proceeded to build forts. At the place Tirmohinī,[5] where the Ganges, Jumna and Sāknī join, he

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The meaning then of the sentence may be, 'Whoever develops his estate, and an increase (of cultivators) is perceived on examining the average condition of his crops as compared with those of others, he should have an increased holding.'

[1] *Taufīr.* In Bengal applied to increase of land by alluviation. Here it seems to mean increase of demand of revenue.

[2] Text *niyārad*, but MSS. have *niyārast.*

[3] Here we have this curious word again. See note 5. The *arnās* was a donation, apparently it applied to the grant of half the cost of a trooper's horse, and probably what is meant here is that the donation or allowance should be transferred from the dead horse to the one bought in lieu thereof.

[4] Fatḥābād, and in the direction of Orissa, A.N. III. 449. According to Mr. Long, the banks of the Saraswatī at the Hooghly Tribenī formed the ancient boundary of Orissa.

[5] Text ترمعهاني. Apparently the

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laid the foundations of two forts.[1] He left there Beg Muḥammad, Ulugh Beg and some evildoers as also some Zamīndārs. He designed that they should be his bulwark (*band*), and he himself took a lower place (*pastarak*) The officers prepared for battle. 'Īsā sent able men and made supplications. As he did not show signs of penitence, they did not give ear to his overtures and addressed themselves to the taking on the forts. There were severe engagements, and every time the enemy ran away in large numbers. On 21 Farwardīn the victorious army arranged a naval battle. In a short time one of the forts was taken, and at dawn they broke down the other and proceeded against M'aṣūm. He could not resist them and took to the river. From the tumult of the rebels and the force of the river his boat was sunk, and a few escaped, half-dead, to land. A second time was he discomfited, and the imperial servants offered up thanksgivings.

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word should be Tirmohinī, which, I presume, is another form of Tribenī, mohinī, that is, enchantment, standing for a lock or braid of hair. I think that the Tirmohinī must be Tribenī in the Hooghly district, and which is on the Bhagirathī. It is a well-known place of pilgrimage, and is considered to be the place where the Ganges, Jumna and Saraswatī join. The Sāknī of the text is probably Shaktī, i.e. power, and another name for the Saraswatī, which was regarded as the power of Brahma. There are two Tribenīs, one at Allahabad, and another near Hooghly, and are distinguished as the Yūktabenī, or united braid, and the Muktabenī or free braid. See the Rev. Mr. Long's article in the *Calcutta Review* for December 1846. A. F. mentions a third Tribenī near Qāẓīhatta in Sirkār Barbakābād. For Qāẓīhatta see Blochmann J.A.S.B. for 1873, p. 221. It is in the Rajshaye district below Rāmpūr Bauleah. For the Qāẓīhatta Tribeni see J. II. 120 and the Addenda and Corrigenda, also the Persian text I. 388. There is a place in the Jessore district called Trimohinī (see I.G.) but it does not fulfil the conditions of the meeting of the three rivers. The paragraph about M'aṣūm is translated by Prof. Dowson, Elliot VI. 78, and he quotes in a note a passage from the Arāish Mahfil in which the meeting of the three streams is represented as occurring some leagues below Dacca. Apparently this passage is founded on the passage on the Aīn, but the author of the Arāish Mahfil corrects it in the next sentence. See Major Court's translation pp. 60, 61 where Sātgāon should be read for Chātgāon.

[1] The text does not say two forts, but all the MSS. seem to do so: see Elliot l.c.; and the text requires the word for two, as a little lower down there is a reference to two forts having been taken.

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One of the occurrences was the punishment of Tarkhān dīwāna and of Ṭāhir Īlāncaq. They were in obscurity on account of former defeats, and were waiting their opportunity. At a time when the officers were in the sleep of negligence, Ṭāhir went to Tājpūr and stirred up the dust of strife. Timur Badakhshī fought 460
a rash battle and was defeated. This made Ṭāhir presumptuous. Tarkhān dīwāna came to Tānda, the capital, and increased sedition. He sent fireladen reeds into some houses. Shahbāz K. sent Qāsim K. Muḥ. Niyāzī[1] and some brave men to punish him. He was soon a wanderer in the desert of destruction and died in the Morang.[2] The dust of failure was also scattered on the heads of the others.

One occurrence was the death of Ḥabīb 'Alī s. Muḥibb 'Alī (Rohtāsī). When the Bihar officers went to serve in Bengal, Yūsuf Matī Afghan collected few men and committed outrages. Ḥabīb 'A. boiled over on account of his youth, and engaged in fight without due preparation. He performed wonders of valour and played away the coin of his life. Muḥibb 'Alī was wild on hearing of this, but the other officers would not allow him to go off. Shāh Qulī—who had long been desirous of approaching the holy threshold—was sent to punish the wretch. In short time the rebels met with their deserts, and the dust of dissension was laid.

One occurrence was the assignment of Bengal to Ṣādiq K. It has been mentioned that the Bengal officers out of conceit and selfishness severed the thread of singleness of heart. Ṣādiq went off with some men in one direction, and Shahbāz went off in another. As ignorance was in the ascendant, the separation was not advantageous. They withdrew their hands from work and indulged in mutual animosity. Khwāja Salaimān[3] was sent to them from court to give them advice, and an order was given that it was not right to do one work in two divisions. Acute and well-meaning men should hold a meeting, and the subject should be fully considered among the leaders. Whoever should assume the management of Bengal should surrender Bihar to the other officer. The Khwāja first went to Ṣādiq, who hastily took Bengal without there having been any

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1 Afterwards a distinguished officer. B. 483 and Maaṣir U. III. 372.

2 The Sub-Himalayan tracts north of Purniah Sarkār.

3 Probably the man who was afterwards bakhshī of the Panjāb. B. 457.

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meeting of the two men. Shahbāz, S'aīd and others were angry and left without putting the province into order.

One occurrence was that Shahbāz became annoyed with Sangrām. Though the latter had not had the bliss of appearing at court, he never failed to serve the Bihar officers, and such was his good conduct that Rajah Todar Mal had called him his son. When Shahbāz was returning from Bengal, he, from interested motives, set about ruining Sangrām. The latter went into the ravines and prepared for wars. When the affair was somewhat protracted,
461 S'aīd chose separation and came to Bihar. Shahbāz caressed Pūran Mal of Gīdhaur, who was Sangrām's enemy, and encouraged him to injure Sangrām. A short time afterwards he imprisoned him (Pūran Mal).[1] A Rajpūt, who had formerly been in his (Pūran Mal's service, left him and joined Sangrām. He lay in wait to kill Shahbāz, and one day when a man was conversing with Pūran Mal in Shahbāz's parlour, that confused one took the man for Shahbāz and attacked him with his sword. Puran M. acted quickly, seized the Rājpūt and killed him. Shahbāz acted without consideration and put the innocent man (Pūran Mal) in chains.

One of the occurrences was the submission of 'Īsā K. From the time that a disaster[2] had happened to the imperial forces, of which some account has already been given, he had been greatly alarmed. He had been bewildered by the arrival of the troops, but when motives of self-interest and factiousness had disorganized the leaders of the army, and they in a short-sighted manner had fallen out with one another, this landholder become somewhat confident and reassured. He out of foresight sent envoys to Ṣādiq K. and the other leaders, and used soothing words. He agreed that he would send M'aṣūm Kābulī to the Ḥijāz, and that he himself would behave like a good servant. Also that he would send one of his relations to court to serve there, and that he would send there valuable presents. He would also send back what he had taken from the army at the time of the confusion. He was arranging to do all this when suddenly Shahbāz K., S'aīd K. and the other officers came away, as

[1] The Iqbālnāma makes it clear that it was Pūran Mal who was imprisoned.

[2] This refers to Shahbāz's disastrous retreat described at pp. 438–39 of text.

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has been said. Thereupon that evilly constituted one gave up submissiveness and indulged in extensive desires. The officers out of ignorance left him some territory, and he showed some obedience. He sent off to court the elephants, guns etc. which had fallen into his hands. Though he did not dismiss M'aṣūm K., yet he restrained him in some measure from strife-mongering. The farsighted sovereign accepted these things, but he did not approve of the officers coming away in the manner described. Khwāja Sulaimān reported that however much he spoke to Shahbāz K. about staying some days, he in his wrath would not agree to do so. H.M. sent him (Sulaimān) again to that country along with Nāẓir Daulat in order to obtain information about his (Shahbāz's) doings, and to rebuke the officers.

One of the occurrences was the quelling of the disturbances caused by the officers[1] of (Sulaimān) Kararānī. At the time when that country had been a little quieted, and the imperialists, in consequence of 'Īsā K.'s being bound by his agreements, were watching the course of events in the neighbourhood of Orissa, that turbulent one ('Īsā) stirred up the dust of strife with the help of Sulaimān Sarbānī. A number of Afghans gathered together, and set about plundering. An attack was made upon Ṣāliḥ s. Wazīr K. and there was a battle in the district of Bardwan. Ṣāliḥ fought well and then took refuge in a fort in Bardwan. The imperialists **462** on hearing of this sent a force, and also marched there themselves. When the troops arrived within six kos of the enemy, the latter withdrew from the siege, and addressed themselves to fighting. The imperialists took post on the bank of Mangalkot[2] river. Just then the (main body of the) army arrived. They were rejoiced to find that the river was fordable by elephants. Meanwhile Khwāja Sulaimān and Nāẓir Daulat arrived from the court, and brought the news of victory. In a short time they erected two earthen forts

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[1] Sulaiman Kararānī and his sons were dead, but his descendants, or officers (Auliyā Kararānī), made a fresh disturbance. But possibly Auliyā Kararānī is a man's name.

[2] N.-E. Bardwān, B. 440. It is not in the I.G. new ed., though it is in the old ed. IX, 313. It appears to me that B.'s N.-E. is a mistake for N.-W. The Mangalkot river is perhaps the Ajai. Mention of this river is also omitted in the I.G.!

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over against the camps, so that the enemy might not give trouble at the crossing. On 30 Khurdād (about 10th June, 1585) the officers obtained a victory and had a joyful time. It rained the whole of the night. At dawn the troops proceeded to cross during the rain, and some men and horses were swept away. The enemy formed into battle-array. Ṣādiq drew up his forces, and entered the fort, and himself went to sleep (!). He left capable men to see that the troops did not disperse. When midday passed, the rebels returned to their quarters, thinking there would be no battle that day. At this time Ṣādiq resolved on battle. He sent a message to the officers that "The sole thought of the enemy was to turn back, let us now apply ourselves to battle." The brave men accepted this message, and came forward to fight. The enemy was thoroughly confused, and formed into two bodies. One body attacked Wazīr and another assailed Ṣādiq and Muḥibb 'Alī. Nāẓir Daulat and others distinguished themselves. Ṣādiq drove off his opponents. At this time it appeared that Wazīr was nearly being defeated. Muḥibb 'Al and others went to his assistance, and in a short time the enemy was defeated, and a great victory was gained. Nearly 300 of the enemy were slain, and about 100 of the imperialists. 1000 of the foe were slain in their flight. The thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the oppressed offered up thanksgivings.

One occurrence was the death of Dastam Qāqshāl. Who can estimate the marvels of the Shahinshah's fortune, or reckon up his great deeds. S'aīd, Shahbāz, Bahār and other strenuous servants had
463 tried to put down that evil-doer and had failed. Now, a few men of moderate capacity erased the writing of his existence. When the officers, from defect of understanding, failed to put that country in order, and went off to Behar, that turbulent fellow (Dastam Q.) invested the fort of Ghorāghāt with a large force. Ṭāhir, Saifu l-Mulk and Khwājah Muqīm brought the jewel of skill and courage into play, and made a proper defence. Meanwhile Bābūī Manklī came from Sherpūr Murca, and it was reported that Muḥibb 'Alī had arrived. The enemy left the siege and retired to a distance. The auspicious servants came out and fought. Inasmuch as crapulousness soon besets those who have been intoxicated by presumption, and the shameless and turbulent are not long-lived, that shortsighted one fled and was killed, along with many others.

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Victory adorned the men of clear vision. The elephant Son Kadūh (Golden Pumpkin) and other spoils were taken, and Dastam's son Khūsh Fāl was taken. It would appear as if the officers had departed in order that Fortune might show herself without the help of service-sellers, and that a lesson should be given to the ungrateful!

Also, at this time, there was a great gift from the Caliphate (Akbar's court), and many households obtained relief. Owing to the right-thinking of the world's lord, things became cheap,[1] and on this account the government[2] share pressed rather hardly on the cultivators. H.M. remitted in the provinces of Allahābād, Oudh and Delhi one in 5½ shares of the spring crop, and one-fifth share in the *hawālī*[3] of Allahābād. For the autumn crop he remitted one-sixth in the provinces of Allahabad and Oudh. In the khālṣa lands this amounted to 7 krors, 7 lakhs, 47,062 *dāms*. From this some estimate may be made of the condition of the fief-holders. This bounty relieved the agriculturists, and much gratitude was expressed.

On 16 *Tīr* the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. The needy were satisfied and thanksgivings were rendered. On this day Shah Qulī Maḥram came from Bengal, and did homage. On the 12th Amardād, Ṣādiq K. came post from Bengal, but as he came without being summoned, he was rejected.

An occurrence was the arrival at court of the Khān-khānān. A message had been sent to him that he should come as soon as he was satisfied with the condition of affairs in Gujarat. As by the might of daily-increasing dominion sedition had been put down, and great and small were in tranquillity, he left Aḥmadābād on the 8th (Tīr) and did homage on the 24th id.

Rai Singh Jhāla had the bliss of performing the *kornish*. His adventures are somewhat remarkable. He was one of the land- 464
holders in Gujarat, and was related to the Jām and to Khangār. He was distinguished for his bravery. One day he was marching about,

[1] Apparently the meaning is that owing to Akbar's beneficial rule grain became cheap, and consequently the peasantry found it difficult to pay in money the government revenue.

[2] *Dastmazd-i-jahānbānī*. "The wages of rule."

[3] That is the home-lands, or lands in the neighbourhood of the city.

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and holding a musical procession on account of a marriage-feast. On approaching the house of Jasā (or Jaisā) the cousin of Khangār, he received a message that he must either retire, or stop his music, or fight. Though he had few materials for battle, he set his heart on combat, and by great exertions was victorious. Jasā was slain, and his younger brother Ṣāḥib came forth to take vengeance. He too played away the coin of his life. But though Rai Singh was victorious, and though his enemies were killed, he by the jugglery of heaven disappeared. It is the custom of the Rājpūts that at the time of battle they dismount from their horses and fight at a distance from them. This is lest the horse become unmanageable and carry the rider out of the field, and so distract his comrades, or lest courage for the combat should not remain, and one should use his horse to withdraw himself from the field. After his victory Rai Singh went up to the horses, and Ṣāḥib's Rajputs, who had been left in charge of them, resisted him, and were killed. He too fell, severely wounded, and being half-dead he was reckoned among the slain. At night a *jogī* saw him, took him to his cell, and tended him. When he recovered, he travelled about in the wilds with the *jogī*. His clan were certain that he was dead, though some thought that as the body was not found, he was still alive. His wives all burnt themselves, except his favourite spouse, who would not yield herself to the flames. She lived on with a melting soul. In the end of the previous year, he, after nineteen years, took leave of the *jogī*, and came to his own house. He took again upon his shoulder the burden of social life. Those who had known him recognized him, especially that burnt-hearted sharer of his bed. By the help of the Khān-khānān he regained the chieftainship of his district.[1]

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[1] This story is also told by Niẓām-u-d-dīn, Elliot V, 443, and there is a picturesque account of it in Noer's Akbar, translation II, 105-6. Rai Singh's ultimate fate is mentioned by A.F. at Vol. III, p. 524, of the A.N. and is placed by him in the 32nd year, 995, 1587. In Elliot it is said the Rai Singh only disappeared for two years, and this is in accordance with the Lucknow lithograph, but it differs from A.F.'s account who says that Rai Singh wandered about with the jogis for 19 years. However in an old MS. of the T.A. in my possession the period of his disappearance is given, not as two, but as twenty and two years. It also appears that the names of the two cousins who fought were Rayib and

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One of the occurrences was the sending of the Khān Ā'ẓim to the south country. Garha[1] and Raisīn were assigned to him as fiefs, and he was sent off after receiving weighty counsels. H.M.'s sole idea was to give tranquillity to the feeble ones of the Deccan, and to improve the rulers thereof. If they would not administer justice and cherish their people they were to be properly punished, and the case of the inhabitants was to be entrusted to sympathetic persons. 'Abdu-l-muṭṭalib K., Rajah Askaran, Shīrazī K.; Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū, Burhān-al-mulk Deccanī, 'Abdu-Raḥmān the son of Mūyīd Beg, Ḥājī 'Abdullah Kashgharī, Subḥān Qulī Turk, 'Alī Murād, Sher Muḥammad, 'Alī Qulī and other brave men were dispatched from the presence. An order was given that every one should go to his *tuyūl* (fief), and arrange for the expedition to the 465
Deccan. Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Sharīf and others of the province (of Mālwa) were ordered to join the army. An order was also given that Āṣaf K. should go from Ajmere with some leaders of that province. Khwājah Fatḥ Ullah was made bakhshī and Mukhtār Beg the Diwān of the army. That wise man of the age, Fatḥ Ullah Shīrazī, received the title of 'Aẓdu-daulah (Arm of the empire), and was sent to guide Rajah 'Alī the ruler of Khāndes. Some other able men were sent with him in order that if it were fitting, they should give advice to the other rulers of the Deccan.

One of the events was the sending of Shahbāz from Bihar to Bengal. At this time news came that he was objecting to go there and was coming to court to make a representation. Karm Ullah his brother was sent to stay him from this evil idea, and to make him obedient. An order was also given that M. Yūsuf should go from Oudh and take charge of Bihar.

Ṣaḥib, and that Rai Singh was wounded, while fighting on the side of one of these cousins. He was not the same person as Rayab or Rayib. There are two Jhalawārs, one in Rajputana, and the other in Kāthīwār. It is the latter that was Rai Singh's country. The T.A. makes Rai Singh be killed just as the Khān-khānān was going to court, but A. F.'s story is, and it is more likely to be correct, that he was presented to Akbar, and that he was not killed till some two years afterwards.

[1] Both of these are in Central India, and in Akbar's time were included in the province of Mālwa. See Jarret II, 196 and 199.

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CHAPTER LXXXIII.

Expedition to the Panjab.

Whoever receives[1] a ray from the world-lighting sun, and who reads the inscription on his heart's portico, does not, without some heartfelt cause, abide in one place, but every now and then takes his pleasure in a new spot of delight. Especially is this so with wise enthroned ones, for the repose of the different tribes of mankind is impledged to such right-thinking and just personalities, and the irrigation of the four-square garden of the world depends upon their justice. In the first place the abode of empire is cleansed from the weeds and rubbish of disturbance by perambulations among the provinces, and direct knowledge is thereby obtained of the condition of things. Evil-doers sink into the abyss of failure, and good men acquire distinction. In the second place remote districts become swept and garnished as well as the home-farm of sovereignty, and are enlightened by the glory of justice. The world-traversing steed conveys the sovereign to those places, and knowledge is thereby increased, the country developed, and diversity changed into unity. The glory of the shadow of God envelopes mankind. Hence the acute sovereign every now and then makes some tract his abode, and constructs there delightsome palaces, enchanting gardens, ear-rejoicing fountains, noble temples of worship, and beneficent harbourages. Every one who cannot withdraw his regard from
466 superficialities is astonished to behold the sovereign abandoning those lordly dwellings and traversing fields and deserts. At this time when Fathpūr—that glorious diadem of God—was the envy of the age, able and observant men perceived that in spite of H. M.'s great affection for that place, the thought of hunting in

[1] Apparently the meaning is that such persons take a lesson from the sun which travels round the earth.

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the Punjab had flashed upon his clear soul. From time to time this thought developed more and more. Men were surprised because they did not see the cause of this, and the far-seeing and experienced were watching for the reason. At this time news came that M. Ḥakīm the ruler of Kabul had packed[1] up the materials of existence (i.e. had died) on 16 Amardād (12 Shabān 993 or 30th July 1585) and that the dust of disturbance had arisen in Qābulistān (Afghanistan). The soldiers of that country were wickedly thinking that they would become wanderers in the desert of failure and would go to Tūrān. This[2] news was a fresh instance of the far-seeingness of the world's lord, and relieved many from their bewilderment. Seekers after wisdom, both in old and in recent times, are agreed that the hearts of just rulers are an iron fortress and a celestial armour for the right-minded and sincere, and for honest traders, and that for the double-faced, seditious, and wicked they are a life-slaying sword and a heart-piercing dagger. The fortunate who take up their quarters in that city[3] of God, or who occasionally enter there, are freed from the powerful arm of Time and sit joyfully on the summit of a happy day, and the foolish who meditate contending against this body of men who hold fast to the Divine, or have evil thought concerning them, spike themselves on the edge of a sword, and by their own insistence settle themselves in ruin.

Verse.

'Tis the fate of all who resign themselves to dreams
That they draw[4] the sword against the sun.

Those who opened far-seeing eyes perceived that the Divine assistance was attached to H.M. and he only felt an increase of affection for them as he considered them to have been labouring under the disease of ignorance. From the beginning of the Shāhinshāh's reign, every one who from an evil disposition, or from asso-

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[1] He was only thirty-one, having been born in April 1554.

[2] The meaning is that Akbar's desire to visit the Panjab was due to a prescience that troubles would rise there.

[3] Allahābād. This is carrying out the metaphor of the fortress and a play upon the name of the city of Allahabad.

[4] A metaphor for people who do useless things to their own injury.

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ciating with the wicked has cherished evil thoughts, or has gone into opposition, has received proper punishment, and has trod the path of failure without the efforts of the managers of empire. Readers of this book of fortune do not require to search for proofs of this. The death of this young man is a fresh instance of it. In his former acts of ingratitude he was young and ignorant, and so he did not suffer so much loss, but a crew of wicked men, who made him a tool for disturbance, brought him to condign punishment. There was a time when he took a lesson, and had recourse to supplication. From ill fortune his evil thoughts increased, and India was again filled with dust. He retired discomfited, and his honour was lost on the field of battle. The gracious sovereign again forgave him and allowed him Afghanistan, as has been related. He ought not to have been able to lift up his head for shame, but in his evil
467 nature, kindness produced badness, and favours made him go further astray. The superintendents of fate made him a wine-bibber and this was a source of diseases for him.

Verse.

After much madness he fell into pains difficult of treatment, and the cup of his life was over. In spite of his high birth and noble lineage he by association with the base and with flatterers gathered no flower from the tree of existence, nor did he catch any fragrance from the spring-time of dominion. When he died, the bazaar of the seditious became flat and the double-faced turned to unity. H.M. was seized with sorrow at this time of joy, but he recognized the power of fate and sought for a remedy, and wended his way to the abode of resignation. He engaged in comforting the children, and gave attention to the consoling of high and low in that country. As some Afghans were from foolishness in terror, and thought of taking refuge in Tūrān, and were making the Mīrzā's children the instrument of their own ends, an order was rapidly sent by the hands of Walī Beg Ẕu-alqadar and Fatḥ Ullah that the timid should be encouraged, and be restrained from such evil ideas. He also instructed them to say that the deeds of the past had been erased from his heart and that nothing flowed from it except forgiveness. An order was also given that Kuar Mān Singh should proceed

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rapidly to Kabul with some troops and should tell all, high and low, of H.M.'s justice and love. He was also to comfort the Mīrzā's survivors and all other men whether Turks or Tājiks. In accordance with his former thoughts about comforting the Kābulīs, H.M. beheld, after the manner of the heavens, that the repose of others depended upon his own activity, and like a star, perceived that their tranquillity must result from his movement. (Accordingly) on 11 Shahriyār (22 August 1585), after one watch and two gharīs of the night had passed, H.M. set off for the Panjab and reached the camp near Daulatābād. He sent off S. Ibrāhīm and some others to guard the capital, and on the 22nd took some repose near Sarai Abād on the bank of a tank which Rajah Todar Mal had made. The Rajah scattered largesse and presented gifts, and offered up thanksgivings. At this stage the Khān-khānān took leave to return to Gujarat. On the 31st H.M. halted at Delhi and visited the tombs of the saints. He spent most of the day in distributing benefactions at the tomb of Jinnat Āshayānī (Humāyūn). On that day M. Yūsuf K. did homage. When Shahbāz K. was sent from 468
Bihār to the eastern districts, the Mīrzā received a fief in Bihār. When an order reached him, he sent off men to that country, and came himself post to H.M. After arranging the business, he took leave. At dawn the house of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was glorified by the Shāhinshāh's visit, and he attained his long-cherished wish. The royal standards proceeded by Sonpat and Pānīpat and on 13 Mihr reached Thānessar. As the evil designs of the Kabulīs now became bruited abroad, H.M. in his abundant kindness dispatched Mīr[1] Ṣadr Jahān Muftī and Banda 'Alī Maidānī to that quarter in order that they might go quickly and soothe the people. The august cortége proceeded by Shāhābād and Ambāla and halted on the 18th at Sirhīnd. He enjoyed the delightful gardens there, which are famed for their beauty. A noble assemblage took place there. On this day news was received that the Rānā was nearly caught, but that on account of supineness he had managed to escape. On the 4th Jagannāth, J'afar Beg, Sayid Rājū, Wazīr Jamīl, S. Saīf Ullah, Muḥammad K., Jān Muḥammad, Sher Bihārī and some others proceeded rapidly

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1 B. 468. He was a favourite with Jahāngīr, and the Iqbālnāma speaks of him as a *panchazārī*. See Maaṣir III. 349.

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and at the end of the day reached his house. Apparently one of the companions of the Rānā gave him information and he took refuge with his family in the defiles. His house and household were plundered. From foresight they did not judge it proper to return by the same way, and so proceeded towards Gujarāt. When they had gone some way they turned towards Dūngarpūr. They came thoroughly to understand the Rai of that country, and who was a double-faced person by profession. They took from him a large sum of money and much cattle by way of present (*sāwarī*, i.e. tribute etc.) and then turned back. The Rānā wanted to come out of the hills and to stir up strife in the country, but as the army suddenly arrived, he had to retreat with failure.

Also at this time Daudā the son of Surjan ended his days, and the world became cleansed of a stain. Also S. Ismʿaīl died. He was the grandson of S. Selīm Fatḥpūrī, and propriety shone from his countenance. From bad companionship he fell from pure ways into habits of drinking, and so madness took possession of his soul; and he had grievous ailments.

Verse.

Let not the wise man be sunk in wine,
For this flood ruins wisdom's palace.
They drink wine to produce[1] death:
They do not drink for pleasure and intoxication.

469 On account of his being grevously afflicted they left him behind at Thanessar, and he died[2] in much pain on the 16th. He left a warning to the wise.

Also at this time the news came that Kuar Mān Singh had crossed the Indus with an army and that a body of his troops had come to Peshawar. Shāhbeg was terrified and took to flight, and the Afghans came in tribes to make their submission. On the 24th H.M. crossed the Sutlej at Mācīwāra by a bridge, and halted his army near Dihakdār. He went on by Hādīābād, Jālandhar, and Sulṭānpūr. On 1 Ābān he made a bridge over the Bīāh at Jalālābād and crossed his troops. He himself crossed on an elephant. On this day the solar weighment took place, and high and low

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[1] *az pāitark-i-hastī* in order to bid farewell to existence.

[2] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 358.

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rejoiced. Congratulatory writings enlivened the eye and heart, and on the territories of Bīrwāl (?) and Ambāla he partook of the sport of hunting. On the 6th he reached Kalānūr and enjoyed himself in the garden which is known to the world as the scene of the Accession. There was daily worship of God. On this day he sent Ḥakīm Ālī and Bahāū-d-dīn Kambū to Kashmīr. Yūsuf K. the ruler of that country always considered himself as one of those who had been elevated by the Shāhinshāh, and continually kept himself in remembrance by sending presents. He represented the distance as a reason for his not coming in person. Now that H.M. had come to the Panjab, it occurred to him that he should send one of his servants to summon him (Yūsuf), as some of his letters expressed a desire to come and do homage. Y'aqūb his son got other thoughts on account of his father's having been sent for (i.e. he became suspicious). He fled [1] from the camp and went to his home. Accordingly, the envoys [2] were sent to give good counsels to Yūsuf and to rebuke and waken up the fugitive. If Yūsuf could not come himself, he was to send Y'aqūb.

One of the occurrences was the death of S. Jamāl.[3] He was of a noble Indian family, and his sister was in H.M.'s harem. He was distinguished for courage and politeness. On account of his good qualities he was made an Amīr. He fell into bad company, and his good qualities became tarnished. He stained his character by drunkenness and follies. As his condition grew daily worse, he was left behind at Lūdīāna, and on the 8th (Ābān, i.e. October 1585), **470** he departed from this evil world. He was a warning to others.

Verse.

It is indispensable that a man should choose a wise, far-seeing and loving friend, and make his walk and conversation his model.

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[1] Ḥaidar Malik says Y'aqūb fled from Khawāṣpūr (a station between Lahore and Attock).

[2] Ferishta says in his account of Kashmīr that when Yūsuf heard of the dispatch of the envoys he came as far as Tatta to meet them, and received a robe of honour. But some Kashmīrīs told him that if he went to Akbar's Court, he would be put to death, and his son would be made king, so he dismissed the envoys and returned to Kashmīr.

[3] Badayūnī, Lowe 358. Jamāl's sister was superintendent of the Harem, B. 425.

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Some able men of former ages, who had become addicted to drink, observed seasons and moderation, and used wine as a medicine They did not give themselves up to the indulgence; nor made it a source of brain-disorder and infatuation.

On the 14th H.M. crossed the Cenāb by a bridge in the territory of Parsarūr (the Pasrūr of I.G.), and encamped near Sīālkot.

One of the occurrences was the insanity of S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān of Lucknow. From bad companionship he took to drink, and for a long time displayed folly. In these days the veil was lifted from his actions, and he talked foolishly in the quarters of Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ. In an access of madness he struck himself with the Ḥakīm's dagger. Men gathered round him and took it from him. His wound was sewn up in the courtyard, and he was taken care of. Though physicians declared that the Shaikhzāda's wound was mortal, H.M., from his secret knowledge, pronounced that he would recover. Superficial observers thought that this was only soothing words, but the far-sighted knew that this meant that he would recover. Though for two months and fourteen[1] days he took (only) two or three spoonfuls of soup, there was no change in his condition. The pulse-knowers and the examiners of urine gave him up. The Shāhinshāh continued to give the good news of a recovery, and prescribed *pālūsh-i khārbūza*.[2] As soon as he ate this, there was an improvement, and he recovered daily, so that in a short time he became well.

On the 24th the army encamped near Rasulpūr. Ṣādiq received Multan and Bhakkar and took leave from this station. On the 27th he crossed the Bihat (Jhelum) by a bridge, and on this day he left the army to hunt deer. The deer of this neighbourhood are superior

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[1] The Iqbālnāma and the I.O. MSS. have "four" instead of fourteen.

[2] Khārbūza are water-melons, but it is not easy to say what *pālūsh* is. Pālūsh پالوش is said to be an inferior kind of camphor, and one that is adulterated. It is also written pālūs and bālūs. As bālūs it is described in the Ain, B. 79, as the worst kind of camphor and as mixed with pieces of wood. It is not likely that Akbar prescribed impure camphor. Perhaps we should read *paplus* پپلس which is defined in Vullers I. 330 as a kind of food consisting of day bread soaked in butter and syrup. Or, perhaps, we should read ba-alūsh instead of pālush. Alūsh is a Turkī word meaning provisions from the king's table, and it may be that Akbar prescribed this food together with melons.

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to all others for size and courage. He enjoyed the sport for a week and then returned. On 7 Āẕar he encamped at Rohtās, and on this day he climbed the hill of Bālnāth and interviewed some of the ascetics. From here Qāsim was sent on to level the roads up to the Indus. Afterwards he was to make the Khaibar and the 471
road to Kabul passable for carriages. In a short time he accomplished this. In this place Fatḥ Ullah and Walī Beg arrived from Kabul, and it appeared that the Kabulīs had been tranquillised by the graciousness of the Shāhinshāh, and that those who had been terrified had applied their hearts to obedience.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of H.H. Miriam-makānī. On account of her great love for H.M., she could not remain (*niyārastand*) in the capital (Delhi ?). H.M. was delighted at this news; he received her on the 11th Aẕar = 23 November and brought her with all respect to her lodging. Many were of opinion that the august standards should not go beyond Rohtās. But as H. M.'s design was to settle Zābulistān (Kabul) and to chastise the Afghans (i.e. the Raushānīs etc.), he went on, and on the 25th (7 December 1585) encamped at Rawalpindi.[1]

One of the occurrences was the subsidence of the disturbance caused by Moẕaffar Gujrātī. When the Khān-khānān went off to pay his respects to H.M., that wretch thought the field was open to him, and raised the head of sedition. He thought that he might plunder Aḥmadābād. The Jām advised him, saying that he could not go there quickly, and that he should not imagine so great an enterprise to be easy. He should first set his mind at rest about Amīn K. Ghorī, and punish him if he would not co-operate with him. After that he should attack Jūnāgarh. He (the Jām) would join him with a choice force, and so Gujarat would easily fall into his possession. By these idle speeches he got him to attack the town of Ambarīlī,[2] and Moẕaffar obtained some successes in the territory

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[1] For an itinerary of Akbar's marches see Noer's Akbar, trans. II. 131.

[2] انبريلي. In the T.A. we have Amarūn or Ambarūn, and this is mentioned in Bayley p. 232 as the place when the tomb of Dāwar-ul-mulk is. In the Mirat Sikandarī, which is Bayley's original, p. 127, the place is called Ambarūn and is stated to be on the borders of Kach, and 10 kos from Morvī. But the place mentioned by A.F. appears to be different, and to be the Amrelī of

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of Amīn K. The latter represented to the officers of Gujarat that he had not the strength to fight with Moẓaffar, but that if he received some help, the insurrection could be easily put down.

On the 2nd, Qulij and some strenuous men prepared in Aḥmadabad for battle. Saiyid Qāsim and Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others were sent to that quarter. Beg Muḥ. Toqbai Amīr, Maḥibb Ullah, Saiyid Salīm and others were sent in advance. When they had gone thirty kos, Moẓaffar lost confidence and hastened off to Kāthīwāra. When the men sent in advance joined Amīn K., he acquired courage and new strength. He represented that if he had one thousand more horse, he could come from behind, and the imperial army from another direction, and pursue Moẓaffar. Accordingly, Qulīj K. and others were sent, other leaders were sent by another route. Amīn K. came to the town of Rājkot, which was Moẓaffar's asylum, and plundered it. The ill-fated one went off to the Ran[1] (Runn). That is a saline tract, where there is continually the ebb and flow of the tide. It is 200 kos long and 30 to 50 kos
472 wide. It dries up at the end of the hot weather. When fresh water passes away from that country, it becomes saline.

The officers halted near the shrine of Dāwaru-l-mulk.[2] There Amīn K. joined them, and the Jām came forward and made protestations (of loyalty). Both landholders were soothed and allowed to depart to their homes. They left their sons to serve in the army. The commotions ceased all at once. After the completion of the business, the Khān-khānān arrived. He had, on the way, arranged somewhat the affairs of Sirohī and Jālor. The Rai of Sīrohī soon came and paid his respects, but Ghaznī[3] of Jālor remained aloof.

J. II. 258. It was a large district in Sarkār Sorath.

[1] In the Ain, J. II. 249, much smaller dimensions are given. Apparently the description there is of the lesser Rann, while here it is the northern and greater Rann which is described; see I.G. XI. 84-85. There is also an interesting account of the Rann in Lyell's Principles of Geology.

[2] It is at Amrūn, T. Akbari, 444. See Bayley's Gujarat, p. 231, for an account of the saint.

[3] Bayley's Gujarat, 15. He was S. Malik Khānjī. Bayley has the form Ghaznavī. Blochmann calls him Ghaznīn, 493 and 622. As Blochmann points out, p. 494, Ghazni's son Pahār was executed by Jahāngīr for matricide: see Jahangīr's Memoirs, translation, p. 353. I believe it is this execution that is referred to by Terry.

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But when he saw that the foot of resolution was firmly planted, and that escape was difficult, he submitted. As he did this because he could not help himself, he was not allowed to enjoy[1] his lands, and was taken along (with the Khān-khānān). Jālor was given to others.

By the help of God he (the Khān-khānān)[2] was delivered from a great danger. Near Sirohī it occurred to him that he would enjoy the pleasure of hunting, in company with his ladies. In the eagerness of youth he became somewhat separated from the army, while pursuing the sport. Having ridden much, and it being very hot, he took a rest under a tree. One of his huntsmen opened the hand of oppression and laid hold of a cow. The Rajputs of the neighbourhood came forward to fight, and the Khān-khānān got up to take part in the melee. Some servants who were near at hand joined him. A great contest ensued, and things were nearly coming to a crisis. But in that hopeless position they got the victory, and the Rajputs were punished.

At this time Khangār the ruler of Cutch died, and was succeeded by his son Bihārā.[3] Though the Jām has more men and lands, Khangār is regarded as the chief ruler, and permission is taken from him on the occasion of successions, etc.

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[1] I am not sure of the meaning. The word is *taṣarraf*. I think that the next sentence means that Jālor was given to others.

[2] The Khān-khānān was then under thirty. It surely is he, and not Ghaznī, that A.F. is referring to, though one would hardly have expected the K.K. to be travelling with his harem.

[3] The Bihārā Khangār of Bayley, 17, and the Khangār of B. 419. Khangār was Zamindār of Cutch, and according to the Ain, J. II. 250, his residence was at Bhūj. I.G. VIII. 151. At p. 55 of Bayley Khangār is spoken of as the ruler of Girnār.

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CHAPTER LXXXIV.

The arrival at Courts of the sons of Ḥakīm M. and of the Kabul soldiers.

The reports of the Shāhinshāh's justice, of his search for truth, and of his appreciativeness broke the chain which made lovers of their native land apprehensive of exile. Not a day passed without a set of remote foreigners gathering the bliss of homage (*kornish*), and of having their various wishes gratified. For this reason it was the wish of the high and low among the inhabitants of Kabul that they might come to court and obtain the desire of their souls from the everlasting dominion. But fidelity and loyalty held the foremost place. When the Mīrzā died, there was some disturbance, and every one was trying to save himself. Farīdūn K. restrained the Mīrzā's sons, and the simple-minded Turks, from going to court. He was always saying that H.M. knew from the Kabulis of the seditiousness of the Mīrzā, and would punish it. He considered his own bad behaviour, and so his idea was to ally himself with the ruler
473 of Tūrān. By his cajolery he misled many short-sighted persons, and the majority were nearly being persuaded to adopt this course. At this time holy firmans arrived, one after the other, and the projects of the wicked were broken up. Farīdūn was meditating to take the Mīrzā's children with him and to fly to Transoxiana. Far-sighted and right-thinking persons took to keeping a watch over him. At this time the sound of the approach of the victorious army rose high. Farīdūn too turned from his former thoughts, and had recourse to supplications. But, from shortsightedness and topsy-turvyness of ideas, he could not abide in one mind. At last Kuar Mān Singh arrived, and the thoughts of concord took possession of him. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and some brave men crossed the Indus, and marched forward, and Shah[1] Beg went from Peshawar to Kabul. The peasantry submitted, and when the victorious

[1] B. 377.

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army halted at Bikrām, Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, Muhammad 'Ālī, Hamza Beg and other brave men pushed forward. The Khaibar route, which had been closed by the turmoil of the Tārīkīs (the Raushānīs), was reopened, and the turbulent banditti crept into the corner of failure. The party reached Jalālābād, and produced tranquillity by acting justly. 'Alī Muh. Asp and all the well-affected Kabulis became adherents. Bakht Nisā[1] Begam was there, and was delighted on hearing the news. The Mirzā had sent that chaste lady with his beloved son Afrāsīāb to court in order that she might make intercession and apologize for his deficiencies. He also sent with her Ḥasan[2] and Ḥusain the twin sons of Shahrukh M. Upon the unavoidable event (M. Ḥakīm's death) Afrāsīāb turned back as he was near at hand (had not gone far?). Farīdūn, in his evil thought, tried to turn back the Begam also. At this time the imperial officers arrived, and the picture of evil intentions was obliterated. On 29th Ābān Mān Singh hastened to Būtkhāk, and M. Kaiqubād, who was 15[3] years old and Afrasīāb who was 14, joined him with many of the soldiers. Their faces were illuminated by the hope of the Shāhinshah's graciousness. At dawn they came to Kabul, and by open-handedness and sweet words the hearts of men were won. On 4 Āzar, Kuar Mān Singh made the charge of the country over to his son Jagat Singh and to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. He himself proceeded with the Mīrza's belongings and the country-leaders to the sublime threshold. On the 25th he did homage at Rāwalpindī. The newcomers were treated with suitable respect. First, Afrāsīab. Kaiqubād, and Walī,[4] the Mīrzā's sister's son, were admitted to an audience, and then Farīdūn, Āli Muḥ. Asp, Shāh Beg, Gadā Beg, Tāsh Beg Qūcīn, Takhta Beg, Qāsīm Parwāna,

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[1] M. Ḥakīm's sister, the wife of Khwāja Naqshbandī. Her husband died before M. Ḥakīm. Jahangir calls her Najību-n-nisā. She died in the third year of his reign, aged 61. She had two sons.

[2] B. 313.

[3] The variant 11 is supported by I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma. Probably 15 was adopted by the copyist because Kaiqubād was the eldest son and therefore older than Afrāsīāb. This difficulty is got over by the apparent fact that Afrāsīāb was not 14, but 4, as shown in the Iqbālnāma.

[4] S. Bakht Nisā. Text has Diwālī but this is wrong. See Tūzuk Jahāngīrī, p. 272, which tells of his marriage to a daughter of Prince Daniel. See also Maaṣir M. III, 456.

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Moẓaffar Koka, Jānish Bahādur, Tātār Beg, Ghaiūr Beg, Ulugh Beg, Nūr Muḥ., Khwāja Khiẓrī, Dost Muḥ. Turnabi, Khākī Galabān
474 Atālīq, Qāsim Koka, Khwāja Yāqūt (an eunuch), Ātam Bahādur, Khwasham Bahādur, Ḥaīdar 'Alī 'Arab, Qāẓī 'Izzat Ullah, Farrukh[1] Beg Maṣawwir (painter) and others received suitable robes and horses, and trays of muhrs and rupīs. Various favours were conferred on them. Farīdūn, who was of an ungrateful nature, and whose trade was turbulence and disloyalty, was made over to Zain Koka in order that his disposition might be studied.

On 2 Dai H.M. encamped at Ḥasan Abdāl and near there held a *qamar gāh* hunt. Here Ḥakīm 'Alī and Bahāu-d-din arrived from Kashmīr. The ruler thereof, from pressure of flatterers, and the strength of his country, did not take the road of good service. Though after the manner of double-faced persons, he indulged in protestations, he neither showed an intention of coming to kiss the threshold nor of sending his son Y'aqūb. His ignorance increased. The royal wrath—never inappropriate—was aroused, and an order was issued that the victorious army should awake him from his slumbers.

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[1] Presumably the Calmāq mentioned in B. 108. The Iqbālnāma says, he is unrivalled at the present day.

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CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE APPOINTMENT OF AN ARMY FOR THE CONQUEST OF KASHMĪR.

The sole idea of wise kings is day by day to refresh the garden of the world by the streams of justice, and assuredly this design is accomplished whenever extensive countries come into the hands of one who is just and of wide capacity. And when an empire has been civilized by an enlightened and just ruler, and the people thereof—small as well as great—sit in the shade of tranquillity, it is unavoidable that such a prince should cast a profound glance on the deeds of neighbours who have taken the path of dissimulation. He must look closely in order to perceive if their former conduct can be brought into line with love and order, and if they can be induced to treat their subjects properly. If they do not, then justice requires that they should be punished, and their land taken from them. Especially, if they, after having been treated with various kindnesses, take the path of presumption, and turn away from cherishing their people, and sit down in self-indulgence. Accordingly when the envoys returned from Kashmir, and represented the arrogance and wickedness of the Ruler, H.M., on 9 Dai, 20 December 1585, dispatched M. Shāhrukh Bahādur,[1] Rajah Bhāgwant Dās, Shāh Quli Maḥram, Mādhū Singh, Mubārak K. and many Aḥadīs, under the charge of M. Ālī Akbarshahī, Shaikh Y'aqūb Kashmīrī, Haidar Cak and other strenuous and brave men. Amīnu-d dīn[2] was made bakhshī. Also on this day, Zain K. Koka was sent off to guide aright the Yūsufzais, and to conquer Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. **475** This large tribe formerly lived in Qandahar and Qarābāgh. From there they came to (the district of) Kabul, and became powerful. M. Ulugh Beg Kābulī massacred[3] them by a stratagem. Those who

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1 The conjunction in text before Bahādur is wrong.

2 Amīnu-d-dīn, it seems, was made by Akbar Yātishbegī or Captain of the Watch. See Jahangīr's Tūzuk, translation pp. 13, 14 and note.

3 Elphinstone's Cabul II. 10.

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remained took refuge in the Lamghānat. Afterwards they settled at Hashtnagar.[1] It is nearly one hundred years since they settled in Swād and Bajaur, and lived there in the practice of robbery and turbulence. In this land there was a tribe that had the title of Sultānī, and claimed to be descended from a daughter of Sultan Sikandar.[2] The Yūsufzais for some time zealously served them, and then became ungrateful, and took possession of the choice lands. Up to the present day some of the former inhabitants spend their days in distress in the defiles, and from love for their native land are unable to leave.

During the Kabul commotion the heads of the Yūsufzai submitted and had recourse to fawning. They expressed shame for their former wickedness and made promises of service. One of them, Kālū by name, was treated very graciously. In a short time however, they returned to their former ways, and applied themselves to robbery and oppression. Kālū himself fled from Court. Khwāja Shamsu-d-din caught him near Attock and sent him back. The gracious sovereign treated him kindly. Inasmuch as kindness is of no benefit to an evil nature, he again absconded, and took refuge in his former dwelling, and led astray other landholders. H.M. dispatched Ḥasan K. Patni, Rajah Mukat Man, Jānish Bahādur, Askaran Pancānan, Hīra Pradhān, Rām Cand, S. Kabīr, Faulād and others[3], under the command of the Kokaltāsh. 'Arab Khānjahāni was made bakhshī. The whole idea was that the crooked tribe might be guided aright, and that the black-hearted ones who did not accept counsel should be punished. Farīdun K. was made over to the author.

Also, during this year[4] Ism'aīl Qulī K. was sent off to Balūcis-

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[1] Text اصتغر Aṣtghar. I presume Hashtnagar is meant, but it is Aṣtghar in Maaṣir II. 363, and in I.O. MS. 236.

[2] That is, Alexander the Great. The tribe Sultānī does not seem known now. Perhaps A. F. means the Kafirs. Cf. account in text with J. II. 392-393 and in Elphinstone's Cabul. App. C. A. F. does not state, as quoted by Elphinstone, that Alexander's descendants were connected with the Yūsufzai. The tribe Sultāni seems to have derived its name from that of its rulers, of whom the last, apparently, was Sultan Wais. See Elphinstone, p. 11, and Asiatic Quarterly for April 1901.

[3] I have omitted some names.

[4] There is the variant *walā* "time."

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tān. When the news came that this people had gone the way of disobedience, and did not perform service, he was nominated for this important task. Rai Rai Singh, Abu-l-Qāsim Tumkīn (Namakīn) and many other brave men accompanied him. Ḥāshim was appointed bakhshī. Also, on this day Kuar Mān Singh was sent off to 476
Kabul, in order that he might civilize that country by justice. Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī, Bakhtiyār Beg, Muḥ Quli Beg, Ḥamza Beg and many men of note accompanied him. An order was given to him that when he came near the Khaibar he should halt for some days and chastise the Tārīkīs, and make the road safe, so that pedestrians (*pawindagān*) might feel at ease. The sovereign arrived at Atak-Benares on 12 Dai, 23 December, after travelling 305 *kos* and a little more in 4 months and 1 day and in sixty-five marches. At dawn of the following day he reached the quarters of Zaīn K. Koka and Kuar Mān Singh, who were in the neighbourhood, and renewed his valuable counsels. On the 15th he sent Farīdūn K. to the Ḥijāz as, mayhap, the stain of his misconduct might be washed out there, and he might gather the materials of bliss. He embarked on the Bihat in a boat and was taken to Bhakkar. From there Ṣādiq K. sent him off by river, and had him conveyed to that place of pilgrimage. Though the farsighted among the courtiers represented that if he did not relieve such a rebel from the burden of existence, he should put him in prison and read him a lesson there, H.M. adhered to the tenour of his summons and did not listen to this suggestion.

Ḥājī Siyandak, Aḥmad Beg and others kept an eye on those who had gone first. When they learnt how kindly they had been received, they left Kabul for the holy threshold, and on the 20th had the bliss of a reception, and were treated with princely favours.

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to attack the Yūsufzai. The homes of this rebellious crew are in the hill-country of Swād (Swāt) and Bajaur. Many of them live in the plains. The Indus surrounds them on two sides. On the two other sides they have the Kābul river, and the northern hill-country. The length of their territory is 30 kos, and its breadth 15–20. There are delightful valleys and beautiful tracts.

As the Kokaltāsh went on to Bajaur without paying any attention to the plains, H.M. dispatched on the 25th (Dai) Qarā Beg,

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Ẓīā-al-mulk and some others under the command of S. Farīd bakhshī. They made a good attack and then returned. They reported that there was a great deal of work to be done in the plain, and that another army should be appointed in order to root out the thorn of rebellion. After that it should enter the hills from another side and join the Kokaltāsh. Accordingly, on 4 Bahman S'aīd[1] K., S. Faiẓī, the poet laureate, Sher Khwāja, 'Alī Muḥ, Alif, Qāẓī 'Alī, Ṣāliḥ diwāna, Fatḥ Ullah Sharbatdār, Ayūb Beg, Y'aqūb Beg, 'Abdu-
477 r-Raḥmān Beg[2], S. Abu-l-Barkāt[3] and others, together with 300 horse belonging to the author, were sent off.

At the first stage, to which this humble one had gone to take leave of his brothers, H.M., from his favour to the humble, cast the shadow of his graciousness upon him, and exalted him by various kindnesses. A *qūrkhāṣa*[4] (special collection of ensigns) was assigned to the force, in order that by doing homage (*kornish*) thereto, it might be fortunate. The troops were to march behind this. The rendezvous was at Nardān.[5]

On the 7th (Bahman) Mīr Sharīf Āmulī[6] was sent to Zābulistān as amīn and ṣadr of that province (Kabul). On the same day Qāsim Beg Tabrīzī was raised to the post of Mīr 'Adlī (Judge-advocate) of the camp. H.M. said, "Always implore God, and seek to do His will, and unite recognition (of God) with prayer, and keep free from cupidity and cowardice, which cause the wise to waver, for many pure souls are turned from the recognition of the truth by the deceitfulness of the world, and the prosperity of oppressors. Nor should you in the administration of justice (*dāwarī*) decide matters by witnesses[7] and oaths, but should make inquiry with profound dis-

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[1] He was a Gakhar, and a brother of Kāmal K. B. 486.

[2] So in text, but I.O. MSS. have Shaikh, and this is probably correct, and the person meant seems to be A.F.'s son.

[3] We see from this that two of A.F.'s brothers were in the force. For Abul Barkāt see B. XXXIII.

[4] B. 50, note 4. We learn from the T.A., Elliot V. 451, that this reinforcement was sent off on 2 Ṣafr 994 = 13 January 1586. Apparently the qūrkhāṣa was attached to A.F.'s squadron.

[5] This name is doubtful. The MSS. seem to have Tardān or Tarwān. The name appears against p. 513 of text, as Nārūn.

[6] A noted heretic: see B. 176 and 452.

[7] These remarks seem to be embodied in the instructions to the Mīr 'Adl and Qāẓī in J. II. 41. No de-

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crimination, and study the lines of the forehead. If difficult questions be too hard for you, report them to me. Regard self-indulgence as wrong, and attend to duty, in season and out of season."

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rajah Bīrbar to Swād. When it became known that if the work were left to those first sent, it would take long to finish as there were many recalcitrants, and it was difficult to get through the mountain defiles, it was resolved that another army should be sent under the charge of an experienced servant. Inasmuch as the head of this confused and ambitious one (himself) was filled with thoughts of battle, he represented to H.M. that although his serving in his presence was the elixir of fortune, yet he wished to make trial of foreign service—which was the testing place of loyalty. I too, who had been raised by H.M. from the lane of contempt to a conspicuous post in the world, wished to lighten my shoulder somewhat. I was strengthened in this desire by thinking that I might be able to do good service, and also shut the mouths of those envious persons which were gates of impropriety. Should I lose my brief life, I would acquire an eternal good name. H.M. perceived in my demeanour the marks of sincerity, and accepted my prayer. This gave me new vigour. He said that he would send with me some experienced soldiers, whose opinions I should follow in the matters of camping and engaging. At the end of the day when it was the time for taking leave, H.M. said it had occurred to him that lots should be 478
cast between me and Rajah Bīrbar, so that without reference to either's wishes the Divine decree might be elicited. Inasmuch[1] as

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pendence, we are there told, should be placed on witnesses.

[1] It is characteristic of the Lucknow editor that he has no note on this passage. That it is obscure and in need of comment is shown by the variety of readings. The text is از انجا که خواهش دیگر بود نقش بسیار بر گرفته آمد A variant which occurs also in the Lucknow ed. has خواهش دیگری. I.O. MS. 236 has نقش بسیار برابر گرفت. I.O. 235 has, apparently, نقش بسیار را بر گرفت. Neither has آمد āmad. My impression is that Abul Faẓl is playing upon the words دیگر divers, بسیار many, and کم less. Naqsh bisyār is probably the same as Naqsh besh, which I take to mean a big, i.e. lucky, throw. The latter phrase is given in Vullers s.v. naqsh and in the Bahār 'Ajam, and is stated to be the opposite of *naqsh kam*; *kam* may perhaps be *gam*, lost, or wanting, but I think not, for kam may also mean evil or unlucky. The Darbārī Akbarī in the course of

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there were divers wishes the big throw failed, and all at once the little throw came out in his name. Both of us entered upon a prolonged sorrow. As there was no help for it, I left the broken thorn of grief in my heart, and seated myself in the caravanseray of meditation. That man who was fitted for battle or for banquet (*babazm u razm*) went off by heaven's decree on 12 Bahman, 21 January 1586. Qāsim Khwāja, Gadā Beg, Ḥājī Siyandūk, Aḥmad Beg, Tāsh Beg, Khwāja Hisāmu-d-dīn and other distinguished persons went with him. Next morning at dawn, H.M. on returning from hunting visited the Rajah's camp and exalted him by various favours.

In a short time they swept the plain. Whoever was refractory was punished, and whoever submitted had his honour and property preserved and the troops went off elsewhere (?). The victorious army then addressed itself to the conquest of Banīr (Buner) and proceeded by the ravines. When they had passed through some defiles they came to Dūk.[1] Here the Afghans proceeded to offer battle, and there was a hot engagement. A large number were made prisoners, and many also were killed. Sher Khwāja and others displayed much valour. As it was evening, and the road was not clear, they turned back and came to the staging-place. When they learned that there was no road that way (the one by which they were advancing when they were attacked by the Afghans), they returned to the plain in order to march by another route.

At this time Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ was sent off to Swād with a force. Zain K. Kokaltāsh had represented that by God's favour he had crossed through difficult defiles, and had got possession of Bajaur, and of the most of Swād, but that the troops had been harassed by the continual forced marches (*takādū*). The Afghans were assembled in the Karākar (?) pass between Swād and Bunēr. If some brave men were sent to him, the enemy would soon have his deserts, and the whole country would come into possession in an

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a long and discursive article on Bīrbar says, p. 301, that the angel of death pointed out Birbar's name. Perhaps this means that the author read raqm-i-yam "the letter of death" for raqm-i-kam or that he read raqm-i-gamnāma, e.g., "the letter of his disappearance." Vullers s.v., *kam*, II. 879 a, says the word is used to express an unlucky throw and quotes a couplet from Niẓāmī in support of this view.

[1] Dukī is Hindkī for a hill. Erskine's Bābar 152, n. 3.

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excellent manner. Accordingly on the 19th, Ḥasan Beg, S. 'Umrī, Aḥmad Qāsim, Ṭūfān Beg, Mullā Ghiyūrī, Mohan Dās, were sent along with Cerūs[1] and *shamshērbāzān*[2] (swordsmen) under the command of the Ḥakīm. He ordered that if the soldiers previously[3] sent were in the plains they should quickly join the Kokaltāsh, and hasten by the Malakand[4] pass, which was the nearest way. At the end of the day H.M. visited the Ḥakīm's tents, and gave him excellent counsels.

In a short time the forces gathered together and hastened on **479** by the prescribed route. Also at this time news came that the ambassador of 'Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān, and Naẓar Bé, who had long held Balkh in fief, had nearly arrived with a large caravan. On account of the Tārīkīs they had trouble in coming through the Khaibar, and so *Mubārak Nohānī*, Ghāzī K. and other brave men were dispatched under the command of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī to conduct the visitors.

One[5] of the occurrences was the pacification of Bengal. When the idea of the expedition to the Panjab occurred to H.M., the news came that Wazīr K. was unable to carry out the duties there alone, and that the rebels of that quarter were bestirring themselves. Accordingly Shahbāz K.'s younger brother was sent to bid him go from Behar to that country. When H.M. arrived at the bank of the Bihat, it was represented to him that Shahbāz K. was possessed by a great desire to come to Court, and that he was on his way thither. H.M. sent off *sezāwals* to turn him back nolens volens, and to send him on the above service. They met him near Jaunpūr and withheld him from carrying out his wish. On 20 Bahman he sat down to guard Bengal, and won hearts by soothing words and by the open hand. In a short time the Afghans had recourse to supplication, and the dust of dissension was laid, and the weak com-

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[1] I presume these are the Cerūs of India mentioned at vol. II. 287 as being always in attendance on Akbar, and whom he employed in the fight between the Sanyāsīs at Thānesar. Or they may be the men from the Eastern districts who use shields called *cirwah*. B. 252.

[2] B. 252, and whom he calls gladiators.

[3] That is, those sent with Bīrbar.

[4] I.G. XVII. 72.

[5] This passage is translated in Elliot VI. 79.

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forted. He sent off troops to Bhātī to punish 'Īsā K. Owing to the wondrous fortune of H.M., 'Īsā had not the courage to fight, and the territory which Ṣādiq had surrendered according to the peace, came into possession. The conquests extended up to the port of Chittagong, and things were satisfactorily arranged. 'Īsā sent rare presents, and used conciliatory language. He represented that as Ma'ṣūm had, from ill-fatedness, taken the path of ingratitude, he (Ma'ṣūm, apparently) trembled for himself, and wished to do good service at a distance (ghaibānī, i.e. without waiting on Akbar, or Shahbāz). He was now sending his son to Court. The answer was given that it would be good if he (Ma'ṣūm) would go to the Ḥijaz, and come from there to Court. Many Afghans also abandoned Qutlū. He too used cajoleries, and Shahbāz, in his simplicity, accepted these, and gave him back Orissa.

Also, at this time a force was sent to the country of Kokra.[1] This is a tract between Orissa and the Deccan. Mādhū Singh the zamindar there was behaving presumptuously, in reliance on the difficulty of crossing an intervening mountain. The imperialists hastened thither and proceeded to plunder. Much booty was obtained. He had the good fortune to offer tribute, and to obtain repose under the shadow of unequalled dominion.

Also the Magh ruler—which is near Pegu—sent large presents, including elephants, and made propositions of concord. This was one of the marvels of good fortune, for there was no great officer
480 except Wazīr K. Neither was there a fleet, which is the chief means of making war in that country, whereas the enemy had a large supply of war-boats.

One of the occurrences was the coming to Court of Yūsuf K. the ruler of Kashmīr. When the army marched to conquer Kashmīr, the idea of the leaders was that they would go by Bhimbar, as large armies could march by that route with ease and celerity, and also as some of the landholders there used amicable language.

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[1] See B. 479 3 where Kokra is said to be the old name of Chutiā Nāgpūr. B. refers to the Fifth Report, old ed. 417, and to the Tūzuk J. 154, 155 where the country is called Kokhra, and described as belonging to the provinces of Bihar and Pannah. The reference to the Fifth Report is to James Grant's account of the province of Bihar. He writes Kokerah.

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The idea was that when the roads were cleared of snow, and the winter had come to an end they would advance through the passes. As the retribution of the wicked is a thing that does not endure delay, an order was given that during (the season of) the fall of snow and when the enemy were off their guard, they should proceed by the Paklī [1] route, where less snow falls. They were obliged to give their minds to this. On this news, Yūsuf K. resolved to give battle, and sent off many experienced men in order that they might construct a fort near the river Nain Sukh [2] (the delight of the eyes). In every defile they were to establish a strength and to prepare for war. The force that was sent had passed Bārahmūla by six *kos* when the daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar) became conspicuous. The ruler of Kashmīr erased from his mind the idea of that plan, and he recalled the men he had sent! Under the influence of the talk of short-sighted advisers and of slaves of gold he fell into the heavy slumber of neglect. The difficulty of crossing the passes, the arrival of snow and rain, and the fact of the victorious army's belonging to a hot country made him still more somnolent. Self-indulgence and miserliness stained him with the dust of neglect. When the opportunity had gone out of his hands, he learnt that the strenuous servants had set themselves to conquer the country and had arrived near Paklī. The dust of commotion rose high, and various opinions were brought forward. Whoever casts away far-sightedness, and who in times of prosperity has no thoughts about adversity, shall assuredly arrive at the evil day of the success of the enemy, and the foot of his desires shall strike against the stone of despair. After a little while he in much giddiness again thought of fighting. From time to time, topsyturviness of thought made him still more silly. When the troops aided by Providence had traversed heights and hollows and had come near Būlyās,[3] Yūsuf K. awoke from his presumptuous slumbers, and tried

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[1] Commonly called Pakhlī. It was west of Kashmīr, J. II. 347 and 390. It was a Sarkār and is stated by A. F. to be in general tributary to Kashmīr. It is now known as the Hazāra country. I. G. XIX. 318.

[2] A tributary of the Jhīlam "opposite the T.B. (at Rārū) is a gorge along which the Nain Sukh, 'Eye's delight' rushes with a loud noise to meet the Jhīlam." (Murray's Handbook of the Panjab). The river is now known as the Kunhār.

[3] The expedition of M. Shahrukh

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to amend his insubordination. As there was no way of preserving his kingdom except submission and going to do homage, he emerged from the pass of Kuārmast,[1] under pretext of wishing to examine the (intended) battle-field with a few men, and sent a skilled envoy to lay open his secret intention. The officers had been exceedingly harassed by the severe cold, the dearness of provisions, the difficult roads and the rain and snow. They received the envoy and then sent him back, and Yūsuf came with a few confidants of the army on 4 Isfandārmaẕ (about 14th February 1586). They treated him with respect, and had a conference. They then formed the design of returning.

481 When the news came to court, an order was issued that Yūsuf's coming was approved of, and that he would be welcomed with princely favours, but that the idea of the officers about returning was not right. If Yūsuf were not meditating any fraud and was treading the highway of truth, the right thing was that the army should enter the delightful country (of Kashmīr), and, after having taken it, should make it over again to Yūsuf. The officers, willing or unwilling, had to advance. The Kashmīr leaders in their perverted fashion, and from somnolence of intellect, appointed Ḥusain K. Chak as their head, near Kuārmast, and set about fortifying the defile. Just then Ya'qūb, s. Yūsuf, joined them, and they left their new chief, and clove to him. There was daily fighting in the Pass. Madhū Singh, Amīn-ud-dīn and others cleared it, and Ḥasan Beg

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and Rajah Bhagwān marched against Kashmīr from the west, and followed the bed of the Jhīlam and the line of the modern road. But they did not get beyond the borders of Kashmīr. The Būlyās of text is the Phūlbās of Badāyūnī, Lowe 363, the Bhūliyās of the T. A., Elliot V. 452, and the Bhūlbās of the Tuzuk, J. 292. B. 479 refers to this passage in a note, but he is mistaken in supposing that Jahāngīr says that Bhūlbās is 2½ kos from Bārāmūlah. Bhūlbās or Bhūlyas is evidently the Peliāsa, formerly Bolyasaka, of Dr. Stein's map of Ancient Kashmīr and lies on the right bank of the Jhīlam. It is several stages west of Barāmūla and some 50 miles away from it. At p. 293 Jahāngīr says that it was at the Pass of Bhūlbās that Ya'qūb, the son of Yūsuf, fought with the army commanded by Rajah Bhagwān Dās. At p. 294 Jahāngīr mentions his entry into Barahmūla.

[1] The Kotal Kūārmat کوارمت of the Tuzuk 294. Jahāngīr says it is steep and is the last pass on the road. Apparently it is what is described in Murray as the Barmūla Pass.

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Ahadī and some Rājputs acquired deathless fame by sacrificing their lives. Forty men of distinction among the enemy were killed. The foe was dismayed and scattered.

At this time the landholders of Karnā [1] were induced by the address of Shaikh Ya'qūb, Kashmīrī, to come forward and make submission. It was agreed that a force should enter Kashmīr through their villages. Upon this the Kashmīrīs came forward with entreaties and proposed a peace. They represented that their ruler had gone to court, and that so it was right that the dust of dissension should be laid. They proposed that the pulpits and coins should make mention of the Shāhinshāh, and that the mint, the saffron, the silk,[2] and the game should be imperial. A superintendent (*dāroghа*) should be appointed for each department, and then the army should return. As the army had been harassed, these proposals were accepted by the endeavours of Yūsuf, the ruler of Kashmīr. The charge of the saffron and silk was made over to Qalandar Beg, that of the mint to Khwājah Mīrakī, and that of the game to Multā Moẓaharī. Though H. M. did not approve of the settlement, he had regard to the circumstances of the army and of the Kashmīrīs and accepted [3] the agreement.

One of the occurrences was the injury to the good service of

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1 كرناو in I.O. MS. 236 and in Iqbālnāma. It is the Karnāha of Stein's map, and is a tract lying north Bhūlbās. The Karnās or karawānas were originally chaghatais. See T. Rashīdī, Introd. 76 and App. 491.

2 *Abresham.* Perhaps this means woollen shawls. They are the chief product of Kashmīr and the T. A., Elliot V. 452, and Badāyūnī mention shawls and not silk.

3 Cf. Elliot V. 452 and Badāyūnī, Lowe 363. It appears that the imperial officers were influenced by the news of Zain K. Koka's defeat. Mr. Lawrence in his excellent book on Kashmīr speaks, p. 193, of Ya'qūb's having defeated Akbar's army with great loss in 1582. Evidently, this refers to Rajah Bhagwān Dās's expedition. Akbar's first attempt on Kashmīr was made much earlier, viz. in the fifth year, when he despatched Qarā Bahādur there. He was defeated by Ghāzī K. A. N. II. 129.

There is a detailed account of the proceedings between Yūsuf and Akbar's officers, and of Ya'qūb's fights with the latter in Ḥaidar Malik's history of Kashmīr. It appears that Yūsuf behaved with great pusillanimity and deserted his army and country. Ya'qūb fought vigorously, and the Moghul army suffered terribly from the cold etc., and were glad to retreat on any terms. Ḥaidar says nothing about the engagement to give the produce of the saffron, etc.

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Zain K. Kokaltāsh. When he was sent off to conquer Swād and Bajaur, he began by addressing himself to the conquest of Bajaur. There were 3,000 house-holders of the Yūsufzai there, and they were haughty on account of the difficulties of the passes. The army entered by the way of Dānishkol,[1] and the army had not time to see the routes. Jānesh Bahādur and some other brave takers of cities (*Shahrgīrān*)[2] made an attack, and punished a great number. When the fortunes of the Yūsufzai became bad, Ghāzī K, Mīrzā 'Alī, Ṭā'ūs K, Nazir and other leaders wished to submit, and all over, the thorn of turbulence was uprooted. From there he proceeded to
482 Swād. 40,000 householders lived there. When the army reached the river-bank, the daring ones of the country rose up to fight, the vanguard gave way a little, but the brave *altamsh* came forward, and on seeing this, the vanguard reformed. A hot engage-

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[1] J. 2. 392. Elphinstone, Cabul, II. 36 speaks of Dānishkol as a river. A. F. says in the Ain that it is a road from India. He also mentions it at III. 526 of the A. N.

[2] شهرگیران Shahrgīran. So in text, but the word is unusual, and is probably incorrect. Major Raverty in his Notes on Afghanistan, p. 259, gives a much more probable reading. He has Shahr-i-Gibar, "the city of the infidels", and says that the reference is to Bajaur which is locally called a Shahr, and which was regarded as inhabited by infidels. Bābur calls them infidels, and so justifies his slaying 3000 of them. See also Raverty's p. 117, where he speaks of a cleft or gorge being called Gibar and also of a fortress being so called.

Major Raverty says, p. 257 of his Notes, that the disaster to Akbar's army took place in the Karakar and Malandaraiz Passes, and adds that the army was on its way from Swāt, which they were unable to hold, into Buner, in order to join Akbar at Attock. At p. 262, in a note, he says that the Afghans of Swāt will not allow that the Mughals ever succeeded in entering their valley, and affirm that they were overthrown in the Shāhkot Pass. Shāhkot is marked on Fincastle's map to the south of Chakdara and the Swāt river, and east of Arnandara. I daresay the Afghans are right in saying that Zain K. did not enter the lower Swāt valley, and it is very possible that Shāhkot was the scene of the final disaster. In his report to Akbar Zain K. had stated that Buner was the only place that remained to be conquered. He probably did not cross the Swāt river, but kept along the south side via Karakar, etc. I don't think his object then was to return to Akbar. He was trying to subdue Buner.

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ment ensued, and the enemy was defeated and put to flight. The Kokaltāsh laid the foundations of a fort in Chakdara[1], which is the centre of the country, and set himself to chastise the other inhabitants. He was victorious 23 times, and destroyed seven stockades.[2] With the exception of the Karākar defile and the district of Buner, the whole country had been subdued by him. But the soldiers were somewhat worn out by the hill-marches and the frequent conflicts. The Kokaltāsh asked for reinforcements, and H. M. nominated Rajah Bīrbar, Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ and others. When they joined, the dust of dissension and double-mindedness (*durangē*, lit. two colours) rose up. Previously, there had been hot words between the Kokaltāsh and the Rajah, and the latter and the Ḥakīm were also not on good terms. By the jugglery of fortune they, in spite of their lofty natures, entered the narrows of envy. They could not brook any partnership in the royal favour—which embraces far and near. They could not comprehend this. The adoption of such feelings, besides leading one into the depths of enduring pain, and producing lasting sorrow, is a contending with the incomparable Deity; and results in making oneself the reproach of high and low. From the time when the armies of the plain set off to assist the Kokaltāsh, the Rajah's head and heart were disfigured by wrinkles, and he indulged in such remarks as these to his confidants: "It looks as if my fortune had been inverted that I should have to traverse hill and plain with the Ḥakīm, for the support of the Kokah. When shall the things end?" On the march there were daily, improper expressions used to one another. When they reached Malakand, the Kokaltāsh received them and behaved with cordiality. He set himself to cross the army and the baggage over the Pass. The night wore[3] on to day there. Ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ went off with some followers to

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[1] I. G. X. 122, but the Fort is on the north side of the Swāt river, and not on the south as the I. G. seems to state. It guards the wire bridge, which used to be the site of a ferry. Chakdara was attacked, and was the scene of much fighting in July 1897. See Churchill's story of the Malakand Field Force, and Viscount Fincastle's Frontier Campaign, both published in 1898.

[2] Text, *lashkar*, but should be *sangar*, as shown by I. O. MS. 236, and the Ma'āṣir II. 364, two lines from foot.

[3] "Shab-hamanjā ba rūz āward."

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the fort of Chakdara. The Rajah was angry at this departure and fell into evil thoughts. At dawn they assembled at the fort. The Kokaltāsh arranged a feast, and invited the newcomers. The Rajah ventilated his resentment and would not go. He said that all the able men should gather round the royal Qūr [1] and hold confidential talk there. The Kokaltāsh suppressed his anger and came to the Rajah. Other leaders came there too. The proper thing was to have made over the *Qūr* to the Kokaltāsh and to have assembled in his quarters and held a council. In that meeting the Rajah and the Ḥakīm came from hard language to mutual abuse. By the forbearance of the Koka, things quieted down somewhat. After some unfitting altercation, the Kokaltāsh said:
483 "The hill-work is nearly finished, and the rebels of Karākar and Buner have come forward in a submissive manner. But they have not advanced from words to deeds. I have asked for reinforcements in order that I might leave a body of men in the fort, and then march to punish the malcontents. The fresh army should undertake this task. I and the old army will remain in the centre of the country on guard. Or they might elect to remain at Chakdara and he would go and punish the hillmen." The Rajah and the Ḥakīm replied that they would accept neither proposition. The orders were to attack the country, not to guard it. They should all combine to chastise the enemy and then hasten by that road together to court. The Kokaltāsh replied: "Why should we leave disorganised a country which has come into our hands after so much fighting? Nor is it advisable to go by that route which is so full of heights and hollows. If you don't accept either of my propositions and are resolved to march, it is far better to go back by the way we came. On that side there are troops stationed, and the enemy will have no power to interfere with us. They would not listen to this, and stuck to their first idea. The Kokaltāsh, from an ill-timed submissiveness, put the rules of command on one side. He was afraid lest those eloquent courtiers should make disagreeable remarks (about himself) and that the much-occupied Shāhinshāh would be

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For this phrase see Vullers and Bihar-i-'Ajam s. v. Shab.

[1] The qūr was with the reinforcement. Bīrbar used this as evidence that he was supreme.

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displeased with him for a time. They were afraid lest they should not be able to accomplish the work by themselves, and that they should be disgraced. By the jugglery of fate it was determined to make an unsuitable march, and a discussion arose about arranging the troops. The Rāja and the Ḥakīm declined, from the apprehension already mentioned (of failure) to take the command of the right and left wings. The command of the right wing was given to Ḥasan[1] Patanī and of the left to Qāẓī[2] 'Alī. The van was put in charge of Ḥasan Beg Gurd. After much talk the Ḥakīm took his place in the *altamsh* (the reserve of the advanced guard). On 2 Isfandārmuz (12th February 1586) they set off for Chakdara towards Karākar,[3] and when they had marched five kos they encamped at the village of Kāndāk (?). Next day, as the road was full of defiles (purtang) they left the right wing as a rear-guard, and encamped half a kos from the defile. The plan was that on this day the guard should make a slight attack and then retire. At dawn when that body (the main army) came to the pass (kotal) a battle began. From time to time victory showed her face, and in a short space the defiles were traversed and much booty was obtained. Thousands of prisoners were made. When the altamsh, which was chiefly composed of Kabulis, heard the news of plunder, they rushed forward, and they were followed by many others of the troops. The Kokaltāsh, who had taken up his stand, was helpless and had also to advance. There was a confused conflict. The Afghāns came from behind and plundered. Ḥasan K. Patanī made a stout fight, but was wounded, and had to retire. The work of the advancing troops became arduous. On perceiving this the Kokaltāsh turned his rein,[4] and planting his foot firmly took part in the conflict. That day and night and the most of the following day there was hard fighting. The Kokaltāsh himself shot down four chiefs, and the Afghāns gave way a little. Although the end 484
of the day brought the joy of victory, yet the loads of the camels

[1] B. 467.

[2] Apparently Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī.

[3] Karikar pass is marked on Mr. Churchill's map, "E. S. E. Chakdara."

[4] That is, he turned back to the rear guard with which the right wing had been amalgamated. The latter had been commanded by Ḥasan Patanī, but he had been wounded.

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and bullocks were plundered; what was on the elephants and mules was brought into camp. Next day they advanced six kos and halted near Khānpūr (Raverty's Notes, 262). The Koka took charge of the rear-guard, and after fighting all the way reached the station. He went to the Rāja's tent and had a consultation. He recited in eloquent language the previous discussions, blamed the haste that had been shown, and spoke of his own better judgment. The question was what should be done now. As little of the road remained to be traversed, his audience did not take into account the heights and hollows. So they all replied that the proper course was to get through the defile and then to halt for some days and then renew the punishment of the rebels. The Kokaltāsh represented that the defiles in front of them were the worst of all, and that to go by such a route would be to cast away their honour. The proper course was to build a wall at the station where they were, for it was fairly spacious. There was no danger of their being attacked from the heights,[1] and there was abundance of water and grass, and plenty of food. Here they should stand firm and afterwards inflict punishment on the presumptuous rebels who had taken possession of all the heights. Another course was that as they had in their hands the enemy's families and much of their property, they might write soothingly to them, and take from them promises of obedience. They might return the prisoners, keeping some as hostages. If this proposition also be not approved, they could halt for a time and send news to court. An army would come from there and guard the top of the Pass.

As heaven's decree was otherwise, the others stuck to their own opinions, and thought what was in reality their loss was their gain. On 6 Isfandārmaz (16th February 1586) they proceeded towards the Balandarī[2] Pass. The Koka prudently took upon himself the charge of the rear-guard, and a harder battle than that of the previous day ensued. When they had marched a little way, and it became evening, the camp (urdū, here perhaps the main body of the army) thought that what was but the beginning of a great defile was the top of the pass. So they halted. But when the Koka came up, it became known that it was necessary to

[1] *āsīb-ī sirkoh.* Text wrongly has *asp.*

[2] J. II. 391.

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traverse another defile before they could come to the top of that winding way. As there were heights (*sarkobhā*) close by, an attempt was made to push forward. It was arranged that the vanguard should get to the top of the defile, and take possession of the heights, while the camp should remain below, and should get through the difficult pass as soon as it was light. As the Afghāns were pressing on them from behind, the Kokaltāsh and some brave men turned back. Others thought that the untimely march and pushing forward of the vanguard indicated that the defile had been traversed. So they pressed on, and the proper rules of marching were disregarded. Though efforts were made to make them understand and to turn them back, they were of no avail. The Afghāns fiercely attacked them from every side with arms and stones, and the troops in their ignorance and confusion rushed down from the top of the hill to the low ground. In that crowding they lost heart, and elephants, horses and men got mixed up. A multitude threw away their lives, though many brave men stood their ground and valiantly sacrificed themselves. At the end of the day some got through the defile and came on to the low ground. 485
The Kokaltāsh was on the point of yielding up his life, but Jānish Bahādur seized his rein and drew him out. After going some way he, on account of there being no path, dismounted, and after a hundred difficulties got to the camp. Foolish babblers called out that the Afghāns are coming after us, and they went on in a disorderly manner. In the darkness the men lost the track, and got into the defiles. The Afghāns had stopped to seize and divide the spoil. Next day many of the stragglers lost their lives, and some were made prisoners. In the turmoil as many as 500[1] lost their

[1] Elphinstone remarks in a note to his history: "Abul Faẓl must have been minutely informed of the real history of this transaction, but his anxiety to soften the disgrace of Akbar's army and to refrain from anything that may reflect on Bīr Bal was so great, that his account is confused and contradictory..... As a proof of the defects I have ascribed to him, I may mention that although he begins with a full and even eloquent description of the total destruction of the army, he concludes by stating the loss at 500 men." Khāfī K. says, 40 to 50,000 men were killed. Ferishta following the Ṭabaqāt Akbarī puts the number at 8000.

The best or at least the fullest

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lives. Among those known to H.M. were Rāja Bīrbar, Ḥasan Patanī Gadā Beg, Rāja Dharmkand Sankar, Khān Muh. Mullā Sherī,[1] 'Arab Shaikh Khakka, Mullā Ghayūrī, Jān Muh. Bakhshī, Shaikh Junaid, S. Ḥamīd Farmulī Bahādur, Amān Ullāh S'aīd.

On the 7th[2] the news of the disaster reached H.M. The deaths of loyal servants, and especially the death of Rāja Bīrbar, his spiritual companion, grieved him exceedingly, and his heart turned away from everything. As dignity consists in outward restraint and not in abandonment (to grief), H.M., as the Primate of the spiritual kingdom, preserved external composure. For two[3] days and nights he did not take his daily food and drink. By the efforts of Maryam Makānī, and the lamentations of his faithful servants, he was prevailed upon to take food. His design[4] was to plant the

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account of the Yūsufza'ī disaster seems to be that given by Khāfī K. in the Muntakhab-al-Lubāb I. 191 *et seq.* He says that every one in Bīr Bal's force was killed, and that Zain K. and Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ escaped because they were not there. They remained behind and were in ignorance of Bīrbal's (or Bīrbar) attempt to get through the defile. Khāfī K. says that the number of killed amounted to 40 or 50,000. He appears to call Rāja Dharm-Kand, Rāja Dhīr. A.F. says little about Rāja Todar Mal's success in chastising the Yūsufza'īs afterwards, but the T.A., Elliot V. 452, says, he built forts etc., and reduced the Afghāns to great straits.

The Iqbālnāma gives a detailed account of Zain K.'s speech to Bīrbar. It says that more than 2 or 3000 men were killed in the expedition.

[1] A distinguished poet. See B. 610, etc. It would appear from B. 197 that Shrī, though a courtier, satirised Akbar's pretensions to Divinity. See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 319. There is a long account of the poet in Badāyūnī III. 248.

[2] A. F. does not tell us what the month was. It cannot have been Isfindārmuz, unless the 7th be a mistake for the 27th, for Zain K. and Bīrbar only began their fatal march on the 6th Isfandārmaz (see text, p. 484). The Ṭabaqāt and Badayūnī say that the defeat took place on 5 Rabi'ul-awwal 994). This would correspond to 14 February 1586, or nearly to some day of the first week of Isfindārmuz. Zain K. and the Ḥakīm waited on Akbar at Attock.

[3] This is according to the MSS. Text makes the time only 24 hours, and misses out the conjunction between food and drink.

[4] Meaning that he thought of going there in person. The T.A. says Bīrbar hurried on without consulting Zain K. Evidently he was mainly responsible for the disaster, and one cannot help wondering why Akbar chose a boon companion for such an

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royal standards on those hills and to punish the wicked tribe, but at the entreaty of his loyal followers he refrained from this. On the 9th[1] that jewel of the diadem, Prince Sulṭān Murād, and many devoted servants were sent off. Rāja Todar Mal accompanied the prince.

On the same day the army crossed the Indus and the Kābul river, and encamped at Miṣr.[2] Agreeably to H.M.'s orders Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ and Qāẓī 'Alī of the former army joined the force. Though in the eyes of the superficial a defeat had occurred, and there had been a disaster, in consequence of envy and incapacity, yet in the eyes of the profound it was the beginning of a great victory. From the days of Ūlugh Beg, the Yūsufza'ī tribe, which was more than 100,000 strong, had, by the help of their difficult mountains, practised highway robbery. They had caused much injury to traffic and intercourse. The Kābul rulers had not the strength to chastise them and the rulers of India on account of pressure of other business, and the chatter (*hamzabānī*) of persons of small capacity, had not attended to this matter. At this time the holy idea was to restrain (the Yūsufza'ī) from injuring people, and from evil ways and to make them obedient and serviceable. An evil habit which is of long standing, and has been inherited 486
from ancestors, is with difficulty eradicated. Clemency is not inclined to sever the thread of life. It does not put to death great criminals. It looks to destiny, and waits for the wondrous working of fortune. When the armies that were sent were appointed, endeavours were made not to be hasty in killing the sons of men, who are fruit-bearing plants, and the sublime foundation of God.

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expedition, or why he did not reject the arbitrament of the lots. The Khulāṣa T. has a long eulogism on Bīrbar and says that Akbar remarked that his death was the greatest grief he had experienced since coming to the throne. As pointed out by the author of the Ma'ā Ṣir there is a letter of Akbar to the Khān-Khānān, among Abul Faẓl's letters, in which Bīrbar's death is bewailed.

[1] This probably means the 9th Rabi'ul-awwal. Badāyūnī states that Murād was sent across the Indus because there was a rumour that the Afghāns were going to attack Attock, but that afterwards the prince was recalled, and Todar Mal was sent.

[2] Apparently some place in the Yūsufza'ī country. At p. 495 of text a Yūsufza'ī leader is described as Miṣrī.

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Whenever the victorious generals sent batches of those wayward and crooked-minded ones to court, they were given gold and robes of honour, and were released. Inasmuch as the time of retribution had arrived, the stewards of Fate caused such an aspect of things (as the defeat), and the life-cups of the brave and loyal were spilt in good service, and they earned a good name. The Shāhinshāh perceived that kindness required the punishment (of the Yūsufza'ī) and that it was proper to erase the record of their existence. In the opinion of the men of the age it was next to impossible to clear the hill country of the tribe, but in a short space a great clearance was made. A large [1] number were killed, and many were sold into Tūrān and Persia. The country of Sawād, Bajaur, and Buner which has few equals for climate, fruits, and cheapness of food, was cleansed of the evil [2]-doers.

One of the occurrences was the victory of Kunwar Mān Singh. When it was reported that the Tūrān ambassador and Naẕir Bé were coming with a large caravan, and that the Khaibar was somewhat impassable on account of the wickedness of presumptuous men (the Raushānīs), he sent S. Farīd Bakhshī to guide them to court. When he came to Jamrūd, Mādhū Singh (s. Bhagwān Dās) and some others were sent by Mān Singh to join him; they entered the Khaibar and joined the caravan at Daka. Mān Singh with a force hastened to 'Alī Masjīd. The Tārīkīs, thinking the force a small one, invested 'Alī Masjīd on a dark night and several of them got to the top of the fort. Brave men stood firm and prevailed against the enemy. Shāh Beg K. and his son also performed masterpieces of valour. The wicked men gave up the investment of the fort and took post on another height. They sate there and meditated evil, but at dawn the brave men drove them off and killed many of them. On the 7th, at the beginning of the day, the (news of the coming of the) ruler of Kashmīr arrived, at midday came the news of the death of Rāja Birbar, and at the close of the day came this joyful news (the victory at 'Alī Masjid). Next day the Tūrān caravan reached the Serai of Khairābād on the other side of the Indus. On receiving this news H.M. on account of the ruler of

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[1] J. II. 393, 2nd para.

[2] Elphinstone describes this passage as a curious instance of A. F.'s adulation and inconsistency.

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Tūrān's having sent choice pigeons of that country along with Ḥabīb[1] pigeon-fancier (*kabūtarbāz*), who was famous among pigeon-sportsmen, sent for him and that family of delight (the pigeons), before 487
the ambassador had had the honour of an audience, and gathered happiness. Also on this day Naẕr Bé and his sons Qambar Bé, Shādī Bé and Bāqī Bé did homage by prostrating themselves at the holy threshold and so had their foreheads glorified.

One of the occurrences was that the ambassador from Tūrān had an audience. When the world-conquering standards reached the bank of the Indus, and the design of marching to Zābulistan became conspicuous, and the Khaibar Pass, which used to be traversed with difficulty by horses and camels, had been made passable for wheels, and a bridge had been made over the Indus, there was a tremendous agitation in the country of Tūrān. From fear of a rapid march of the World's Lord, the gates[2] of Balkh were generally kept closed. 'Abdullāh K. the ruler of Tūrān had the enlightenment and discernment to have recourse to deprecatory behaviour, and tendered supplications. He sent Mīr Quraish, who belonged to a noble family of Saiyids, with choice horses, strong camels, swift mules, animals of the chase, and choice *postīns* (dressing-gowns) and other rarities of the country. He also sent an affectionate letter and pulled at the chain of friendship. As H.M. was somewhat troubled in his mind on account of the disaster of Rāja Bīrbar, the ambassador for some days did not have an audience. This was disconcerting to him, and when H.M. learnt this, he had compassion on the visitors and gave permission for an audience. On the 21st (Isfindārmuẕ = 1 March 1586), there was a princely festival in the Diwānkhāna which had been recently erected, and the ambassador was exalted by prostrating[3] himself at the holy threshold. He produced before H.M. the rarities of that country (Tūrān).

One of the occurrences was the recall of Prince Sulṭān Murād.

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[1] Doubtless the Ḥabīb of Shahrsabz of B. 302. Ḥabīb is also referred to in terms of great praise in a letter of Akbar to the Khān-Khānān in Part I of A. F.'s letters, in which his arrival with the pigeons is described.

[2] *Darwāzā*. Perhaps this only means the approaches.

[3] *Basujūd-ī-qudsī āstān*. "By prostration at the holy threshold." But either this is a mere flourish or A. F. has forgotten or omitted to explain what he has said above at the

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Rāja Todar Mal represented as follows: "On the day when H.M. was going to take the field in person, the task had, at the entreaty of the grandees, been made over to the nursling of fortune, Murād. It is proper that auspicious sons should be sent to conquer distant countries, and to subdue great rulers, and that the present work should be made over to a servant." H.M. accepted what was said and recalled the Prince. He sent off Kunwar Mān Singh—who was near Jamrūd[1] and was meditating the punishment of the Tārīkīs—on this service, in order that he might carry it out, in accordance with the views of the Rāja (Todar Mal). Mān Singh established his camp on the bank of the river (the Indus) in the direction of Buner and near Ohand,[2] which was one of the great cities of old times, and concerning which a mound of earth now speaks eloquently! He established a fort there and set about civilising the country. Rāja Todar Mal established a camp near the Lungar hills (Koh-i-Lungar)[3] which belong to Sawād.

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foot of p. 272. There he says that such was Akbar's reverence for the family of the Prophet that he would not allow his descendants to put their heads at his feet or rub their foreheads at the threshold of fortune. Now he has just told us that the ambassador was of a noble Saiyid family, and his name shows that he belonged to Muḥammad's tribe of the Quraish!

[1] Forts in the Punjāb near entrance to Khaibar. See I. G. and Murray's Handbook to the Punjāb.

[2] Text has *nazdīk-i-Sind* "near the Indus." But this is a mistake for *nazdik-i-Ahund* (Ohand or Ohind) as I.O. MS. No. 238, and Chalmers' translation, see Noer's Akbar, translation II. 182, show. For Ohind see Jarrett II. 404 n. 6. It is N. E. Attock and on right bank of Indus. It was a Buddhist city. See Elliot I. 48. Raverty T. N. 78 note says the proper spelling is Uhand. He thinks the name is modern, but this is contrary to A. F.'s statement. Ohind is described under the form Und in the I. G. XXIV. 130.

[3] Perhaps this is the Lundkhwar of the Govt. map. It is west of Ambala and on the other side of the hills from Ohind. Evidently the object was to shut up the Afghāns in their hills and by blocking up the exits on both sides to starve them into submission. Todar Mal was too cautious to venture into the hills which had been so fatal to Rāja Bīrbar and his army. Tiefenthaler describes Langarkoh as a strong fort near the district of Swād, I. 86. Langar-koti is also mentioned in the A. N. III. 510, second last line. It is referred to at p. 248 of Raverty's Notes.

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Brave men seized those two exits of the Afghāns and made things difficult for them. Every day active men entered the hill-country from either side, great endeavours were made to chastise the wicked 488
by capturing them and by plundering. As they were helpless they had recourse to entreaties, and the dust of commotion was laid. A new freshness was imparted to the Age.[1]

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[1] I.O. MS. 235 inserts here—at the end of the thirtieth year, the *khātima* or conclusion which occurs at the end of the 2nd volume of Bib. Ind. and also the preface of the 3rd volume.

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CHAPTER LXXXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 31ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR MIHR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

The parterre-adorner of sovereignty (the sun) brightened the face of joy with the news of the arrival of the New Year. His servants adorned hill and plain, and joined form and spirituality. On the eve of Friday, 29 Rabi'-ul-awwal 994, 10 or 11 March 1586, after the passing of eleven hours, thirty-seven minutes, he cast his rays on Aries. The city became fragrant, the plains grew beautiful.

Verse.[1]

You complained just now that the leaf-scattering Bahman had arrived.
Look up and behold the garden, for Bahman has passed away.
In the thunder of the sky hear the sound of the drum.
The world holds a bridal, for the garden
Comes in bridal dress.

The sagacious sovereign celebrated a great feast, and made great and small partakers of joy. On 19 Farwardīn (28 March 1586) —which was the supreme feast—Mīrzā Shāhrukh, Rāja Bhagwant Dās. Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and other officers obtained an interview. They brought the ruler of Kashmīr to court. He was privately asked why the kindnesses of the Shāhinshāh had passed from his memory, and why the influence of his son—who had fled from the court—had increased, and had by stratagems turned back the victorious army. Why had he himself not added the glory of acts to his talk about peace? He had the grace to be ashamed, and to reply by silence. H.M., out of kindness, had resolved upon restoring Kashmīr to him, but the imperial servants represented that he

[1] This quatrain has already appeared at the beginning of the 29th year. See p. 431.

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ought to have some punishment for his backslidings, and that Kashmīr should first be conquered, and afterwards restored to him. H.M. accepted this view and made him over to Rāja Todar Mal.

On the same day, the troops that had been sent to Balūchistān arrived, and Ghāzī K., Chīta, Bahādur K., Nuṣrat K., Ibrāhīm K. and other Balūc leaders were received. When the troops went to that country, the land-owners were at first somewhat refractory. But as there was goodness in their dispositions, they quickly understood what was right, and took the path of supplication. Their prayers were granted, and they were honoured with robes and horses. The country was restored to them.

Also, on this day Rāja Todar Mal returned from the hill-country of the Yūsufza'īs and did homage. He made over the chastisement 489
of the Afghāns to Rāja Mān Singh.

One of the occurrences was that the troops attacked Berār. It is a country in the south, and is adjacent to Mālwa, and so an account of it has been given in the final[1] volume.

Inasmuch as the rulers of the Deccan did not obey properly, the Khān A'zam Mīrzā Koka was appointed to punish them. He went to Hindia, and arranged for an expedition. He sent a body of troops and took Fort Sānolī[2] from Nāhar[3] Rāo. The latter submitted, and so did the other landholders, after a slight conflict. H.M. gave choice pieces of Mālwa to M. Koka in fief. When the appointed officers met, there arose dissensions among them. The C. in C. became confused on account of suspicions,[4] and the work fell out of gear. Shihābud-dīn Aḥmad K. was vexed, and went off to his jāgīr without leave. The C. in C. came after him in order to fight him. Instead of having recourse to supplications, he (Shihāb) prepared for battle; though, by the endeavours of prudent men a contest was averted, they did not act together. In consequence of the intrigues of foolish persons, Tūlak K.[5] who was an old (bābarī) officer, became sus-

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[1] That is, in the Aīn A.

[2] The Sheola, or Senola of the Aīn, J. II. 234. It was in Sarkār Narnālah.

[3] Mentioned in J. II. 229.

[4] M. Koka disliked Shihāb because he suspected him of having been accessary to the murder of his father. Badayūni, Lowe, 372. Badayūni says that Raisīn was the jagir to which Shihāb went. See also Elliot, p. 441.

[5] This is Tūlak Qūchīn, a very old servant of the empire. Bloch-

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pected, and was sent to prison. That memorial of former sages, Amīr Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī, was much harassed, and returned from the ruler of Khāndes without having effected anything. He sorrowfully went to the Khān-Khānān in Gujārat. The soldiers were perplexed by the delays and dissensions. The enemy who had been alarmed, took courage. Rāja 'Alī the ruler of Khāndes, Farhād K., Jamshīd K., Azdar K., Mīr Toqī and the rest of the Berār and Aḥmadnagar armies gathered together and set off to give battle. The imperial grandees awoke in some measure from the sleep of negligence, and assembled to consult. How could the work be carried on when the friend was not distinguished from the foe, nor humility from hypocrisy? From their double-mindedness, they did not see in themselves the strength to fight. Nor could they act unanimously. They turned aside from confronting the enemy, and went off to Berār. They sent their baggage to a place of retreat (gosha, a corner) and went off rapidly. On the route, Hatīā[1] Rāo, a land-owner, was put to death on suspicion of his acting a double part. Without proper inquiry, a body of troops was sent hastily to Kherla, and it did not effect its purpose. Much injury happened to the baggage-animals. After many exertions they found Berār empty and ravaged it. On New
490 Year's Day they took Elichpūr, the capital, and plundered it. Some were of opinion that they should not draw rein till they reached Aḥmadnagar, but a large number thought that they should keep hold of such a flourishing country, and that they should march gradually. After the talk of ignorant men, no one put his hand to any work. The army, having with it abundance of spoil, proceeded to Gujarāt. The idea was that when the enemy came up, and things should become critical, the soldiery of Gujarāt would be stirred up to render

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mann, in his account of him, at p. 445, says, he had indulged in slander, but this seems to be an incorrect translation of a passage in the Ma'āṣir U. I. 478. What the Ma'āṣir says is that Tūlak was the victim of slanderers. The Iqbālnāma also speaks of him as unequalled for courage and generalship, and says he was suspected without cause, and imprisoned. Badāyūnī says that 'Azīz Koka was also very rude to Fatḥullāh Shīrāzī and abused him in public. This is likely enough, for 'Azīz Koka had always an unbridled tongue.

[1] Hatīa is mentioned in the Ā'īn, J. II. 229. The Iqbālnāma seems to call him Hatīa Nahara. This name is also mentioned in the Ā'īn, l.c.

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help, and that the spoil would not be lost.[1] The enemy was astonished at his turning back and proceeded to take advantage of it They left their artillery and other equipage behind and followed (the imperialists). They sacked Hindia, and set fire to it. No strength remained to the imperial troops on account of their having had to march through so many difficult defiles. Many men could not keep up. The imperial troops were seen to be retreating, and the dust raised by (the enemy's) scouts became visible. A portion of the imperial army had a fight near the town of Chāndaur with the land-holders there. Though much plunder was obtained, Ḥājī[2] 'Abdullāh Sulṭān Kāshgharī was killed. He was the son of 'Abdur-Rashīd, the ruler of Kāshghar. Near Khāndes, Muḥ. Qulī Uzbeg deserted from the enemy and joined the imperial army. He described the weakness and fewness of the foe, and represented that if they turned round and gave battle they would be victorious. They could bind him, if they liked, and take him back with them. If his account did not turn out to be correct, they could kill him. A council was held, and by the endeavours of experienced men a battle was resolved upon. One day was spent in preparation. Owing to the prating of unexperienced men, and the fears of the general, the drums of retreat were beaten at dawn. They went on rapidly without keeping in touch with one another. The animals and the baggage went off at night while the officers marched by day. The courage of the enemy was increased by this behaviour, and they pursued with boldness. Twice there was a slight engagement between the rearguard and the enemy's van, and the latter was defeated. Though they did not recognize their superiority, and the Deccan was surrendered after it had been gained, yet much booty was obtained. On the 22nd they halted at Nadarbār, and

[1] As shown by the account in the Iqbālnāma and also in text, much of the spoil was eventually lost. But the translation in Elliot VI. 85, "leaving the baggage", is misleading. It was not lost or abandoned then. When A. F. says, text 489, that the baggage was put in a corner, he means, I think, that it was left somewhere in safety. 'Azīz K. did not at first retire from the enemy, he went off to the Berārs, but he could not hold them and his idea of coming back from Gujarāt to recover the baggage failed.

[2] He was a commander of 700 and half-brother of Quraish Sulṭān, B. 459.

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rested. Before this, some Deccanīs had come into that region, and stirred up strife. The land-agents of Qulīj K. had not treated the peasantry with consideration, and had departed. When the imperial army arrived, the thorn of rebellion was uprooted, and the enemy retired from Khāndes. The Khān A'ẓam went on rapidly to Gujarāt, with the thought that he would get help from the army of that province. The Khān-Khānān considered his coming an honour, and gave him a warm welcome. He quickly collected a choice force, and joined him. But on account of the talk of evil men, they took a perverse course. They sent Mīr Abū Turāb to interview the Deccanis and to arrange for a peace, and then every one returned to his fief. The enemy was delighted at this result and sent presents (*peshkash*). Mīrzā Koka marched out from Māndū and attacked Ḥamīr
491 Jetpūrī and inflicted suitable punishment on him. He is one of the Mālwa Zamīndārs. When the army went off to Berar, he, finding the country unprotected, fell upon Mandū and ravaged several places. Some parts he set on fire. They say that one of the supporters of that land-holder asked encouragement from an enthusiast.[1] The latter got angry and said, "Who dares to stretch out the hand of oppression on the territory of the spiritual and temporal monarch (Akbar)," and slew him with his dagger.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rāja Bhagwant Dās to Zābulistān (Afghānistān). When Kunwar Mān Singh was sent to punish the Yūsufza'ī, the Rāja, who was commanding in the Panjāb, was appointed to that service (Afghānistān). On account[2] of his

[1] The passage is obscure. But I think that the I.O. MS. 236 by putting an iẓāfat after *rabūda* removes the difficulty. The words *rabūda-i-īzdī* mean, I think, one carried away by a Divine enthusiasm. In the Ā'īn, text, I. 561, we have *rabūdagī* used in the sense of ecstacy or madness. See also A.N. III. 637, six lines from foot where the words rabūda-i-khāmosh are applied to the madman Payīnda of Sind.

[2] Rāja Bhagwān went mad about this time: see next chapter. Badayūnī, Lowe, 364, implies that this was due to Akbar's having violated the safe-conduct which the Rāja had given to Yūsuf the ruler of Kashmīr. Akbar imprisoned Yūsuf, and, according to Badāyūnī, wanted to kill him.

"Bhagwān Dās, in order to save his safe-conduct and sense of honour, struck himself with a dagger." But there was probably madness in the Ambēr family, for Bhagwān's daughter, the wife of Jahāngīr, poisoned herself.

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evil star, he propounded certain improper desires, and the sovereign, surmising madness, restrained him from going. An order was issued to experienced men to prepare Sulṭān Daniel for this service. Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Ismā'īl Qulī and many other officers were appointed to accompany him. Thereupon Rāja Bhagwant Dās repented a thousand times of what he had said, and apologised and begged for forgiveness. H.M. accepted his apologies and on the 23rd he was allowed to go with many other prudent servants.[1]

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[1] The account in this chapter of the Berār and Deccan campaign of 'Azīz Koka should be compared with the T. Akbarī account in Elliot V. 442, 443 and with Badāyūni, Lowe, pp. 372 and 373. Perhaps peace was made with the Deccānīs because Akbar wanted the Khān-Khānān's services in Northern India.

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CHAPTER LXXXVII.

Return of H.M. towards Fatḥpūr.[1]

H.M. spent three months and twelve days pleasantly in Attock-Benares. Though he spent some time in hunting, some time in the blacksmith's shop in looking after gun-making, and some time in practising with a gun in the daulatkhāna (royal precincts?), and also night and day transacted political and financial business, yet his real design was to spend some time on the banks of the Indus in order to punish the Yūsufza'ī, and thereafter to proceed into Zābulistān (Afghānistān). But, on account of the dismay of the Tūrānians, the entreaty of the ambassador from that country, and the dearness of provisions, he determined to turn back. On the 24th[2] (Farwardīn), after the lapse of one watch of the night, he proceeded towards India, and thereby heaped happiness on abundance of men. On 15 Ardībihisht (24 April 1586), he crossed the Jhelam by a bridge, and halted for a time. On this day the paternal aunts[3] of M. Shāhrukh, and the latter's middle son Shāh Muḥ. Mīrzā, and some Kābulis waited on him. At the time when the royal standards were on the banks of the Indus, those chaste and secluded ladies had petitioned to the effect that they had a keen desire to kiss his threshold. Their weariness and weakness had deprived them of this bliss. Khānzāda Khānim came with the Mīrzās to Kabul, and, from a desire to pay her respects, she set off for India. She joined in with M. Shāhrukh, and then there happened what has
492 already been mentioned. She was helpless and had to stay in Gardez, where she was rejoicing in the company of the Mīrzā's son.

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[1] He did not get to Fatḥpūr then, and the Iqbālnāma changes the heading to "Lahore."

[2] The Ṭabaqāt A. has 21 Rabī'u-ṣ-ṣānī (4 April?).

[3] These two ladies, Khānzāda Khānim and Begum Sulṭān, were daughters of M. Sulaimān. The second one went with her father to Mecca, and on her return was married to one of the Mīrzās of Qandahār.

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Begam Sulṭān had accompanied M. Sulaīmān to the Ḥijāz and in Persia. On account of her marriage she stayed some time in Qandahār. When she got an opportunity, she came to Kābul. When this was known, H.M. sent Ulugh Beg Kābulī, and an order was issued that Khwāja Shamsud-dīn should provide the equipment and send them off. At this stage (the Jhelam) they had the bliss of doing homage. Ḥaīdar Ālī, Shādmān Hazāra, and Naẓr Beg, who, on account of their evil conduct, had not come before, brightened their foreheads by doing homage, and were exalted by princely favours.

One of the occurrences was Rāja Bhagwant Dās's becoming mad. When he took leave to go to Kābul, he crossed the Indus, and put up in the serai of Khairābād. For some days he looked after military matters. Suddenly, his intellect grew darkened, and he became very giddy. They were compelled to bring him back to Attock, and to place him under care. A physician named Sāmān was feeling his pulse, when suddenly he drew his dagger and wounded himself. On hearing this, H.M. sent Ḥakīm[1] Ḥasan and Mahādev along with Khangār and Daulat K. in order that the Rāja's friends might employ whichever of the four they preferred. They chose Mahādev, and after a long time he got better.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Kunwar Mān Singh to Qābulistān. When Rāja Bhagwān Dās fell ill, Ismā'īl Qulī was sent in his room. He, from inexperience and selfishness (*garm-bāzārī*), formed crude wishes, and indulged in idle thoughts. He fell out of favour, and an order was given that he should be put on board a boat and shipped off, *viâ* Bhakar, to the Ḥijāz. He awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and had recourse to supplications. Though his apologies were accepted, he was removed from his post and ordered to chastise the Yūsufza'ī. Mādhū Singh, Sa'īd K. Gakhar, Abul-Qāsim Tamkīn and the servants of Rāja Bhagwant Dās were nominated to assist him. Kunwar Mān Singh and another force were sent to Kābul.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Arab Bahādur. He chose a residence in the hill country of Bahrā'ich to the north of Dugāon[2] and near a black mountain. By the help of evil-minded

[1] B. 542 and 544.

[2] Dūgūn, دوگون in text. In Ain J. II. 176 we have, "In the vicinity of the town (Bahrā'ich) there is a

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Zamīndārs he established a fort there, and used to go about plundering, and then take refuge there. One day he had gone off rapidly. Kharak Rāi, a landholder, sent his son Dūla Rāi to attack the fort, and he took with him some followers of Ḥakīm Abul fatḥ who were in that neighbourhood. They marched 25 kos and reached the fort. The garrison thought it was 'Arab, and did not take
493 measures to defend the place. By their activity they got possession of it, and having seized the choice goods there, they set out on their return 'Arab heard of this and lay in ambush for them. Dūla had sent off the goods, and had halted to eat. Suddenly, 'Arab attacked the baggage, and the men abandoned it and fled. Dūla and some brave men came up, and defeated 'Arab. Many were killed and some were made prisoners, and some ran away. That turbulent fellow ('Arab) and some others got into a side-path,[1] and Dūla, on hearing of this pursued them, and put an end to 'Arab.

On the eve of the 16th the daughter of Rāja Bhagwant Dās gave birth to a daughter[2] in the house of Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and

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village called Dokon which for a long time possessed a mint for copper coinage." Dūgāon is on the edge of the table-land, and on the banks of the Sarjū, about four miles west of Nānpāra. It is now deserted, but there are the remains of a very large and substantially built town. It is said to have become deserted at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign in consequence of a saint named Shāh Sājan, whose tomb is still there, having cursed the place (Gazetteer of Oudh, Lucknow, 1877), I. 114. On a copper coin figured by Mr. C. J. Rodgers, No. 19 of Plate XX, J.A.S.B. for 1880, p. 213, the name is written Dokanu or Dogānwa. Nānpār (called Nāndpāra in Tiefenthaler, I. 290) is 22 m. N. Bahrā'ioh. It is described in I.G. XVIII. 367. There is an elaborate article on the Dogām mint by Dr. Vost, J.A.S.B. for 1899, pp. 69 and 74. The Ṭabaqāt Akbarī refers to 'Arab's death, Elliot V. 453, and Badāyūnī says "his head came rolling down from the mountains of Kumāon, and found its resting place on the pinnacles of the fort of Lahore (Lowe, 364).

[1] Text جای a place. The Maa'āṣir N. II. 773 and I.O. MS. 236 have جانبی jāniba, a side, or siding, and this is probably the true reading. The meaning seems to be that they took their way, and so got separated from their companions. The variant *cāhī*, a well, is probably a guess. It is not likely that three men would fall into a well. The Iqbālnāma has wādī, a watercourse. Badāyūnī, Lowe, 364, says the general report was that 'Arab died a natural death.

[2] The 16th Ardībihisht corresponds to about 26th April 1586. She died during her father's lifetime and is buried in the Khusrau Bāgh, Allahābād, near her mother.

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there were various rejoicings. The horoscope according to the Greek method gave 18 degrees of Sagittarius and according to Hindū calculation it was 1 degree 41 minutes. The enlightened sovereign called her Sulṭān Khirad and, contrary to the usage of contemporaries, he had an assemblage to render thanksgivings. There was a great feast in the house of Maryam Makānī, and there was a presentation of gifts, and there was largesse.

Also, at this time Mīrzā Shāhrukh and some heroes were sent to conquer Kashmīr, as the Kashmīrians had cast aside the peace, and their deceit was manifest. The Mīrzā was appointed to punish the promise-breakers. As it appeared that the Mīrzā's heart was not in the work, and that the thoughts of love for his native land did not leave him in his natural state, he was relieved from the task, and attention was given to the appointment of some one else.

When the mind of H.M. was somewhat relieved from affairs, he ordered a march from the banks of the Jhelam. On 5 Khurdād he crossed the Cīnāb at the "Shop-keeper's" Ferry near Kanjā by a bridge.

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CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

THE ILLUMINATION OF LAHORE BY THE ADVENT OF THE SHAHINSHAH.

The idea of most people was that the world's Khedive would not turn his rein till he arrived at Fatḥpūr. But the sovereign of an awakened heart did not yield to such a wish, and the pleasant palaces of that city did not engage his heart. His sole thought was that he would stay for a while in the Panjāb, and would give peace to the Zābulī land (Afghānistan), cleanse Swād and Bajaur of the
494 stain of rebellion, uproot the thorn of the Tārīkīān (the Raushānīs) from Tīrāh and Bangash, seize the garden of Kashmīr, and bring the populous country of Tatta (Scinde) within the empire. Furthermore, should the ruler of Tūrān remove the foot of friendliness, he would send a glorious army thither, and follow it up in person. With these profound views he resolved to spend some time in Lāhore the capital. He traversed 112½ *kos* from Attock-Benares in twenty-six marches and reached Lahore on the night of the 15th (Khurdād), 27th May 1586. He selected for his residence the houses of Rāja Bhāgwant Dās. Every section of mankind had their heart desires gratified. The market people gathered profits, and some light penetrated to the bigoted and conventional. On 2[1] Tīr, 12 June 1586, the lunar weighment took place, and that noble personality was, according to the annual custom, weighed against eight things, and the wishes of the needy of the time were satisfied.[2]

At this time the marriage-feast of Prince Sulṭān Salīm took place. When it was brought to his august notice that Rāi Rai

[1] This date corresponds to 5 Rajab 994 and consequently to the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the Muḥammadan calendar. There is some confusion both in the T. Akbarī, and in the translation from it in Elliot V. 453. The T. Akbarī puts the events of the 31st year of the reign into the 32nd (Badāyūnī has animadverted on this mistake), and Elliot on p. 453 has wrongly got the date of 13 Rajab as that of the weighment, instead of 5. See Newal Kishor's ed., p. 370.

[2] By the articles being afterwards distributed to them.

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Singh desired that his chaste child might enter the Prince's harem, the appreciative Shāhinshāh granted his request, and arranged for the marriage presents and for the materials of joy. On the 16th (Tīr), 26th June, he, together with the princes and grandees went to the house of that fortunate one (Rāi Rāi Singh), and in an auspicious hour the joyful union took place. There was a daily market of joy. Also about this time the daughter of Sa'īd K. Gakkar entered the service of that nursling of the Caliphate and thereby conferred greatness on her family.

One[1] of the occurrences was an instance of great liberality on the part of the Court. Owing to the goodness of the administration, grain became very cheap in the provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, and it was difficult for the cultivators to pay the revenue (lit. the cost, "*pā ranj*," of protection). The just sovereign remitted one-sixth. In the Khāliṣa lands this amounted to four crors, five lakhs, sixty thousand and five hundred and ninety-six (45,60,596) *dāms*. From this, some estimate may be made of the reduction to the *jagīrdārs*. A multitude of men obtained relief, and formed assemblies for thanksgivings and rejoicings.

Verse.

How good is the nature of the sovereign,
He strews pearls in lieu of flowers and grass.
Both wide plains and narrow defiles
Glory in the presence of their king.

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[1] Cf. p. 463, where a similar remission in the previous year is described. The Iqbālnāma also refers to the subject, and says the price of grain became so low that the ryots were unable to pay their rent. An order was therefore issued to remit one-sixth on the khaliṣa lands, which caused a loss of 4 krors, 5 lakhs, 60,000 dāms = 10 lakhs, 14,000 rupīs. The fief-holders were also enjoined to make a similar reduction on their estates. Both A. F. and the author of the Iqbālnāma say that from the figures for the khāliṣa lands, the amount of remission on the fiefs may in some measure be estimated. In the Ā'yīn the khāliṣa and the fief revenues for each Sarkār are given, but if we total the revenue for the three provinces of Allahabad, Oudh and Delhi, and then deduct one-sixth, the amount of the remission comes to many more than four krors. Probably no remission was made where the revenue was payable in kind.

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One of the occurrences was the failure of the tricks of Muẓaffar Gujarātī. When that slumbrous-witted one had no power left to make war, he had recourse to stratagems. He secretly sent to Aḥmadābād a person to whom had been given the title of Hāmān (the name of Pharaoh's vizier and of Abraham's brother), and he wrote several letters to the imperial officers. His notion was that if these reached the officers of the province, they would become sus-
495 pected, and that the dust of double-facedness might be raised in some of them, and that some might come over to his side. By good fortune, the bearer of the letters, and also the letters, were seized, and his vain contrivance was discovered. That wicked man was capitally punished. Muẓaffar had also retained mercenary persons to take the lives of the officers. Accordingly he corrupted an Afghān named Shahbāz K. who was with Mukammal Beg. That traitor killed Mukammal, but he too was caught and suffered the punishment of his disloyalty. Alertness was the order of the day, and the schemes of that vain contriver were destroyed.

Also, at this time the condition of the Yūsufza'ī tribe became difficult. Assuredly, whoever withdraws his head from subjection to the world's lord falls into various miseries. While the officers were exerting themselves in attacking and plundering, in killing and in binding, the heavens were also taking vengeance on the Yūsufza'ī. Food became dear and the air grew unwholesome. Serious diseases broke out, and strength and cunning failed. Sulṭān Quraish, Būstān Kālū, Sulṭān Bāyazīd and other chiefs appeared before Isma'īl Qulī, and behaved with humility. It was agreed that when they came out of the hill-country with their families[1] they would beg for forgiveness from the Court.

One of the occurrences was Ṣādiq K.'s attack on Sahwān. He came from the court to Multān, and took an army to that quarter. Mīrzā Jānī Beg, the ruler of that place, sent Bartaq and Kochak Arghūn, Mīrzā Beg and Rustam Tarkhān with many troops to fight,

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[1] Aghrūq, perhaps, tents, etc. The Iqbālnāma refers to the distress of the Yūsufza'ī, and says their leaders appeared before Ismā'īl with shrouds round their necks. The Khulāṣatut-Tawārīkh says the same thing and adds that it is well known that the Yūsufza'ī sold their women for food.

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and there was a great battle. Kochak and Mīrzā Beg were killed, and Rustam was made prisoner. Becoming bolder on account of this success, Ṣādiq went on without taking into consideration the number of the soldiers of that country and invested the fort of Sahwān. Some of the wall was thrown down by mining, but as the earthen parapet was very high they were not able to enter. There was such delay that the garrison was able to make another wall. As the work was difficult, they withdrew from it and went to Naṣīrpūr, and collected spoil. The ruler of that country came forth with a large equipment to fight, but before he arrived, Ṣādiq K. perceived that the proper thing to do was to retire.

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CHAPTER LXXXIX.

THE SENDING OF QĀSIM K. TO CONQUER KASHMĪR.

496 As the Kashmīrīāns in their folly did not adhere to the treaty, and as Ya'qūb the evildoer thought that he was safe behind the barrier of difficult mountains, and was proceeding rapidly in an evil course, H.M. addressed himself anew to the conquest of the country. A discussion took place about sending troops there. Many leaders thought the enterprise difficult and were not inclined for it. Though the writer of the noble volume frequently pointed out excellent methods for the conquest, there was no good result. By the orders of H.M., a meeting of astrologers was held, and a close investigation of the horoscope of the year, and of the state of the constellations, was made. The diagrams (*namūdar*) showed that if some energy were exerted the conquest would be quickly made. When this was brought to the knowledge of H.M., his royal idea took form. At this time Ḥaidar Cak and Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī represented, "The grandees of that country will not swerve from our views, and if a few of the landholders be sent with the Panjāb troops, it is probable that the country will come into H.M.'s hands without a contest." Accordingly, Mubārak K. and Jalāl K. Gakhars[1] and other Zamīndārs were sent off. The two Kashmīrīs waited near Bhimbhar in expectation of assistance. In the meantime it flashed upon H.M.'s mind that the suggestion that landholders should be taken, indicated that there was some evil design. Accordingly he assigned this service to Qāsim K., who was among the singular of the age for ability and courage. On 18 Tīr, 28th June 1586, Fatḥ K.[2], Masnad 'Ālī, Gujar K., M. 'Alī Akbarshāhī, S. Daulat Khanjarī,[3] S. Sikandar Rafīq, Shāh Muḥammad, Mīr 'Abdur Razzāq Mamūrī, Yādgār Ḥusain, Lāl

[1] They were both Gakhars, Mubārak being Sulṭān Sārang's grandson and Jalāl Sulṭān Adam's grandson. B. 486.

[2] He had charge of the leopards.

[3] The Iqbālnāma has "and Hijre (or Khanjarī)."

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Deo, Sonar[1] Chand, Khwāja Ẓahīr, Pādshāh Qulī Shafaqat, Walī Beg, Hazārī Beg and many manṣabdārs and aḥadīs and officers' servants were sent off under his command. Every one of them was furnished with counsels suitable to his capacity. They were to practise enlightenment, justice, the non-sufferance of wickedness, the accepting of apologies, and the chastisement of the evil. Sharīf[2] Sarmadī was appointed Bakhshī, and an order was given that the men who had been previously sent should not deviate from the orders of the General.

One of the occurrences was the sending back of the Tūrān ambassador. Though by the return of the royal standards from the banks of the Indus, the ruler of that country had recovered from his alarm, yet when it was represented to H.M. that he was anxious on account of the long detention of his ambassador, H.M. showed him special favours, and gave him leave on 12 Shahrīyūr (23 August), and also set apart various rarities. He despatched Ḥakīm Hamām, who was able and loyal, with a message in order that he might convey the letter and impress on 'Abdullā K. the choice qualities of the Shāhinshāh. He was also to study the minds of high and 497
low and to report thereon. Mīr Ṣadr Jahān Muftī was also sent to express condolences for the death of Sikandar[3] K. He had died three years before, but as at that time there was an idea of conquering the country, condolences had not been sent. Now that 'Abdullā K. had recourse to amicable expressions, and had adopted the rules of concord, the Mīr was sent upon this mission.

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1 The Iqbālnāma and I.O. MS. 236 have Sanesār.

2 He was a poet. B. 516.

3 'Abdullā's father. He died in 991 or 1583. The letter which follows, refers to his death.

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CHAPTER XC.

DRAFT[1] (SAWĀD) OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S LETTER.

The odours of the workshop of the springtime of singleheartedness, and the vision of the masterpiece of the pinacothek of farseeing wisdom which the garland-twiners of friendship's garden had decked, and the written characters of the artists of the delightsome picture-gallery of the high-born one, who is the glory of throne and diadem, unveiler of the countenance of wisdom and knowledge, distinguished legislator[2] of the philosophic world (?), great lord of the universe of justice, enkindler of the lamp of the Khāns, uplifter of the royal[3] umbrella, at the [illegible] excellent of seasons, when the drums of the New Year [illegible] beating [illegible] a world-cherishing sound under the blue dome, and the great Luminary, the Universe's Donor, to wit, the world-warming sun, the enthroned Sulṭān of Day, Dictator of the seven climes of the elements, and the bodies, had cast his glorious shadow over the heads of one and all, and when the gales of spring were breathing the vegetative souls into the frames of the newcomers to the realms of earth and water, and the March-winds[4] had washed the dust-worn squadrons of the army

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[1] Does the use of word *sawād* mean that this was a rough draft, and that afterwards another exordium was prepared, viz. that which appears in letter 2 of the Inshā? The exordium of this *sawād* is that of the 3rd letter of Inshā, but the body of it agrees with the 2nd letter of the Inshā.

[2] It is نواين in the text, but perhaps نوين, *nuvīn*, prince, is the true reading.

[3] كيانى Kayānī. Here used to mean any great king, for 'Abdullā had no connection with the Kayānīān dynasty of Persia. The point of the whole of the exordium seems to be that it was a marvellous coincidence that the ambassador and the letter arrived about the time of the New Year.

[4] Text Abr-i-Āzarī, but it is not the Persian month Azar, which corresponds to November, that is meant, but the Syrian month Āzār that is meant. Apparently then we should read Āzārī. See D'Herbelot s. v. Azār who warns his readers against

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of spring. The foundations of friendship rose up anew, and the laws of singlemindedness received fresh honour. The cordial words of love, kinship, unity and well-wishing which had imbibed a fragrance from the perfumed pen, and had flowed from the jewelled reed have been received and have been much appreciated. They have greatly rejoiced us.

It will not be hidden from your wise heart and your heaven-reaching perception, which is a treasury of Divine mysteries, and a mirror of the face of understanding, that this suppliant at the gate of the unconditioned (*beniyāz*) One hath during the thirty years which by Heaven's aid he hath spent on the throne of prosperity, ever kept before his eyes the truth that all this autocracy and world-rule, all this sword-bearing and clime-conquering, are for the purpose of shepherding, and for doing the work of watch and ward; not for the amassing of treasures of gold and silver, or for decorating the throne and diadem, or for letting one's feet halt in the mud of transitory pleasures, or for sinking the head into the collar of unstable desires. Hence, there has ever been nought but goodness and good-will towards friend and foe, kinsman and stranger. **498** There hath been a constant stirring towards the soothment of mortals, whether high or low, and for graciousness to men of the age, whether anear or afar. God knows that the cleansing of the four[1] *dāngs* of India, and the sweeping away of the weeds and

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the confounding of the two months. The Syrian month corresponds to March.

[1] The phrase means ⅔ of the seven climes. There is a saying that India is 4 *dāngs* and Persia 2 *dāngs*. See Gulbadan's Mem. 170. See also Akbar's letter to Shah 'Abbās in first part of A. F.'s letters where the expression "four *dāngs* of the 7 climes is used." The expression "*four dāngs*" occurs in the Persian epitaph to William Hamilton, Surgeon, St. John's Churchyard, Calcutta. See Wilson's Inscriptions on Tombs in Bengal, p. 16, where the phrase is wrongly translated by the words "the four quarters."

James Fraser in his history of Nādir Shāh, p. 16 of 2nd ed., states that he has copies of the letters which 'Abdullā K. wrote to Akbar and in which he calls him to a severe account for being so fond of the Brahmin or Indian priests, and so indifferent to the Muhammadan religion. It would be interesting to have these letters. They do not appear to be included in the list of MSS. at the end of Fraser's volume. (Are they in the Bodleian?).

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rubbish from this garden, which is bounded on three sides by the ocean, did not proceed from self-will and self-indulgence, and that we had no object except to be kind to mortals, and to obliterate the oppressors. Hence it is that wherever I turned myself, difficult things were easily accomplished, and that the face of satisfaction emerged beauteously from the veil of hope. When our amiability was such to the others of God's servants (i.e. mankind), what could it be to that highborn patrician who belongs to the noble and befriended ones of the palace of sovereignty, and with whom we were linked by the bonds of ancient affection and near relationship. To the eyes of the acute and prudent it is evident that any one of these ties is sufficient. And when all of them are together, it is evident that there can be nought but unison. This singlemindedness is the material of the civilization of the world, and the bond of mankind.

With regard to the intimations [1] about stopping letters and intercourse, though in the eye of reason, silence is better than speech in such matters, yet we shall overlook this. We consider, however, that lengthy discourse about these things is unfitting, and so content ourselves with this verse which has been written concerning glorious ones of the Faith.

Verse.

Of God, people have said that He had a son; of the Prophet they have said that he was a sorcerer.
Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men. Much less I!

God be praised! From the beginning of our existence and from the emergence of the rays of the light of the Sulṭanat which is yoked with auspiciousness, the straight path of religion and faith, and the right road of truth and certainty have been the desire of our eyes. Assuredly, in accordance with the saying that rule and faith are twins, the elevation of the degrees of august sovereignty, and the uprearing of the standards of daily-increasing fortune are

[1] This probably refers to some remark of 'Abdullā's about breaking off communications with Akbar on account of his having ceased to be a Musalmān.

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a full and satisfactory proof of our observance of the Faith. May Almighty God keep all fixed and stable in doing His good pleasure! And as the sum total of the desires of just princes, who sit on the thrones of greatness, is that all mankind and every creature, who are the wondrous deposits of the Almighty, should abide in peace and tranquillity, and should strive strenuously in obeying God, and in the ways of a well-intentioned life, we have during this time striven for the arrangement and ordering of these extensive dominions, which were the seats of so many great sovereigns and rulers, and have by God's favour, which attends this suppliant at the Divine gate, obtained full repose by the management of these countries. Places which from the time of rise of the sun of Islām till the present day had not been trod by the horse-hoofs of world-conquering princes and where their swords had never flashed, have become the dwelling-places and the homes of the 499
faithful. The churches and temples of the infidels and heretics [1] have become mosques and holy shrines for the masters of orthodoxy. God be praised! What we wished for has been accomplished, and arrangements have been made in accordance with our desires. All the leaders and stiff-necked ones of the hosts of Hindus and others, have placed the rings of obedience in their ears and been enrolled among the victorious armies. All classes of mankind have attained joy. We too in accordance with the principle "Do [2] good as God doth good to thee" devote our energies towards promulgating the laws of kindness, the laying the foundations of justice, the spreading of the lights of benevolence, and the irrigating of the gardens of men's hopes and peace, with oozings from the clouds of graciousness, and beneficence, so that they may be kept fresh and verdant.

I have kept before my mind the idea that when I should be entirely at liberty from these tasks, I should, under the guidance of God's favour, undertake the destruction of the Feringhi infidels who have come to the islands (jazā'ir-i-daryā-i-, query, peninsulas ?)

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1 *Khazlān*, lit. deserters or wanderers, but here I presume meaning wanderers from the faith.

2 As pointed out by the Lucknow edition, this is from the Qorān, the 28th Surā. Sale translates, "But be thou bounteous *to others*, as God hath been bounteous unto thee."

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of the ocean, and have lifted up the head of turbulence, and stretched out the hand of oppression upon the pilgrims to the holy places. May God increase their glory! They (the Franks) have become a great number and are stumbling-blocks to the pilgrims and traders. We thought of going in person and cleansing that road from thorns and weeds. But as we heard that some of the officers of Persia had proved disloyal to their sovereign, and had cast away the firm handle of fidelity—which had been the means of their exaltation—and had committed various improprieties, it passed into our mind that we should appoint to that region one of our sons—from whose forehead there streamed the rays of auspiciousness, and in whose horoscope were the lights of justice—and not undertake any other work until that was disposed of. At present when the Sulṭān of Turkey, regarding the treaties and agreements made by his father and grandfather as non-existent, has looked to the ostensibly feeble condition of Persia, and has, several times, sent his troops there, we shall, passing over the circumstance of the deviation from the highway of Sunnism (*sunnut-u-jamā'at*) and looking only to the relationship (of that dynasty) with the family of the Prophet, proceed thither and help them. Assuredly, ancient things should be borne in mind, especially at this time when, as we hear, the ruler of Persia has dispatched able men of that country (to us) with presents, and with a prayer for help. It befits our sublime spirit that we should fling out the reins of interest towards 'Irāq and Khurāsān. It also appears to us that as the ties of friendship and relationship with that workshop of sovereignty ('Abdullā) have existed from old times, and have been revived by the sending of a loving letter, in company with that asylum of Saiyidship and magistracy, Mīr Quraish, and when the bonds of affection have been thereby strengthened, you also should proceed from your dominions towards that country so that it may become a meeting of the two seas of glory, and superiority and the rising of the two auspicious planets of splendour and beauty.

500 By oral communications, without the intervention of couriers and messages, the foundations of love and unity may be made stronger, and various heartfelt words, and secrets allied to truths, which are concealed in our hearts, and also matters of theology and observance of the truth may be mentioned in the friendly

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meeting, and we may also hear the refined subleties in the matters of Divine knowledge which have cast their rays on the soul of that workshop of magnificence ('Abdullāh). The cream of life and the excellence of prosperity consist in sociability and spiritual intercourse, especially when between two chosen ones of God who have been glanced upon by the court of sublimity. Assuredly, this proceeding would be the cause of general excellence at that time when by God's help this wish shall be realised—inasmuch as the ambition of those who are approved by God and have been exalted by him is to do what is well-pleasing to him, and not to acquire name and sway among men. Accordingly it is our heart's desire—and we hope that it is also yours—that we may have intercourse with one who is eminent for his knowledge and following of the truth, and that we may be in union with him and not depart from his counsel. Now that the association of concord and agreement is patent to all, what is proper in the matter of assisting the rule of 'Irāq and Khurāsān will come forth from its inner ambush to the world of manifestation.

The apologies[1] which you have made with a loving pen with regard to the catastrophe of our honoured protegé (*farzand*, lit. child) Shāhrukh Mīrzā have delighted our justice-loving heart. True it is, he, on account of youth, self-conceit, and bad companionship, has exhibited so many improper actions. Each one of these causes has contributed to his affairs coming to such a pass. In the first place, on account of the promptings of some short-sighted persons, he has many times failed on obedience to ourselves. Secondly, he has not behaved to your noble self in a becoming manner. Thirdly, he has behaved in such an improper manner to his venerable grandfather, who had so many spiritual and mate-

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[1] معذرت *m'azirate*. The use of this word is explained by a passage in the Rauẓāt-uṭ-Ṭāhirīn at the beginning of the account of the year 994. It is there stated that 'Abdullah K. wrote to Akbar that Mīrzā Shāhrukh had very improperly attacked and plundered some of his villages, and that in consequence he ('Abdullah) had sent troops to restrain the Mīrzā, and that thereupon the Mīrzā, acting merely upon suspicion, had abandoned the country and proceeded towards Akbar. The fault then was not "this faqīr's, *i.e.* 'Abdullāh's, as he had acted out of friendship."

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rial claims upon him. Every chastisement that has come upon him has been of the nature of a Divine monition and inspiration. Now that he has awakened from the sleep of negligence, and has turned towards the strong handle of our graciousness, we cannot be otherwise than kind and forgiving to him. We hope that, in accordance with your noble nature, you will overlook his transgressions.

In order to strengthen the foundations of affection, we are sending the wise and loyal Ḥakīm Hamām, who is a sincere speaker of truth and a rightly-acting disciple. From the beginning of his service he has been in close attendance on us, and we never had the thought of sending him away. When such has been his relationship to us that he has made suggestions to us without the intervention of any one else, if similar treatment be accorded to him in your noble audiences, it will be as if we and you were con-
501 versing directly with one another.

In order to convey our condolences for the death of the pardoned and blessed Sikandar K. we had appointed that reservoir of Saiyidship and high magistrate Ṣadr Jahān, who is one of the great and holy ones of this country. From various causes there has been delay in tendering these. We now are enabled through his kindness to send him.

We are sending some specimens of presents under the charge of the excellent Muḥammad[1] 'Ali along with a separate list. May we always continue to interchange letters and presents! We have been delighted by your procuring and sending fairy-flying pigeons from Farghāna, and the able pigeon fancier, Ḥabīb. We have felt the fragrance of your love and concord in this. Though at first sight the regard for a handful of feathers seems but sportiveness, yet, on further consideration it will appear that the evolutions (*charkh u bāzī*) and play of those birds remind us of the ecstacies of the lords of enthusiasm, and lead to a contemplation of the Deity. God who knows the secrets of the hearts, knows that our apparent and casual occupation with such things is but a veil over the beauty of devotion to the First Cause, and that our soul is not satisfied with the simplicity (mujarrad) of outward wings and feathers.

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[1] This was Muḥammad 'Alī Khazāncī.

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Verse.

A letter[1] with very special words
Has been composed; and now, compliments and blessings.

One of the occurrences was a great flood at Sirhind. The rain began on the 28th (Shahrīyūr) (8 September 1586), and continued for three[2] days and nights. A violent flood came from the northern[3] hills, and in the city the water rose to three yards (*gaz*). Outside it was five yards. Nearly 2000 houses were destroyed, and the fort-wall was thrown down for 150 yards. 500 yards of the old garden were destroyed, and 100 of the new one, and much property was carried away by the water. One hundred persons were drowned and 2000 animals. The high road to the capital was closed for a time. The Superintendents of Fate showed this spectacle, and thereby gave warning to those who were sunk in carelessness, and awoke the slumbering. Apparently, H.M.'s fortune was illustrated by such things. If retribution were made for wicked actions, assuredly a typhoon of fire and water would have been necessary. But the right-thinking and truth-seeking of the Ruler saved humanity and so it was not overwhelmed by a day of retribution!

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[1] There are three letters to 'Abdullah in the first book of Abul Faẓl's letters. They are not chronologically arranged, for the first one was written ten years after the second and third. Accordingly, it appears in the Akbarnāma III. 704 among the transactions of the 41st year. The second and third letters in the book of letters are nearly identical, and seem to be drafts of one and the same original. The beginning of the letter, which has just been translated, corresponds to the beginning of letter No. 3 of the Maktūbāt, but the rest of it agrees with the second letter. The third is probably a rejected draft, for it does not appear in the Akbarnāma except as to the beginning, and it contains a still more laboured defence against the charge of impiety.

[2] I.O. MS. has *se*, thirty instead of *seh*, three, and this seems more likely.

[3] The Lucknow edition has *shālī* instead of *shimālī* and speaks, in note 7, of Shālī as a well-known mountain. There is such a mountain in the Simla district, north of Sirhind. See I.G. XII. 374, old edition. Sirhind was famous for its gardens.

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CHAPTER XCI.

THE CONQUEST OF THE FLOURISHING COUNTRY OF KASHMĪR THROUGH THE FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

It is an old rule that when good intention and choice action meet together in a seeker after fortune, Almighty God grants him the easy realisation of every wish that he may entertain, and even spiritual and physical successes for which he has as yet framed no wish rise up and serve those favourites of fortune who possess those
502 two attributes (good intention and choice action). Accordingly the circumstances of the world's lord tell of this, and this book in some measure recites the fact. The conquest of this country was a new instance. Whoever knows a little about the ravines of the road to it will understand that no thought of strange conquest troubled the minds (of the inhabitants). On all four sides, mountains which raise their heads to heaven act as sentinels. Though there are six or seven roads, yet a large army cannot march rapidly by them, and in every one of them there are places where if some old men rolled down stones, the bravest of men (lit. men of men) could not pass. On this account, former princes did not think of conquering it and prudence turned them away from such a wish. For a long time H.M. had cherished the thought of conquering it, but the fluent talkers of the court, who could not advance a step beyond superficiality, could not conceive such an idea. When the standards of justice cast their shadow over the Punjab, the thought became keener, and though the leading officers of the court sent out armies badly equipped, the stewards of fate stood firm and worked wonders. In the first place, the wicked Y'aqūb increased in presumption and became refractory. He heard of the confused condition of the victorious army, and abolished the treaty. Panegyrists and flatterers induced him to take the title of Shāh Ismā'īl. He took evil ways to be virtues and voluntarily trod the desert of failure. He fell into improper desires, and by his tyrannical exertions stirred up the hearts of the people against himself. He did not do

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the work of the world and took part in religious disputes. He was passionate and a molester of mankind. Though in that country the laws of Brahmanism (Hinduism) and of Sākyamūnī [1] used to prevail, yet for a long time there had been a predominance of the Sunnīs and Shī'as. By Time's jugglery each prevailed over the other for a season, and the booths of self-auctioning were tricked out. By the dexterity of practical men, the screen of moderation had been hung, and the dust of dissension not allowed to rise. But now he (Ya'qūb) drew back the veil of respect and set himself to vex the Sunnīs. He put to death the aged Qāẓī [2] Mūsā, and had his house and home plundered. The dormant turbulence awoke, and Shams Chak came forward to contend for the supremacy and to take vengeance. Muḥammad Bhat—who was the wily Dimna [3] of the country—got his opportunity and widened out the arena of evil thoughts. He urged the muddle-headed youth secretly to get rid of Shams [4] Chak, 'Ali Sher Mākrī, Saiyid Ḥusain and the other leaders of that sect (the Sunnīs). They got news of this, and proceeded along the same road that he had intended to pursue (meaning, apparently, that they too meditated assassination). Muḥammad withdrew himself, but was caught after a little search, and when he was put into prison, Shams Chak determined on having the mastery, and became prominent. Ya'qūb also took up arms. Suddenly, the sound of the victorious army robbed high and low of endurance, and by the eloquence of men of the world a peace was brought about. The district of Kāmrāj [5] was surrendered to Shams Chak, but in a short time

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[1] Text Shākmūnī.

[2] Badāyūnī, Lowe 365, says that Y'aqūb killed the Qāẓī with his own hand, but this does not appear to be correct. The historians of Kashmīr give some particulars. Ya'qūb, it seems, wanted the Qāẓī to enter the name of 'Alī into the public prayers and the Qāẓī objected, and said that temporal rulers had nothing to do with spiritual matters. Ya'qūb was offended and sent for the executioneer and put him to death. The fullest account is to be found in B.M. MS. Add. 24,029.

[3] One of the two jackals of the Anwārī Suhailī.

[4] Lawrence, 193, says the Caks were Shīās, and indeed Y'aqūb was himself a Cak. Either Shams Cak was an exception to the rest of his clan, or he was actuated by ambition and not by religious feeling.

[5] Kāmrāj and Marāj were two districts into which Kashmīr was divided, the former being the northern

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503 the unfortunate Ya'qūb forgot the agreement and led an army against him, and by alertness got the enemy into his clutches.

When the victorious army marched from Court, there was a daily market of foolish talkers, until it came to the Cīnāb. They imagined that the completion of the work would be very difficult. When they had crossed the river, the news of the bad behaviour of Ya'qūb, the mutual disputes, and the imploring letters of the chief men of the country, and, in particular, of 'Alī Sher Mākrī, arrived, one after the other. The skilful who could read the future from the appearance of the present, and recognise the conclusion from the beginning, recited the tale of victory, and prepared[1] for battle. Every one recognised his place. The centre was adorned by the presence of the General. In the right wing were Masnad 'Ālī, Fatḥ K., Mubārak K., and others. In the left wing were Jalāl K., and other battle-seeking heroes. In the vanguard were Mīrzā 'Ālī Akbarshāhī, Gūjar K., Shaikh Daulat, Sharīf Sarmadī and a number of Aḥadīs and other gallant men. On 21 Shahriyūr (1 September, 1586) they passed through the defile of Bhimbhar. Selīm *Zamīndār* disappeared (lit. went aside). Qāsim K. wisely made Bahlol his brother's son the chief, and preserved tranquillity. In a short time the devious one (Selīm) also joined the army. In Rajaurī, Bahrām Nā'yīk,[2] Isma'īl Nāyīk, and Shankī Charwar, who were the chief conductors of the Passes, came and paid their respects. They offered up good wishes for the conquest of the country. They represented that the ungrateful Ya'qūb had fled to the corner of contempt, and that the heads of the country were looking forward to the arrival of the army. They said there were two roads from that place (Rajaurī). One was the Kapartal,[3] and this was the most open of

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half of the valley. J. II. 365 *n.* 1. It contained the residence of the Caks (at Tārāgāon). See also Stein, Rājataranginī, Book II, verse 15, note.

[1] Text بردہ آرای *barda ārāī* which does not seem intelligible. I adopt the reading of I.O. MS. 235, *nabard ārāī*.

[2] The passes were in charge of officers called Nāyīks, i.e. leaders. See Stein's Rājataranginī II. 391.

[3] کپرتل. I have not found this place on the maps or in Stein's 'Rājataranginī' or in the Gazetteer. There are several variants as has been pointed out in the note to Elliot V. 464. In I.O. MS. 236, it is Katanbab. B. 380, *n.* 2, gives the variant کنمریل Kanmarīl. The word

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the routes. The other was the Pīr Panjāl. They were the warders of both. If they marched quickly, the oppressed would obtain

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occurs twice in Niẓāmud-dīn, and also again in the A.N., in the account of Akbar's second visit to Kashmir in the 37th year. See p. 622. Evidently, it was the pass to the Hastī Watar and Hīrapūr route, and I incline to think that it must be the same as the Darhāl Valley. Darhāl is about 12 m. N.-E. Rajaurī and on the old Pathan road to the Aliābād Serai (Bates). See also Stein II. 393, who says that the Darhāl and Ruprī Passes are not named in the Chronicles, but as they are the most direct route to (or from) Rajaurī and are crossed without much trouble in the summer months, they are likely to have been used from an early time. It will be remembered that Qāsim entered the passes in the autumn. Near the Darhāl Pass is the Nandan Sar lake. The first syllable of Darhāl probably means gate, and there may have been another and more distinctive name for the pass. There is a place Katarmal marked on Stein's map. This resembles the word Kapartal, but it is in the wrong direction, being about 4 m. N.-W. Rajaurī. The two places Kandal marked on the maps, and lying about 9 m. E. Rajaurī are more in the right direction, and as Karanbal is one of the many variants of Kapartal, it is possible that Kandal represents the place meant by A. F.

The Akrambāl, اکرمبال, Pass mentioned on pp. 504-05 must, I think, be the Kramavarta of Stein. See his note D, II. 291. Kramavarta was anciently called Kāmbava, *id.* Book III, verse 227; and a place near it, if not the same place, was called Kāmelankotta. Only if this is so, it would seem that the Hastī Watar of A. F. is not the Hastivanj of Stein, for the latter place is west of Kramavarta, whereas Hastī Watar was east of Akrambāl or Kramavarta and nearer to Kashmīr. This too is in accordance with the description at p. 504, l. 7, of the A. N., where we are told that Hastī Watar is the first pass for one coming from Kashmir and the third for the traveller from India. The three passes here referred to must be the three great passes referred to at p. 504, line 6, which no doubt are the Kapartal, Akrambāl, and Hastī Watar Passes. It cannot be said of Dr. Stein's Hastivanj that it is the first pass from Kashmīr. From A. N. III. 622 it would appear that Hastī Watar was some ten miles beyond Akrambāl, and apparently it was close to Hīrapūr (Surapura). It must have been near the place marked Dranga in Stein's map. It will be noticed that the Ruprī route seems to join the Pīr Pantsāl route a little to the east of 'Alīābād Serai. See also Stein, Book I, V. 305, note, where it is stated that at Aliābād Serai the ordinary, or Imperial route is joined from the south by a route which leads past the Nandan Sar lake over the Darhāl Pass to Rajaurī. If Qasim K. came by the Ruprī Valley

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justice and repose. This news was received with delight, and there were feastings. In accordance with the opinions of the skilful and well-intentioned, the Kapartal route was chosen. The new-comers represented that owing to the difficulty of traversing the passes, and the largeness of the army, there would be delay in arriving, and that the Kashmīrī chiefs were waiting [1] on the hill in expectation of the arrival of the army. It would be advisable to send some capable men on in front. The first thing to do was to raise their (the Kashmīrī chiefs') hopes by princely favours, and then to march rapidly into the city, and beat high the drum of victory. These statements were weighed and considered, and Ya'qūb and Jai Tawāchībāshī, and Sher and Selīm were sent forward with some musketeers. Shankī Chārwar accompanied them, and the main body of the army followed afterwards. When [2] they got to the top of the Kapartal Kotal a different state of things appeared. At
504 the top of this pass three walls with a thickness of four yards and a height of ten yards had been erected. Also beams thirty yards long had been intertwined. The ancients too had cast a spell on the place, so that when a foreign army passed, there were snow and ice and hail. Accordingly a wonderful commotion arose. In such a tempest they traversed hills and declivities and arrived near the pass of Akrambāl (?). There the snow increased, and many animals died of the excessive cold. At this time some musketeers who had gone forward with Jai, arrived at the camp in a wounded condition, and reported the treachery of the Kashmīrīs. There were three great passes (*garīwa*) on the route, and all the world was eloquent about the difficulty of them. It had been represented that the Kashmīrīs were waiting at Hastī Watar [3] which is the third

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he would apparently strike the Pir Pantsāl route east of Alīābād and possibly also of Hastiavanj which is half a mile lower down the river, i.e. more to the eastward. But if he came by the Ladak Valley he would strike the road at or to the west of Hastīvanj.

[1] That is, waiting to desert Y'aqub and to join Qāsim K.

[2] See Chalmers' translation of this passage in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 201.

[3] Colonel Jarrett and the Governor of Jammū, J. II. 347, n. 3, and 383, n. 1, thought that Hastī Watar was a mistake for Hastī Bhanj (the Hastīvanj of Stein's map), but if so, the mistake seems to have been Abul Faẓl's and not his copyist's, for all

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range (*garīwa*) from India, and the first from Kashmīr. The advance party did not find them there though it appeared[1] that a body of men had come and then gone back. They asked Shankī Chārwar[2] "Why did they come and why did they go away?" He replied, "Apparently they went back through fear that Ya'qūb would seize the top of the hill." Meanwhile Muḥammad Land, Dilāwar K., Bahādur K. and a number of the Kashmīrī leaders arrived and proceeded to give battle.[3] Shaikh Ya'qūb had two wounds and fell, and nearly died. His friends saved him. Jai fell on the ground with twelve wounds. Some fought bravely, and slept the last sleep. All at once there was a storm of rain and snow, and the men were discomposed. Jai has been heard to say that he lost his senses in that snowstorm, and that while he was insensible H.M. appeared to him, and bade him take courage. At that moment his senses returned to him, and he acquired strength. But the many wounds, the heavy snow, the loneliness, and the pangs of hunger bewildered him. Suddenly some men appeared and he was taken up and carried to Shams Cak who treated him kindly and sent him to the city.

The wonderful[4] workings of fate were such that when Ya'qūb fell into the slumber of presumption on account of his having seized Shams Chak, he dropped the thread of wisdom from his hands, and became more keen in doing evil. He endeavoured to close the roads.

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the MSS. appear to have Watar, وتر, and it is not easy to see how Bhanj could in copying have been changed into Watar. The mistake is more likely if the original word was *vanj* وتج, but even then it is not probable. The text has Satī Watar, the H. of Hastī having been read as the preposition *ba*, but the I.O. MSS. have Hastī Watar. Dr. Stein's valuable paper on the Topography of the Pīr Pantsāl route, J.A.S.B. for 1895, 376, should be consulted. The place Hastīvanj was visited and identified by Dr. Stein and is marked on his map: it is about half a mile below the station of 'Alīābad Serai. It was here according to tradition that Mīhrakūla had 100 elephants thrown down. I have also contributed a paper on Hastīvanj to the R.A.S.J. for 1904, p. 269.

[1] That is, the scouts saw the marks of a large encampment.

[2] Cārwarah is a village near Srīnagar (Stein).

[3] This account is what the advance party gave. The fight was with them and not with the main army.

[4] See abridged translation of this passage by Chalmers in Noer's Akbar, translation, 202 *et seq.*

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He sent forward Abiyā his brother, Abiyā the son of Abdāl Chak, Naurang K., Ẓafar K., Fatḥ K., Ḥusain K., Bahādur K., and Dilāwar K.—low persons to whom he from arrogance had given those honourable appelations—while he himself remained in the city, making preparations. At this time their views took two forms, and their affairs fell into a bad way. Those whom he had sent forward exerted themselves in closing the defiles, but some were averse to this business and did not take part in it. Ḥaidar Chak, who nourished
505 the ambition to govern the country, was[1] with the victorious army. His son Ḥusain heard that he was coming, and was waiting for him at Baramgala.[2] Many of the above-mentioned Kashmīrīs had a friendly meeting with Ḥusain, and agreed that if Ḥaidar Chak did not abandon his promises they would join him. He should leave the (imperial) army and come to them, and they would turn back the army by various presents and by cajolery. Kashmīr would get repose. Fatḥ 'Alī, who presumptuously had the title of Naurang K., did not approve of this plan, so they degraded him. The two Abiyās contrived by pretences to abscond. The Nāyiks, who were the guardians of the passes, were sent (by Ḥusain and his party) to make supplications. The notion was to take some of the imperial servants with them, and to honour the pulpits by announcing there the name of the world's lord, and to turn back the officers by the power of presents.

In brief Ya'qūb had come to Hīrapūr[3] intending to fight, but became bewildered by finding that the Kashmīrīs were disgusted with him. Ḥusain K., his paternal uncle, also left him and joined those Kashmīrīs. He held a meeting of the instruments of his own ignorance, and sate to consider how matters could be remedied. The resolution come to was that they should release from confinement Shams Chak and Muḥammad Bhat, and that they should conduct affairs according to the counsels of these two men. When he brought out those two strifemongers, they from spite represented that the

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[1] The text has a conjunction before the verb, but this seems superfluous. Perhaps و is a mistake for او he.

[2] Properly Bahramgalla. It is the entrance to Kashmīr, and is 24 miles from Rajaurī. The ascent to the Pīr Pantsāl Pass begins here. It is the Bhairavgala of Śrivara's Chronicle (Stein).

[3] On the Pīr Pantsāl route. Properly Sūrapūra or Hīrapūr.

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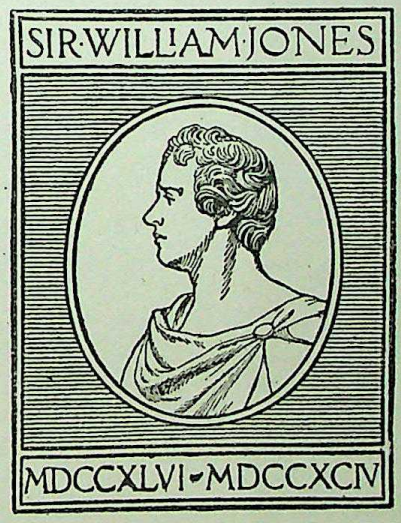

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proper course was that he should for some days live apart from commotion, and should take refuge in Kistwāra.[1] When he had taken some repose and had come to distinguish friend from foe, he should display activity. With a thousand failures he withdrew to that obscure place. On the way those two turbulent men separated themselves and took many with them.

At this time, when the Kashmīrīs were on the hill, looking for the coming of Ḥaidar Chak, they were bewildered by receiving a letter from him. It said that he was guarded, and that it would be very difficult for him to get away, and very difficult to induce the officers to turn back. The Kashmīrīs were disgusted at this (letter) and had a gathering at Hīrapūr. They made Ḥusain Chak their leader, and turned their attention to fighting. Meanwhile Shams Chak arrived, and they set aside the new ruler, and joined him. They sent a force to the Pass with the design of fighting, and it was from it that the injury happened to Shaikh Ya'qūb and Jai.

When the imperial officers came to know, near Akrambāl, the truth about their evil intentions, they imprisoned their[2] visitors, and were more careful in guarding Ḥaidar Chak. They held a council (*jānqī*) and deliberated about crossing the Hastī Watar ridge, and entering into the country (of Kashmīr). Some were distressed by the snow and sleet, and spoke foolishly about turning back, and spoke about tarrying. Qāsim K., and some acute men set about advancing, and the others were compelled to do the same. At this time Shams Chak sent able men and had recourse to cajolery. He began the same story that had been made use of to Mīrzā Shāhrukh. The reply was that this time, humbug would not succeed. The order was that they should purge Kashmīr of presumptuous and turbulent persons. Let every one who was fortunate join the victorious army, and sit under the shade of clemency. They did not accept the words of wisdom and prepared for battle. Qāsim K. proceeded on the 19th Mihr, 10 October 1586, to engage with a high courage. The enemy too drew up their forces. That turbulent fellow (Shams Chak) was

506

[1] Text Kathwārā. Ya'qūb's father-in-law lived there. See J. II. 310, and I. G. Kistawār. The town is on l. bank Chīnāb and used to be capital of a small principality. It is S.-E. Srīnagar, and outside of the valley. A. F. in Ā'īn includes it in the province of Lahore.

[2] That is, the Nayīks who had joined them at Rajaurī.

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in the centre, Ẓafar was on the right wing, Shams Dūlī on the left, Ḥusain Chak in the van (*ṭalī'a*) and Muḥ Bhat in the rear. When the imperial advance-guard came to the Pass, muskets were fired and stones thrown from the forts (*sirkobhā*)), and on account of the pressure of the enemy, aud the narrowness of the ground, they were driven back on the left wing. Qāsim was indignant at this repulse, and personally went to the place. He sent forward Sharīf Sarmadī, Mīr 'Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, Jalālud-dīn Mas'ūd, Ḥājī Muḥ. Tarshīzī and Mīr Shāh Muḥ. He also took as his companion Khanjarī who had turned back from the left wing. Muḥ. Chak,[1] one of the brave men of Kashmir, ran from the right wing. A combatant named Lākha[2] engaged him. They gripped one another, and together rolled down. The spectators were amazed and uttered cries of astonishment. In the heat of the fight Ẓafar[3] was struck by a bullet, and the army at once dispersed. Other troops had not come up when the buffet of God's hand smote the faces of the rebellious, and the great force broke up. The drum of success beat high, and the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh produced another victory. The advance-guard and the left wing pursued, and halted at the bottom of the pass. Qāsim and the others cautiously took post on the top. Yādgār Ḥusain and some other active men were sent on to Srīnagar, the capital. On 24 Mihr (6 October) the pulpits were exalted by the sublime name of the Lord of the Diadem. The ignorant, wild people were pacified by the administration of justice and by increase of love.[4] When the army was encamped four kos from Srīnagar, Ḥaidar Chak went off to the city without leave. Some uneasiness arose in the camp on account of this, but it soon subsided. On the 25th[5] (Mihr ?) Qāsīm entered the delightful resi-

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[1] Ḥaidar Malik calls him a son of Shamsi Chak.

[2] He was a Rājput.

[3] Ḥaidar M. calls him Ẓafar K. Nayīk

[4] *Mihr-afzūnī*. Apparently, there is a play on the double meaning of *mihr*, which signifies one of the solar months, and also love.

[5] The MSS. make the date 23 Ābān, or nearly a month later than 25 Mihr. But it is very unlikely that Ābān is correct, for Ḥaidar Malik represents the entry of Qāsim as having taken place immediately after the proclamation. The probability then is that the emendation of the editors is right, if it be an emendation, and not what they found in their MSS. It is 23 *Ābān*

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dence of Srīnagar, and there were various joys. On that day Ḥaidar Chak joined with a large number of men while the army was still on the march, but Qāsīm prudently prevented him from interfering (*taṣarraf*) and so erased characters of apprehension from men's hearts.

Nine hundred years before this, in the time of Anat Īlā'īl [1] the 507

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in I.O. MS. 236, in the Cawnpore MS. and in a MS. of my own. I.O. MS. 235 has not the passage; see its 648th page. Ḥaidar Chak says that the army entered the city on the day after the battle, which, apparently, makes it enter on 20 Mihr. He adds that Ḥaidar Cak was in the city for five days, and then was put into confinement.

[1] Text انت ايلايل, but there are several variants. I.O. MS. 236 has apparently "At Palapal," ات پلاپل. I believe that the name is intended to be the same as Utpalāpīṛa, the son of Ajayapīṛa the last king of the fifth (or sixth) dynasty, and who according to some MSS. reigned for two years. See J. II. 375. Gladwin calls this prince Atbalanund, and Tiefenthaler I. 94, Anandbed. Apparently he corresponds to the Lalītāpīḍa of the Rājtaranginī. See Stein's Rajataranginī Book IV. V. 678. Lalītāpīḍa had a son by the daughter of a spirit-distiller, and her brothers afterwards acquired supreme power. Their dynasty lasted from A.D. 813 to 850. Stein, *id.* verse 703. Lalītāpīra's reign then would correspond to about 196 A.H. or A.D. 812 or nearly 800 years before Qāsim K.'s conquest in 1586, which is a sufficiently near approximation to A. F.'s 900 years. In J. II. 376 the dynasty which succeeded Utpalāpīṛa is said to have been Camārs by caste. But in two MSS. which I have consulted there are no dots on the first letter of this word, which is written there ḥamār, حمار. I believe that the word really is خمار or خمّار Khamār or Khammār, wine-sellers, which therefore agrees with the *bāda faroshān* of A. F. and the *kalyapāla* of the Rajtaranginī, *id.* v. 678. According to the Rājtaranginī Lalitāpīḍa was a wicked and dissolute prince. He was succeeded by Saṁgrāmāpiḍa, and he by Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, also called Vrihaspatī, and who was the young son of Lalitāpīda by a spirit-distiller's daughter. It was her brothers who usurped the power. They ruled till A.D. 850, and then there was a contest, and eventually Utpalapīḍa the son of Ajitāpīḍa became king. According to the Rājtaranginī he was a king set up by the spirit-distiller Utpada's son Sukhavarman, and apparently he belonged to that caste, for his grandmother was Jayadevī, though Stein says she is different from the Jayādevī the spirit-distiller's daughter. Utpalāpiḍa was dethroned and succeeded by Avantivarman in A.D. 855-6. According to A. F. and Stein I. 137 there were only 15 princes of the Utpala dynasty, Avantivarman

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ruler of Kashmīr, this conquest had been prophesied. Accordingly, ancient records speak of it. By the jugglery of fortune, wine-sellers had obtained the supremacy, and there was a hot season of flagon-draining and of oppression. Shīv [1] Dat, a brahman, lived in Srīnagar in the street of Rathpūr. He was singular for his good qualities and he had a consort who had few peers for beauty and chastity. He was continually distressed by [2] the vogue of the polluted, and was always imploring the Deity for deliverance from that set of tyrants. A knowing and skilful man taught him the science of *baitāḷ* [3] *sādhana*, for the sages of India regard the *baitāl* as a holy spirit, and *sādhana* means the rules for causing his appearance. Whenever he comes, he tells the truth about every thing. Whoever shall cause his appearance must practise certain rites for several days, and must recite special charms. On the last day he must, on the dark [4] 14th of the moon, and in an appropriate hour, stretch out a human corpse, perfect in its limbs, in a place where bodies are cremated, and which

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being the first. But if we take Lalitāpīḍa as the prince in whose time the ghost-story occurred, we have twenty princes, or exactly the number mentioned in text, and we have a still nearer approximation to the 900 years before 1586 or 994, the five additional princes having reigned over 60 years. The Utpala dynasty was succeeded by Yasāskara deva (the Jasasra of J. II. 376) who apparently was of the Kāyath or Sudra caste. According to A. F., J. II. 378, the Deva (or Kāyath) dynasty lasted till the throne fell to a Muḥammadan (Shamsud-dīn). Ghāzī Cak became king in the middle of the 16th century, and the line of independent kings of Kashmīr ended with Ya'qūb.

[1] The I.O. MS. 236 calls the brahman Sevat سیوت and the text has the variant Sūrat, which is also that given by Chalmers. As the brahman appears to have recorded the story in Hindī, that is, in Sanskrit verse, he is perhaps the Survata, who was one of Kalhana's predecessors, and who is mentioned in Stein's Introduction, I. 24. Muhammadan rule began in Kashmīr about A.D. 1340. The word which I have translated "street" is *barzan*. I cannot find Rathpūr on Stein's plan of Srīnagar.

[2] Hangāma. The variānt "nigāh hā," glances, is supported by the I.O. MSS.

[3] Both words are spelled in the text. The Betāl, Sanskrit Vetala, is a spirit which inhabits corpses. See the Baitāl Pachaīsī.

[4] i.e. apparently the 29th day of the lunar month. See Jarrett II. 17. The dark fortnight is the 14th day of the Kishnpacch or dark fortnight of the moon.

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is called a *masān*,[1] and must make it fast[2] on all four sides with iron nails. He must then seat himself on the shoulder of the corpse, and light a lamp in a human skull, the wick being made from a shroud, and the oil from human fat. He must then breathe charms upon human teeth[3] and strew the latter like flowers over the fallen body. By the power of God[4] terrific forms make their appearance, and if the heart of the necromancer does not fail him, the corpse begins to move, and utters awful sounds. Thereafter the spirit assumes a moderate aspect and asks, "Why have you called me, and why is all this pain?" It will then answer the questions put to it, and the inquirer will obtain a remedy in matters that are practicable, and in others he will be taught patience. The oppressed brahman set about collecting the materials, and after much search obtained a body such as was wanted. But some things he had not got, and he was perplexed how to keep what he had got. He could not take the corpse to the city, and he was afraid it would be damaged if kept in the country. He made it up like a bundle (*boqcha*), and deposited it in the house of a tanner of his acquaintance so that in that odoriferous place his secret would not be revealed. He himself went off to complete his arrangements. At midnight, the spirit, who had become apprised of the facts, cried out to the tanner. The latter was somewhat terrified, but the ghost spoke reassuringly to him and said: "A certain brahman is suffering much; tell him the period of the unjust rulers will be a long one. Let him draw his feet inside the robe of patience and refrain from restlessness. Twenty persons of that set will sit, one after the other, on the throne of power. When the time of those oppressors shall have passed away, the government of this country will come to the caste of the Kāyaths, and after that, men of the Muḥammadan faith will bear rule. The appointed time of each dynasty must pass away, and

[1] Text sasān, but masān in I.O. MSS. It is apparently a corruption of the Sanskrit *shmashān* (Forbes's Dict. meaning a burning place).

[2] I presume that this means pegging down the body at the head, feet and sides.

[3] The MSS. vary; I.O. MS. 236 has dand-ān, meaning, I suppose, the ribs, but apparently, teeth are what is meant. Perhaps there is here a reminiscence of Cadmus.

[4] *nabard*: battle or contest, but the MSS. have Yazdī.

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when the turn of the Chaks[1] arrives, several of that family will prevail.
508 Their sway will pass away at the eighth succession, and one of the mighty in spiritual and temporal matters, and whose thoughts, actions, and speech are devoted to the accomplishment of the Divine Will shall sit and deal justly by this country." When the brahman came to the tanner's house, he learned what had happened, and withdrew his hand from his undertaking, and sate down in the corner of obscurity. The incidents were recorded to Hindī verse, and old histories and stone-tablets tell of them. Sulṭān Zainul-'Ābidīn—who is also called Baddū Shāh,[2] and who is world-famous among the rulers of Kashmīr, used continually to say that the government of the country would soon pass to the Chaks, and that afterwards it would be wrested from them.

At the time when there was a loud report in Kashmīr of the coming of M. Shāhrukh and Rāja Bhagwant Dās, Yūsuf the ruler went to Wāḥid[3] Ṣūfī in Panj Brāra, and begged for inspiration. That servant of God, and man of enlightened heart, replied that though this army would turn back in the middle of the road, yet the Incomparable Deity had given the country to the spiritual and secular monarch. His soldiers would soon arrive.

When the news of the conquest reached the sublime Court, there was an increase of thanksgivings to God, and the deserving servants were exalted by various favours. The truth of the statements of the Hindū astrologers was revealed. In the beginning of Ābān the solar weighment took place. It was made against twelve articles. There was a great feast, and the needy had their heart-desires gratified. On this day Rāja Bhagwant Dās performed the prostration. The story of his madness and desire to commit suicide has been described. When he had recovered by the attentions of H.M., he turned his face to the court. On the 4th the quarters of

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[1] The Chaks came from the north, and are supposed to be foreigners.

[2] Zainul-'Ābidīn came to the throne in 1407 and reigned 52 years. A. F. refers to his prophecy in the Ā'in, J. II. 388. His other name is written Badū there. Perhaps it is short for Bādshāh.

[3] Perhaps this is a title, meaning "The Unitarian Ṣūfī." Wāḥīd Ṣūfī is described at p. 549 of A. N., and at 551, a visit paid to him by Akbar is described.

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Karam Ullāh Kambū were made glorious by H M.'s advent. Lofty palaces had been erected, and he had long nourished this wish in his heart (that Akbar would visit his house). As the gratification of desires is one of H.M.'s principles, Karam Ullāh's petition was granted, and he obtained an eternal blessing. There was largesse and there were presents, some of which were accepted.

One of the occurrences[1] was that Ya'qūb made a night attack, and retreated after failure. The Kashmīrī scoundrels brought him out of the defiles of Kistwāra, and many gathered round him. He stirred up strife at Chandarkot[2] seven kos from Panj Brāra.[3] Mubārak, Shaikh Daulat and other brave men hastened to the spot. He did not think himself strong enough to fight by day, and so determined on a night attack. He wished to engage with those who had come in advance. Some represented that the general was behaving with some negligence in the city, now that he had sent off the troops. Ya'qūb left some men to oppose them, and went off towards the city. On the 20th he passed Sa'dīwāra,[4] and at midnight entered the city. He found some scouts asleep, and put them to death. Ya'qūb and many scoundrels made a commotion at the principal gate. Qāsim and some gallant men displayed great courage, Sharīf Sarmadī and Hājī 509
Muḥ. of Turshīz (near Nishāpūr) fought bravely. As they were not easy in their minds about the prisoner Ḥaidar Chak, they put him to death. Some Kashmīrīs got into boats and made a tumult at the wicket-gate which opens on that side. Ṭūfān Kabuli, the Qāẓīzāda, and others stood firm. A body of men made a commotion at the gate which leads into the city. Mīr Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī and others maintained their ground. The leader of the band was killed by a bullet. Some made an attack on Mīrzā 'Aḷī Akbarshāhī. Ayyūb

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[1] See Chalmers' translation of this passage in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 204. It appears from Ḥaidar Malik's Chronicle that Bahādur the Rajah of Kishtwāra was Y'aqūb's father-in-law.

[2] I cannot find this place. Perhaps it is on the Candra Bhāga, i.e. the upper course of the Cīnāb. Ḥaidar calls it Candarkot.

[3] Panj, or Pūnch, Brāra is the Bij Bihāra of the maps and of Bates, and is properly Vijayesvara, Stein II. 464, and is situated on both sides of the Jhelaṃ and about 30 m. E.S.E. Srīnagar.

[4] S'aadī Manzil in text but I.O. MS. 236 supports the variant.

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Beg, Yār Beg and Mūmin Aḥadīs distinguished themselves. In this engagement Ṣāliḥ Beg was killed. The soldiers prevailed over every [1] house, and in every corner there were hot encounters. After much contest, victory, by the help of God, declared itself. On the other side of the river, Fatḥ K.,[2] on hearing of the news, had sent his son Muḥammad K. with a body of troops. He came on, beating his drums. On the other side, Khanjarī, Shādāb,[3] Askaran and others beat their drums, and advanced. On hearing the noise of these outside drums, the enemy became demoralised, and by daily-increasing fortune the setting fire to the city by the Kashmīrīs made them still more broken. By the illumination thereof, the skilful marksmen shot down many. At the end of the night the enemy withdrew after a thousand failures, and many lost their lives in the flight. At dawn Mīrzā Ālī Akbarshāhī, Gūjar K., Muh. K. and others followed swiftly in pursuit. Owing to the country's being unknown, the turbulent fellow (Ya'qūb) escaped, and went towards Desū.[4]

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of the ruler of Tatta. Though the titular prince of that country was Mīrzā Pāyinda Muḥammad Arghūn, he was insane and could not govern the country. His son Mīrzā Jānī conducted affairs. On the 28th (Ābān 7 November 1586) Saiyid Jalāl, who was one of the nobles of the country, had the bliss of an audience. He presented petitions and gifts. The former contained the submissions of the nobles, and excuses for the ruler's not coming in person. The Shāhinshāh accepted these and treated the envoy with favour. After satisfying his desires he dismissed him. On 5 Āzar 16 November Rāja Bāsū [5] did homage with an ashamed face and a repentant heart. He was one of the zamīndārs of the northern hills of the Panjab. He used always to be obedient and behave well. At the time when the august standards cast their shadow over that province, he, from perverse fate, became refractory. Accordingly, Ḥusain Beg, Shaikh 'Umrī,

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[1] *Har khāna.* But the reading is doubtful. Perhaps it is *sir-khāna*, the top of the house, viz. M. 'Alī's. Or Harkhāna may be a place-name.

[2] B. 523.

[3] The variant Sādāt, "the Saiyids," is supported by the I.O. MSS.

[4] Perhaps the Devasarasa of Stein's map, and the Devsar of J. II. 362, 369. But some MSS. seem to have Veso or Weso, and the place may be the Veshau (Wasī) of J. II. 362, and the Kosah Nāg of Vigne.

[5] Of Mau, or Nūrpūr, J. II. 331.

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Ḥājī Siyandūk, Qambar Be, Qarā Beg, and Nāẓir Daulat were sent. If he did not listen to counsel, he was to be punished. Rajah Todar Mal wrote a letter to him, and warned him of the danger of disobedience. The troops had arrived at Pathān [1] when the receipt of the Rajah's letter roused him from slumber. He came and paid his respects to the imperial servants, and then accompanied them to Court.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka to punish the Tārīkīs. Whosoever's star is declining, takes the road of failure of his own accord, and soon receives the retribution of his evil thoughts. Such was the fate of the Mohmand and Ghorī tribes. They had 10,000 households in Peshawar. They were aware that good service was a means of deliverance (and) at this time when they were oppressed they should have petitioned the august court, but from shortsightedness and wickedness they made Jalāla Tārīkī their leader. The life of Saiyid Ḥāmid [2] Bokhārī was lost in battle with them. He was the fief holder of Peshāwar and he had gone there as he had the charge of guarding [3] (the road to) Afghanistan. His soldiers went back to the jāgīr in India, and he was negligently passing his time with a few companions in the fort of Bikrām.[4] He left the work of administration to one who was Mūsā (Moses) in name but not in wisdom. Without having examined into his character he gave into his hands the administration of justice. He did not perceive that in such matters, length of time in service was of no avail. Mūsā from avarice pressed heavily on those tribes, and stretched out his hand against their property and their honour. The latter from want of judgment joined hands with that scoundrel (Jalāla) and made a commotion near Bikrām. On account of the smallness of his force, Saiyid Ḥāmīd was minded to shut himself up in the fort till the arrival of his brethren and of the soldiers of Kabul

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[1] Bathān in text, but Pathān in I.O. MS. 236. It is probably the place mentioned in B. 616 and 56 as 45 *kos* N. Lahore, and as a place where ice was brought from.

[2] B. 397. Elliot V. 255, and Badāyūnī, Lowe, 366.

[3] Kishk-ī-Kābul dāshtā. Lit. "He had got the baton of Kabul," i.e. he had been appointed to keep the roads clear, and so had come to Peshawar.

[4] Bikrām or Begram seems another name for Peshawar. See Jarrett II. 405: "The Tumān of Bigrām is called Parashawar."

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and Attock. But, owing to the suggestions of short-sighted persons, he could not manage this. He sent a man to find out the circumstances of the enemy, and he, from ignorance or malice, reported them to be few in number and to be disorganised. Without making a thorough investigation, he sallied out with 150 men and hotly engaged. Though in the beginning he was wounded by an arrow, he did not turn back. In the hand-to-hand fight his horse fell into a canal[1] and he was killed. Forty of his relatives fell bravely along with him. Afterwards, the Afghāns surrounded the fort. His young son Saiyid Kamāl with a few men stood firm, and defended it. On receipt of this intelligence Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, Shaikh Farīd Bokhārī, Tāsh Beg K., and many other officers were sent off, on the 7th (Āẓar, end of November) under the command of the Kokaltāsh (Zain K). An order was sent that, if necessary, Kunwar Mān Singh should send a force from Kābul, and special instructions (*yarlīgh*) were issued to Mādhū Singh that he should, before the arrival of the imperial army, march from the station (thānah) of Langarkot[2] to Begrām, with Rājah Bhagwant Dās's troops.

One of the occurrences was the improvement (lit. the irrigating) of the empire (lit. the four gardens of dominion). The whole energies of the Shāhinshāh are devoted to the soothment of mankind,
511 and scrutiny (*pāishunāsī*) and justice increase daily. As he considers that sovereignty means guardianship, he makes no distinction between pain and pleasure. He regards additions to dominion as a means of devotion to God, and sovereignty as the companion of service. With this view he appointed truthful and wise men in every province that they might duly apportion chastisement and benevolence, and not, from greed, or timidity, fail to do what was proper (?). He also appointed rightly-acting clerks to the lofty offices of Diwān and Bakhshī. He made double the thread of justice (*dād*[3] *u sitad*) (i.e. he strengthened the administration).

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[1] *Jūī*. A variant has *goī* a hole and we find this in the Maaṣir II. 399.

[2] Langar is marked on map No. 32, of I. G. Atlas, E. of Indus and S. Attock. But according to Badāyūnī, Lowe, 366, Mādhū was then at Ohind (i.e. Und) which is on west bank Indus and 15 m. above Attock.

[3] The expression "giving and taking" generally means commerce, or trafficking, and perhaps does so here.

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Inasmuch as lust and anger destroy the world and the good are made bad by evil companionship, the sovereign practised foresight in every thing, and adorned the garden of the world by distributing work, and taking it from one man and giving it to another. With this view he on the 14th nominated two able officers to every province so that if one came to court, or should fall ill, the other might look after his work. He also sent with them a Diwān, and a Bakhshī. Allahabād was made over to Shihāb-ud-dīn Aḥmād K., and 'Abdu-l-Moṭṭalib K.; Raḥmān Qulī was made Diwān, and Ja'far Beg Bakhshī. Oudh was made over to Fatḥ K. and Qāsim 'Alī K. Mullā Nāẓir being made Diwān and Tārā Cand Bakhshī. Ajmīr was entrusted to Jagannāth and Rai Durgā, Mujāhid was Diwān, and Sulṭān Qulī, Bakhshī. Aḥmadābād was made over to the Khānkhānān and Qulīj K., Abu-l-qāsim was the Diwān, and Niẓāmu-d-din Aḥmad, Bakhshī. Bihār was made over to Sa'īd K. and M. Yūsuf K., Rai Pattar Dās became Diwān, 'Abd-ur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, Bakhshī. Bengal to Wazīr K., and Muḥibb 'Alī K., Karm Ullah was Diwān, and Shahbāz K., Bakhshī. Multān to Ṣādiq K. and Ismā'īl Qulī K., Khwājah 'Abd-us-Ṣamad was made Dīwān, and Muqīm Bakhshī. Agra the capital was made over to Shaikh Ibrāhīm and Rājah Askaran, Muḥibb 'Ali was Diwān, and Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-mulk, Bakhshī. Delhi was made over to Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and the writer [1] of this noble volume, Ṭaiyib, was Diwān, and Ḥasan K., Bakhshī. Kabul was made over to Kunwar Mān Singh and Zain K. Kokā. Nizām-ul-mulk was Dīwān and Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Bakhshī. Mālwa to the Khān Ā'ẓam and Naurang K., Mukhtār Beg was made Diwān, and Fatḥ Ullah Bakhsh. Lahore was entrusted to Rājah Bhagwant Dās and Rāi Rāi Singh. As the court was there, the palace Diwān and Bakhshī were sufficient.

One of the occurrences was the death of Kalah Sīsūdiah. He belonged to the Rānā's tribe, and used to spend his time with him. By his good fortune he entered into service (under Akbar) and received favours. But owing to his evil star and darkened intellect he absconded. Ṣalāḥ-ud-dīn and Rām Chand were ordered to pursue him. They were to come up with him, and give him good

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[1] B.'s statement, p. xv, that he was made *diwān* does not seem to be correct.

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counsel. If he accepted it, he was not to be injured, and be
512 brought to Court. Otherwise they were to put him to death. They travelled 180 *kos*, and arrived at the town of Fatḥpūr. He was hot-headed, and withdrew his heart from them. They communicated their instructions, and the presumptuous fellow took graciousness to be timidity, and in company with nine others set himself to fight. He and two others were killed and the others were admitted to quarter.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Alī Murād. One of the Shaikhzādahs of India, by name Shāh Muḥammad, was for a long time his servant. He could not endure disagreeables, and always displayed insolence. His master overlooked this, and gave his endurance of it the appellation of appreciativeness and patience. Whoever does not distinguish between the season for chastisement and the season for forbearance will assuredly fall into great trouble. 'Alī Murād had a jagir in pargana Barodah[1] which belongs to the province of Ajmīr, and one day he was enjoying the sport of hawking. The Shaikhzāda came and performed the *kornish* (i.e. saluted) with his left hand. When his master interrogated him about this, he said he kept his right arm for his sword, and not for paying respects. He also used disrespectful language. The other, whose life was running out, abused him. The attendants rushed forward to seize and strike him. He drew his dagger and ran at them, and they, out of cowardice, retired. He wounded 'Alī Murād on the right arm, and the latter[2] set down his hawk and addressed himself to fighting. He received another wound and fell with two severe wounds. One of the companions settled the business of that ingrate, and in a short space of time that brave man ('Alī Murād) also died.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the Tārīkīs. In the beginning of Mihr (middle September 1586) M. Sulaimān came to Kābul. As he had a desire to go to court, Kunwar Mān Singh left Khwājah Shams-ud-dīn Khāfī and others to manage Kābul and became the Mīrzā's guide. He was seized[3] with fever at Pesh Būlāq[4] near

[1] In Sarkār Rantanbhor, J. II. 275.

[2] According to I.O. MS. 236, he dashed the hawk in his face.

[3] See Chalmers' translation, Noer's Akbar, translation II. 210.

[4] Marked on Elphinstone's map some 15 or 20 m. S. Jalālabad. The Pesh Bulāgh of Tūzuk J. 129.

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Jalālābād and became very ill. The scoundrels were arrogant on account of the killing of Saiyid Ḥāmid, imbibed new hopes from this unseasonable delay, and their turbulence increased. They abandoned the siege of the fort (Begrām) and formed evil designs. The Mahmand and Ghori tribes made heaps of stones in both the Khaibar roads from Peshāwar to Tīrāh and fortified them. The Yūsufzais and other Afghāns supported them in their wickedness.

Tīrāh is a hill-country 32 kos long (i.e. from E. to W.) and 12 broad. On the E. is Peshāwar, W. Maīdān,[1] N. Bāra, S. the district of Qandahār. It has defiles full of ups and downs and difficult of traverse. As the victorious army that had been despatched from court 513
(the Kokaltāsh's) was late in arriving, and Kunwar Mān Singh was ill at that time, and suffered pains for a month and a half, the Afghāns thought of attacking the Kunwar. Meanwhile he got better, and set his heart upon punishing them. He left Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, Jānish Bahādur, the Atālīq, Khwājgī Muḥammad Ḥusain, Ghāzī K. of Qazwīn, and his own son Himmat Singh and many others with the Mīrzā (Sulaimān) and took with himself Takhtah Beg and others, to the number of 3000 horse. His idea was to get to Tīrāh by route of Narwān,[2] and to attack from there the Afrīdīs who were the leaven

[1] As Col. Jarrett remarks, II. 278 *n.* 3. Abu-l-Faẓl always uses Bakhtar for W. and Khāwar for E. Maidān is apparently the Maidānī hills of the I. G., and Bāra is probably the river of that name and which is a tributary of the Kābul river. The boundary S. Qandahār is obscure. Tīrah lies a long way E.N.E. Qandahar, but perhaps the outlying parts of Qandahar are meant. The words ruīh *Qandahār* may mean "in the direction of Qandahār." Tīrāh is S.S.W. of Peshawar. It was the seat of the campaign of 1897. There is a map of Tīrāh in Yate's life of Col. J. Haughton, Murray 1900. The text speaks of two Khaibar roads being fortified. Perhaps the meaning is that coming and going were stopped. The word for heaps of stones is *sangchīn*, for which see Vullers s.v. Perhaps rough walls are meant.

[2] Or Nārdān. Nārwan or Nārwān is a name for a pomegranate tree and thus may be the name of a pass. The word occurs in the Maaṣir II. 245, which here copies the Akbarnāma. But the rāh nārwan of Abul Faẓl may be rāh na-rawān "an unknown or unused route," and the meaning be that Mān Singh intended to reach Tīrāh by a new route. Chalmers has Marwān, so perhaps the place is the Mardanak of the maps. Or it may be the Mamain Pass leading down from Pesh Būlāq. I have not identified the Shādī ravine. The word occurs twice, viz. at pp.

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of the disturbance, and by the same route to come by the ravine of Shādī (?) to 'Alī Masjid in order that the (two) armies might join, and the road be opened. Sakit Singh, son of Mān Singh Darbārī and Zain-ud dīn 'Alī, who were going to Kābul, hastened off to Begrām as soon as they heard of the catstrophe of Saiyid Ḥāmid. On account of the roads being closed, they had halted there. Also Mādhū Singh had arrived near Attock with the troops of Rājah Bhagwant Dās.

With these ideas Mān Singh marched rapidly from Pesh Būlāq on 3 Dai (about 13 December). He marched all night and at morning reached the pass of Chahār Chobah.[1] It was snowed up. With difficulty he traversed heights and hollows and arrived at Bāzārak. Next day an army under Muḥ. Qulī Beg attacked the Afrīdis and collected much spoil. Some thought they should return and convey the plunder to a depot, and march on afterwards. This view was not accepted and they pushed on. They marched by the defile of Chorah and climbed the hills. They passed by the homes of the Ghorī tribe, who saved themselves by submitting. When they came into the defiles, Jalālah appeared from behind, and Afghāns pressed

513 and 514, and each time is succeeded by the word *ekbārgī*. It is possible that this last word is a clerical error for Bagādi, and the ravine be the Shādī Bagādī gorge of the I. G. VIII. 125 and the Shādī Bagian, or Wolf's mouth of Col. Hanna's Second Afghān War, II. 7. The Shādi Bagāda is a gorge N. Jamrud and is marked on Scott's Reconnaisance map of the Khaibar, but Mān Singh would hardly come by it if he was going to 'Ali Masjīd. But perhaps his idea was to turn the Khaibar.

It seems to me doubtful if Mān Singh went from Pish Būlāq by the Khaibar. It seems as if it would have been unnecessary to do so to get at Tīrāh. He probably went there direct and came to 'Alī Masjid by the east end of the pass, eventually passing through the Khaibar when joined by the troops from India, and when he went to escort M. Sulaimān. I do not know where the Chār Choba Pass mentioned on p. 513 is. The Chora mentioned further on may be the Chora road mentioned by Mohan Lal, ed. 1846, p. 59, who says it is passable for camels and horses. Bazārak mentioned in text may be the place marked on the maps as Bazār, west of Jamrūd. Both Pesh Būlāq and Bazār are marked on the map of the Survey operations during the campaign of 1878-79.

[1] Cārjūīa—"The four streams" according to I.O. MS. 236. A place called Bāzārak-i-Nāo is marked on maps E. Pish Būlāq.

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upon them from every side. Takhtah Beg and other heroes of the rearguard carried on a strenuous fight. And when they were in difficulties, Kunwar Mān Singh halted, and sent reinforcements. After much fighting the enemy desisted from their insolence. He left his eldest son Jagat Singh with the rearguard and went on towards 'Alī Masjid. In a short time the wicked wretches again gathered on every side, and the position become more difficult. There was no plain where they could fight properly and no shelter which might be of use so that the shooting of arrows, and rolling of stones, might come to an end. The brave men contended at close quarters with the enemy, and there were occasionally wonderful combats. Suddenly a somewhat open place was seen. Mān Sīngh, contrary to the opinion of his companions, stood firm there, and Takhtah Beg and some Kābulis entered into the fight. Afterwards Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Nūram Kokah, and other active men of the 514
vanguard took part, and wonderful deeds were done. When things were critical, the breeze of victory arose, the enemy was defeated, and retreated by narrow defiles. Thanks were offered to God, and there was great joy. Some were of opinion that as the day was nearly ended, they should encamp on the field of victory, and many thought it would be proper to go to 'Alī Masjid, which was two *kos* distant. As there was scarcity of water, they set off. Muḥ Qulī took charge of the rear. The army reached the station, at the beginning of evening, by the Shādī route. Jalālah lay in wait there when a watch of the night had passed, and the Afghāns collected here and there. Some thought that they should sally out at dawn, and prevail over the foe; but as they were much fatigued, they did not do so. After midday, Mādhū Singh appeared with Rajah Bhagwant Das's force, and the Tārīkīs at once dispersed. Most of the experienced men were of opinion that Man Singh should remain there, and that some officers should go off, and bring in the great caravan by the Khaibar route. But out of regard to M. Sulaimān, and the numerous families and their baggage, (Man Singh) went by the Khaibar to Pesh Būlāq and brought the Mīrzā and the caravan to Begrām (Peshawar) by the Kharapa[1]

[1] Or Karpāh. "The Currapa Pass which leads from Peshawar to Jalalabad is in the Mohmand country: it is sometimes travelled, but as it

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route. About this time Zain K. Koka arrived with his army, and there were increased endeavours to uproot the Tārīkī thorn.

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abounds in rugged ascents and defiles, and as the Caubul river, there stony and rapid, must be often crossed, the southern road through the Khaibar is generally preferred" (Elphinstone). In text the word is written کھریہ Kharīha, but I.O. MSS. 236 has Karpah. See also J. II. 401.

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CHAPTER XCII.

THE ARRIVAL, FOR THE SECOND TIME, OF M. SULAIMĀN AT THE SUBLIME COURT.

Some of his misfortunes, from the time when he obtained leave to go to the Ḥijāz, have already been related. When M. Shāhrukh proceeded to court, he remained in the Lamghānāt, and spent his days in wishes for Badakhshān. M. Ḥakīm had consideration for him, and gave him some Badakhshīs and Kābulīs as companions. He quickly marched to the hill-country and set himself to take Tāliqān. Muḥammad Sulṭān Uzbeg came to fight with him. He, on account of the great number of the enemy, fortified the foot of a hill (*shākh-band karda*), and stood firm. From time to time, he made attacks, and was successful. His success made him presumptuous, and he cast away the thread of farsight. The longer he stood firm, the more did old servants (*bandagān bābarī*) join him, while the number of the enemy diminished. Without reason, he abandoned his strong shelter and fought against superior numbers. Inasmuch as self-will puts wisdom on one side, and the quick- **515**
silver of not-listening pours into the ear of reason, he did not accept the words of his well-wishers. He came out, and performed masterpieces of valour. The enemy was nearly defeated, and he was almost successful, when, suddenly, 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn[1] Sulṭān came in person from Balkh. The battle was renewed. The Mīrzā's army did not know of this, and brave men made a hot fight. Twice was the enemy put to flight. The third time the fighting was more reckless, and just then the ungrateful Qūrcī Beg led a party of Uzbegs against the fortification. The Mīrzā at once lost the power of contending, and could not maintain his ground. He was compelled to fly to Afghanistan. Bakhtiyār Beg was at the river Bārān. He received him and brought him to Kabul. Kuar Mān Singh hastened from Jalālabad to that place, and treated him with great respect. He acted as his guide and brought him to Peshawar, as

[1] Son of 'Abdullah K.

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has been related. From there, Jagat Singh, Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Mān Singh Darbārī, Hilāl Aftābci became his companions and brought him to the capital. When he arrived within two *kos* thereof, H.M. sent Prince Sulṭan Murād to receive him. He was accompanied by Rajah Todar Mal, Shāham K., Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ Āṣaf K., Khudāwand K., the writer of the book of fortune (A. F.), and many other officers. Ḥakīm and the writer were ordered to keep near him (Murād), and be ready with answers. M. Sulaimān got on foot at a distance, and the nursling of fortune (Murād) also dismounted from his horse. They embraced one another according to the rules of their ancestors, and conversing together they proceeded to the court. On 14 Isfāndārmaz (24 February, 1587), he brightened his forehead by doing homage, and his heart was rejoiced by varied favours.

One occurrence was the cessation of Y'aqūb's commotion. After returning unsuccessful from his night attack, he retired to the defiles of Kishtwāra. The Kashmīrī soldiers brought him out by making solemn promises. He stirred up commotion in Harnāg,[1] 25 *kos* from the city. Qāsim K. had the idea of sending an army against him, and of himself remaining to guard the city. The officers preferred unsuitable wishes. Apparently these delicate men of hot countries were averse to campaigning in a cold country and did not like to traverse defiles, and to put their hands to battle. The general was obliged to go in person and to leave Fatḥ K. and others in the city. When he came near Y'aqūb, he heard that he had gone off to the city to make a night attack. Qāsim was astounded and turned back, and sent a force ahead under the charge of M. 'Alī. When they were 5 kos from the city, it appeared that Y'aqūb was lying in wait near the hill of Alar[2] (?), four kos from the city. The army pushed on and next day reached the hilly place. The

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[1] Harnāg is situated l. bank Jhelum just above the Kanabal bridge and W. of Islāmābād (Bates).

[2] الر variant الو. I.O. MS. 235 has الر Ular which enables us to identify the place with the pargana Wular of Jarret II. 369. It is اولر Ūlar in Persian text. But the Ain is wrong in describing it as a pargana N.-E. of Srinagar. The pargana or tract lies S.-E. of Srinagar and is spelt Woolar on the map. Evidently it is totally distinct from the Woolar lake which lies to N.-W. of Srinagar. Bates describes it as a long and narrow valley stretching from N.

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skirmishers had a slight fight and were victorious. The enemies saw that they were not strong enough to fight by day, and 516 arranged a night attack. By the help of God, fire caught the reed-built houses of the neighbourhood and the vain imaginers became the target of the brave soldiers. Owing to the failure of the night attack, the firmness of the imperialists, and their own dissensions, they dispersed. They also sent proposal of peace to the officers. Yūsuf Kashmīrī, who had the title of Khan-khānān, Muḥammad Bhat and many others separated and took refuge at a little hill, and sent messages that they wished to wait upon the general. At dawn on the 29th Āẕar, 8 December, 1586, the army reached that hill. Y'aqūb and some others went off rapidly to Kishtwāra, and the cultivated country was plundered. From there the army advanced to the little hill where the persons above-mentioned were. Next day, those men, by the intervention of M. 'Alī Beg, and Khanjarī, waited upon the general, and he encouraged them and sent them along with Khanjarī to court. The commotion subsided. On 22 Isfandārmaẕ, 2 March, 1587, the persons sent were exalted by obtaining an audience and received with princely favours. Their names were as follows: 1. Saiyid Mubārik, who had been raised to the chiefship, as has been related. 2. Punj,[1] the brother of Y'aqūb. 3. Ḥaidar 'Ali. 4. Muḥammad Ḥusain. 5. Aḥmad Ḥusain. 6. Ḥusain K. Cak, whom they had raised to the government at the beginning of the disturbance. 7 and 8. Ḥusain K. and Ibrāhīm K., the sons of Mubārik K. 9. Muḥammad Bhat and his sons. 10. 'Ali Ḥasan.[2] 11. Bābā Khalīl. 12. Bāba Mahdī. These (three ?) were the leaders of the Kashmīris under the disguise of holy men. 13. Bahādur 'Alī. 14. Bhakrū Lohar. 15. Mullā Ḥasan. 16. The sons of Ḥaidar Cak. Though at the coming of the victorious troops, they had exerted themselves in fighting, and in devising tricks, yet the wise sovereign adhered to the promises, and treated them with favour. A good report of him filled the world.

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side of Jhelam between Avantipūr and Bīj Bahāra. Wular, Vular, or Wooler is the ancient Ḥolāda. Stein II. 464.

[1] Possibly the meaning is, five brothers of Y'aqūb; but if so, only four are named.

[2] Perhaps these are the names of his sons.

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Also, at this time he sent Saiyid 'Abdullah and Mīrzāda 'Alī K. to Kashmīr. As they had not done good service in the Eastern districts, they were sent off to Kashmīr on the 27th in order that they might seek by good work atonement for the past.

One of the occurrences was the protection of holy men. Though the lightening of the burden of sorrow is always an adornment of those admitted to the august assemblage, and the speech and action of H.M. form the stock of State and Religion, yet a fresh announcement was made that it had occurred to H.M. that every one who had the bliss of attending court should, according to the number of his years, give one *dām*, or one rupī, or one *muhr* to some good object, so that by that means a well, or a reservoir, or a caravanserai, or a garden might be constructed, and that thereby every kind of distress might be relieved, and there might be a spiritual and temporal growth. The order was properly carried out, and the countenance of good thoughts was illuminated.

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CHAPTER XCIII. 517

BEGINNING OF THE 32ND YEAR, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀBĀN OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this time, when the Age was praying to the daily-increasing Fortune, and there was a new diurnal market of thanksgiving, the world was made of a musky fragrance by the shedding of the *'Attar* (otto of roses) of Spring. Small and great were seized by new joy. The world-adorning king's diadem gave new lustre to custom, and made the Earth the envied of Heaven.

Verse.

The world's lord once more adorned the Earth.
He made Time and the Terrene like Paradise.

On Saturday 11 Rabī'-aṣ-ṣānī 995, 10 or 11 March, 1587, after the passing of 5 hours, 27 minutes, the fountain-head of light filled with glory the Sign of Aries. The spiritual and temporal ruler sate on the throne of gratification of desires and of justice. Each day there was a new feast, and one of the grandees of the court presided over it. On the 16th the Khān-khānān and 'Aẓdu-d-daula came from Gujarat and paid their respects. An order had been given that as that country was tranquil, the general should come to court, and make over the affairs of the province to 'Aẓdu-d-daula, Qulīj K., and Khwājah Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī. Or if he thought it better that he should remain there, he was to send to court Qulīj K. and Khwājah Niẓamu-d-dīn Aḥmad. As the country was quiet, he set off on a swift camel, and made the long journey in the course of fifteen days. Mīr Fatḥ Ullah from his great desire of service came also. Nūr Qulīj, Qāẓī Ḥasan and other gatherers of auspiciousness, who had accompanied them, were admitted to a reception. At the close of this day, M. Yūsuf K. came from Bihar and did homage. The lord of the universe came out on the throne of fortune. His obedient children, his other relatives, the great nobles, and the

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gatherers of contemplative and practical wisdom sate here and there.

Verse.

A wondrous banqueting-hall brightened the heavens,
Such as the stars have not seen in their dreams;
Eyes were bewildered by beholding it.
Wisdom became tongueless, and the tongue became ear.

Crowds of men obtained their desires, and there were varied delights. At dawn H.M. visited the garden of Shahbāz K., and thanksgivings to God were renewed.

One of the occurrences was that the government of Zābulistān was restored to Zain K. Koka. As it appeared that the Rajpūt clan behaved with injustice to the subjects of that country, and that
518 Kuar Mān Singh did not look closely into the case of the oppressed, and disliked that cold country, it was taken from him, and he was appointed to chastise the Tārīkīs, and his fief was assigned to him in the eastern districts. On the day of the culmination (*sharaf*) an order was given that the Kokaltāsh should hasten from Begrām to Kabul and exercise watchfulness and the distribution of justice. The orders were carried out, and Zābulistān became civilized.

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CHAPTER XCIV.

The marriage of Prince Sulṭān Murād.

Just as far-sighted wisdom considers marriage evil for the emancipated ones of the chosen path, so does it regard it as a great source of success for those who are tied to social life. Especially do great rulers approve of it, for their efforts are devoted to the production of unity, and to the removing the dust of complexity by the water of simplicity. Inevitably does the highly-born choose a consort, and by that means does he raise up a glorious seed. When he reflects how by so many generations the series of creation has come down from the first father to him, how can he refrain from making use of the waters of the Divine fountain? And how can he think it wrong to keep that fountain full? I admit that there is another side to this. It is clear that the commotion of desire causes distraction among men. And wherever this pleasure is partaken of in early youth—which is the home of improper desires—evil thoughts produce mischief. Though the jewel of goodness hath its seat in man's nature and has not much to do with ancestors, yet if it show itself in a noble family, it has a fresh lustre. In the extensive country of India men are active to form this union at a tender age, and this introduces the leaven of evil. The world's lord will on no account admit of it before puberty, and will not anticipate the proper time for it. Accordingly when that jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate—Prince Sulṭān Murād—had reached the age of 17, H.M. gave his attention to the matter, and considered it anxiously. Meanwhile one who knew the secrets of the harem represented that the Khān Ā'ẓim Mīrzā Koka wished that his chaste daughter might attain this great fortune, and that his family might obtain fresh glory. The Shāhinshāh signified his acceptance, and the officers of the court arranged matters. On 25 Ardibihisht, 5 May, 1587, there was a joyful assemblage in the palace of Miriam Makānī, and the 519
marriage was celebrated in the presence of His Majesty.

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Verse.

One of the occurrences was that the Kabul road became peaceful. Tribes of Afghans inhabited between Kabul and the Indus, and from ignorance and selfishness they molested travellers, and stretched out the hand of oppression over the feeble. H.M. resolved that he would establish *serais*[1] in those dangerous places and put some brave men into each of them. Zain K. undertook the improvement of Sarkhdiwār, which is near Khurd Kābul; Khwājah Shamsu-d-dīn took charge of the country between the Dūāb and Bādām Casma. Ḥamza 'Arab got Bārīk Āb; Ḥaidar 'Alī 'Arab got Jagdalak, and Ḥaidar 'Alī Khwesh, Sarkh Āb; Moẓaffar Koka, Safed Sang; Darvesh Islamābādī, Tārīk Āb; Kafshī Bahādur, Basāwal; Takhta Beg, Daka; Banda 'Alī Maidānī, Gharībkhana[2]; Shāh Beg, the country between Begrām and Atak Benares. H.M. also sent a large sum of money by the hands of Hilāl Aftābcī to the Kokaltāsh in order that it might be distributed to the above-named persons, and that he might carry out this business under his own supervision. In a short time the orders were carried out, and the face of the age was brightened by the roseate hues of justice. Also at this time the Ghorī[3] tribe repented of their former conduct and took refuge with the governor of Kabul. At his request an order of pardon was issued to them. For some time, a place was, at his request, given to them near Jalālābād, and afterwards they received land in Peshawar where their homes were. On 22 Khurdād, 1 June 1587, the feast of the lunar weighment took place, and that celestial frame was weighed against eight articles. The needy had their wishes gratified. Also at this time, Ṣādiq K. came[4] from Bhakar and was exalted by performing the prostration.

One of the occurrences was the wounding of Rajah Todal Mal. On the night of the 17th (Amardād=28 July) he was going to his

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[1] Also called *thānas*.

[2] Gharībkhāna. This was a station on the route between Kabul and Peshawar, and apparently was in the Khaibar and between Daka and Alī Masjīd. It was here that the Afghans inflicted a great defeat on Muḥammad Āmīn, the son of Mīr Jumla in the reign of Aurangzeb, 1079, 1668-89. See Khāfī Khān II. 232.

[3] Elphinstone II. 46.

[4] 28 Rajab = 25 June 1587. Elliot V. 456.

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house from the palace. A hot-headed fellow came out of ambush and struck him with a sword. The Rajah's companions seized and killed him. His well-wishers suspected some good men, and out of envy, which is common among the sons of the world, simple people believed this. When far-sighted courtiers inquired into the matter, it was found that the wicked Khatrī[1] had found his opportunity, and **520** paid off his grudge. His accomplices were seized, and all received their punishment. The Rajah, by the aid of H.M., soon recovered.

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[1] See Badayūnī, Lowe, 377.

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CHAPTER XCV.

THE DISPATCH OF AN ARMY UNDER MAṬLAB K., AND THE DISGRACE OF THE JALĀLA TĀRĪKĪS.

From the time that Mān Singh had fought in the defiles and had won a hard-earned victory, he could not bring himself to enter the mountains again, and spent his time in Jamrūd near the Khaibar ravine, and indulged in futilities of speech. H.M. censured him, and took measures for the uprooting of the thornbrake of the Tārīkīs. Another army was appointed to go to the hills by the route of Bangash, while Mān Singh should march from Bigrām. On 7 Ardībihisht, 18 April, Beg Nūrīn K., Sheroya K., Selīm K., Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. 'Alī, Muḥammad Alif, Aḥmad Beg, Tāsh Beg, Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Moẓaffar Koka, Kafshī Bahādur, Shādī Beg, Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab, S. M'arūf, S. Kabīr, Walī Beg, Mohan Dās, Allah Bakhsh, Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn and other brave men were sent off under the command of Maṭṭalib (sic) K. When they reached the Indus near Sambala, Zangī K. and other heads of the Niyāzī clan—who had their home near there—joined the victorious army. The latter crossed at the Copāra[1] ferry (*guzr*), and reached the villages of the 'Īsākhel. Fīrūz K., Jamāl, 'Alī and others came and paid their respects. Most were of opinion that they should march up to Bangash by Daur and Naghz, and from there hasten on to the homes of the Tārīkīs. Jamāl Tārīkī, by the guidance of his star, joined the army. He represented that the best route was by the Ābdara, which is a defile between Bānū and Dar[2] Samand from which the Bangash river emerges. After crossing the river in several places in the course of twelve *kos*, one arrives at the town of Dar Samand. As his words bore the marks of truthfulness, they took that road. Near

[1] Cobāra in text. A note in Chalmers' MS. says it is Cantaba 40 m. S.E. Peshawar. It is the Chaupāra of Bābur, 160, which appears on Elphinstone's map as Chudiwala, and in Govt. maps as Chapara. It is nearly due S. Peshawar and at the end of the Salt Range. It is mentioned in J. II. 311.

[2] Marked on Govt. map N. of Thal and S.S.W. Peshawar.

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Buland[1] Khail the cultivation of the Tārīkīs was grazed upon by the animals, and news came that Jalāla had come out of Lūcak—which is a rugged spot and his fortress—and was three *kos* from Dar Samand, and was meditating a night-attack. At night the officers came out of their camp and were on their guard. Next day they arrived at Dar Samand. When the enemy perceived that they could do nothing at night, and as they were also disturbed by the news of the approach of the Jamrūd army, they resolved that at the time of encamping, when the soldiers were not in battle-order, they would make an attack. In accordance with this resolution they, on 14 **521** Amardād (beginning of August 1587), at midday, when the air was excessively hot, suddenly appeared with 1,000 cavalry and 15,000 foot. They entered into a fight with Shīroya K., Beg Nūrīn K., and Selīm K., who were in charge of the rearguard. At this time Muḥ. Qulī Beg, Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab and others arrived, and turned back the enemy's van. The wretch (Jalāla) turned his rein and came near the camp by another route. Muḥ. Alif, Aḥmad Beg, Shādī B., Mohan Dās and others came up, and fought bravely. There was a time of life-scattering, and of hunting for lives. Though the thread of combat was severed, and the general had not the good fortune to mount[2] his horse, and many brave men could not come up, the wondrous Fortune—which is an example of the Divine aid—displayed the countenance of victory. Five hundred and fifty of the enemy fell on the field of battle, and 1000 were killed in their flight. The foolish one after a thousand failures took shelter in the hills. No man of note in the victorious army was wounded, but for nine Turanians was the cup of life filled. Sixteen young men became known by their wounds. If the Jamrūdarmy had come up, Jalāla would have been taken. But they followed him up and plundered his home and set fire to his household goods. The whole of the Afrīdī and Orakzai tribes who sheltered that wicked one, gave hostages and became submissive. The army returned and came to Bangash, though,[3] on account of the scarcity, it was difficult to

[1] S.S.W. Thal.

[2] Perhaps the meaning is that the place was too rugged for him to use his horse. See B. 403.

[3] The text makes this a new clause. Badayūnī, Lowe, 368, refers to this expedition. I do not think the original means that the wrath of God fell upon the imperialists.

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remain there. Maṯṯalib was seized with a strange insanity and was sent to court.

One[1] of the occurrences was the sending of M. Yūsuf K. to take charge of Kashmīr. Qāsim K. had by strenuous exertions, and a wide capacity, taken that delightful country, and had endured great labours. He brought many recalcitrants to punishment, and he sent many leaders to court. A large number too had joined him. The country was civilized by justice, and foes retreated to the lanes of failure. But at this time of thanksgiving his foot began to slide, and bad companionship led him into improper desires. He set himself to oppress the Kashmīrīs, and demanded what the soldiers of the country had taken at the time of Y'aqūb's[2] supremacy. During the winter time, which was not the season of coming and going, men endured with bitterness, but when the climate became milder, the wasps-nest of the evil-minded became active. Many left him, and brought out Y'aqūb from his despised position. There was a hot commotion in Janīr[3] 23 kos from the city. Though troops went there, they could not carry through the business. Qāsim was obliged to go there in person. When he approached, Y'aqūb hastened
522 towards the city by secret routes. The officers followed him rapidly. He took refuge at a little hill in Bahārah,[4] three *kos* from the city, and waited his opportunity. The imperialists arrived there. Though by the rapid march the capital was saved from plunder, yet on account of the strength of the place, and the difficulties of the roads, their object was not accomplished. They had to leave the proper work unfinished and to come to the city. The enemy's strength increased. After some time, Qāsim again came out to fight. Though every day there was fighting between the skirmishers, yet on five

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[1] See Chalmers' translation in Noer's Akbar, translation II. 206.

[2] The text has *az* Y'aqūb, but no such preposition appears in the I.O MSS. Apparently the meaning is that Qāsim demanded from the people what had already been collected from them by Y'aqūb's soldiers.

[3] This name is doubtful. It may be Jainapūra or Zainapūr S. of Srinagar, and W. Bij Bihāra. In I.O. MS. 236 it seems to be Khapar, and Chalmers read Khyber. See Stein I. 97 for Jainapūr.

[4] There is the variant Bhāgnagar. Perhaps pargana Phāk, Stein II. 452, is meant. I.O. MS. 236 has Bhāg or Bhāk. Phāk is mentioned as a pargana in J. II. 369.

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occasions there were close engagements, followed by victory. On the sixth occasion, which was when Saiyid 'Abdullah was in command, there was a disaster, and Mīrzāda 'Alī[1] was killed. The brave men defeated the enemy, and got to the top of the hill. At this time it came on to rain (snow?). The experienced were of opinion that they should encamp, but this view was not accepted, and they retreated. As they were descending, the wicked foe showered stones and arrows from every side. Owing to the hurry, the narrownesss of the defile, and the slipperiness of the road, men lost heart and fell, one on the top of the other, and Mīrzāda 'Alī lost his life. Srī Rang, the cousin of Rai Rai Singh, and 40 men, stood firm and fought bravely. They yielded up their short lives and reaped eternal renown. The steadiness of some brave men was the means of saving many. Nearly 300 were killed. Next day Qāsim went forward to do battle. The Kashmīrīs lost heart and fled, and Y'aqūb went off to Kāmrāj. The officers returned and had a joyful meeting. Y'aqūb and Shams Cak made a treaty with one another, and stirred up commotion. But as there is no concord in that country, they quarreled near Andarkūl.[2] After a short time they were reconciled by the efforts of some men, and it was agreed that as by their being in one place, the disputes between the servants led to disagreements among the masters, they should remain separate. With this view Y'aqūb went off to the hill[3] of Sulaimān, and was active there, and Shams Cak went to Andarkūl. Many thought that the victorious army should also divide itself into two bands. But most men did not approve of this, thinking that loss would ensue if they were in two places. All resolved first to attack Y'aqūb and went off in that direction. Every day there was

[1] He was a friend of Badayūnī, who has some touching verses about his death, and that of another friend. Lowe, 380. Blochmann, 465, says Saiyid Abdullah was killed on this occasion, but this is a mistake; he died of a fever a year afterwards. See Badayūnī l.c. and the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā II, 401.

[2] The Indarkūl of Jarrett II, 370, where it is entered as in the S.W. division of the Kāmrāj tract. But apparently, the proper name is Indrakot. According to Murray, it is 12 m. N.-W. Srīnagar and is marked as Jayapūra and Andrakot on Stein's map, and as the Andarkath, i.e. inner fort, of his paper, p. 197. It is 5 miles below Shadīpūr.

[3] The Takht-i-Sulaimān S.E. the city.

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fighting, and by the might of daily-increasing fortune, victory declared herself. On the 5th[1] day of the month (Shahriyūr) Qāsim went off with a number of brave men, and a great battle took place. Fatḥ 'Alī, the leader of the enemy, was killed by an arrow, and the foe were dispersed. The imperialists returned with great joy. Y'aqūb joined Shams Cak, and in a short time again came near the
523 city, and stirred up commotion. There is a high spot[2] one kos from the city. It is half a kos long and one-fourth broad. There are some ponds round about it, and in front there is a pond which it is difficult to cross. Those two scoundrels took shelter there with a large following, and in season and out of season they emerged, and plundered. Every day a body of the imperialists came out to fight with them. Qāsim K. too got disgusted and petitioned for his recall. H. M. accepted his request and sent M. Yūsuf K. as the commander of the country. Jagannāth, Ḥusain Beg, S. 'Ūmrī, Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn, Qarā Beg, Muhammed Bhat, Bābā Khalīl, Mullā Ṭālib Isfahāñī and many other strenuous persons accompanied him. An order was given that when the wicked had been punished, Qāsim K. should return to Court. When the Kashmīrīs heard of the coming of the army, they sent some men to the ravines, in order that by coalescing with the Nāīkān (guardians of the passes) they might make the road secure. When M. Yūsuf K. heard of this he sent off Muhammad Bhat, Bābā Khalīl and Mullā Ṭālib with conciliatory messages. Though the guardians of the routes did not wait upon them, yet they yielded to their soft speeches and turned aside. M. Yūsuf left Jagannāth at the foot of the pass and traversed it himself with ease. Before they had reached the camping[3] ground the evildoers had dispersed. Y'aqūb went off to Kathwāra (Kishtwār) and Shams Cak took refuge in the hills of Kāmrāj. M. Yūsuf gave Qāsim K. leave to go to Court, and secretly bade adieu to Jagannāth. He unloosed the tongue of conciliation and set about winning hearts. A remedy was found for men's terror. He sent Mubarik K., Jalāl K. and Saiyid Daulat with a body of men against Shams Cak. The latter made a night attack from Taragānw[4] and obtained much plunder.

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[1] Possibly the meaning is the fifth day of the fighting.

[2] Perhaps the Harī Parbat is meant.

[3] Apparently Qāsim's camp.

[4] The Tāragāon of Vigne, J. II, 365, p. 1, and the Trahgām of the

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At dawn the imperialists pursued him and inflicted such a defeat on him that he did not rise up again, and made his submission on the safe-conduct of Saiyid Bahāū-d-dīn. M. Yūsuf K. sent him to court with the Mīr (Bahāū-d-dīn).

One of the occurrences was the birth of Sultān Khusrau. The Almighty Creator has adorned the honoured personality of H. M. with thousands of praiseworthy qualities, and his fortune is daily increasing. But the arrival of every thing depends on the movements of the heavens and is associated with a particular time. At this time which was the beginning of the spring time of dominion, the appearance of a grandson—which is one of the great gifts of God, and the most excellent fruit of age—the universe had new expansion, and mankind had new strength. After the lapse of ten hours and thirty-six minutes, on the day of Dīn 24 Amardād (about middle August 1587), the auspicious pearl displayed itself in the city of Lahore, in the bedchamber of Prince Sultān Selīm, from the chaste womb of the daughter of Rajah Bhagwant Dās. The news brought joy, and the Age set itself to rejoice. The coiners of celestial mysteries opened their far-seeing eyes and expounded somewhat of the glorious work of **524** the spheres and the stars.

Verse.

They held an assembly for studying the spheres,
They elevated the balance of the stars,
Such a horoscope appeared for that son!
What shall I say? Bravo, Begone O evil eye!

According to the Greek rules, the horoscope was the 9th degree of Capricorn and according to Indian sages it was the 22nd degree of Sagittarius. If the life-wearing world give me leisure, and if it be my destiny to remain for some space in Society, and I be not alienated from literature, and if H. M. will it, I shall give a full account of this horoscope. H. M. called this child Sultan Khusrau. I hope that he may grow up an enlightened man, and acquire noble qualities.

One of the occurrences was the subsidence of the Gujarat commotion. Panchanan,[1] the brother's son of Khankār, the ruler of Kach,

Ayīn. It was the residence of the Caks. It is the Trigraīm or Tregaon of Stein's map and is N.-W. Srinagar.

[1] Variant, Bajāīn.

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collected vagabonds and came to attack Halwad. Rai Singh of Jhālā rose up to contend with him, and bravely played away the coin of his life. Qulīj K. was in Aḥmadābād with some officers and was guarding the city. Saiyid Qāsim, Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad and others were sent off to punish the strifemongers. The latter took refuge in the Bardā[1] hills. Their houses were plundered. The Jām and Khangar came forward with submissions. The officers returned and had a joyful assembly. A week had not passed when Moẓaffar came out of the recesses and raised the head of commotion. He stirred up strife in the direction of Dūlqa, and so the above-named officers went off there. On hearing of this he went off towards Mūlī[2] and out of regard to comfort, a proper search was not made. One of the instances of daily-increasing fortune was that the honour of Musṭafa, son of Saiyid Jalāl, was by the protection of God preserved. He was taking his family to Bīraingānw. At the time that the officers were in pursuit, and that Moẓaffar was in a bewildered state, Musṭafa took refuge in a village.[3] Moẓaffar tried to seize him, and he plundered the place. He (Musṭafa) planted the foot of courage in his house and prepared to sacrifice his life. Meanwhile the noise[4] of drums was heard, and Moẓaffar went off quickly, thinking it was an army. Though the imperialists were marching quietly, yet they sent some to beat drums in that neighbourhood.

Also, at this time the Yūsufzai tribe was punished. Owing to their evil fate, the strength of their country and the disaster of the imperial army made them bolder in their presumptuousness and wickedness. Though the non-arrival of the army added to their
525 refractoriness, yet their egress and ingress were shut up, and they were plundered. Many of them were[5] sold (as slaves), and many died of various illnesses.

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[1] Barī in text.

[2] It appears from Elliot V. 445 that this should be Morbī.

[3] According to the T. A., Elliot V. 445, this was Akhār, 4 kos from Bīrāmgām (Veerumgāon).

[4] See the story of Niẓām-ud-dīn's stratagem in Elliot V. 445. He sent 20 horse with a pair of kettle-drums to beat at a distance of one kos from the village.

[5] There is the variant, "Many of their families were sold," and perhaps the meaning rather is that the Yūsufzais sold their wives and children. This agrees with the statement of the author of the Khulāṣat Tawārīkh, that it is notorious that

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One of the occurrences was the dispatch of S'aīd K. to the government of Bengal. News came that Wazīr K.[1] had died of diarrhœa on 21 Amardād (August). As everything was done prudently, an order was given that S'aīd K. should go from Behar to that quarter; that Payanda (Moghal) who held fiefs there, should obtain a jagīr in Ghoraghāt; that the *tuyuls* of Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Kuar Mān Singh in the Panjab should be taken from them, and that they should get others in Behar. On 16 Shahriyūr Mīr Murād[2] was sent off that he might speedily put these two places in the possession of the jāgīrdārs, and take S'aīd K. to Bengal. Mān Singh was summoned from Begrām in order that Rajah Bhagwant Dās might have charge of the royal harem and that Mān Singh might go to his new fiefs and develop them.

On 1 Ābān the solar weighment of H. M. took place, and there was a great feast. According to the rules, he was weighed against twelve articles. The dust of desire was removed from the face of the world, and the needy attained the joy of success. Also at this time Shādmān was exalted by princely favours, and Ghaznīn was given to him in fief. He is the son of Murād Hazârā, and his home is between Ghaznīn and Qandahār. His ancestors did good service, but he from crooked thoughts and short-sightedness had hitherto abode in the wilds. At this time he turned the face of submission to the court and received various favours. He was allowed to depart on 1 Āzar. On 28th, Kuar Mān Singh came from Jamrūd and paid his respects, and was sent to Behar on 6 Dai. On the same day Yūsuf K., ruler of Kashmīr, was relieved from prison, and treated with favour. He was given a fief in Behar. The sole desire of H. M. was that he would learn the proprieties, and would cherish his subjects, and be of awakened mind. When his conduct showed marks of prudence, the delightful country of Kashmīr would be made over to him.

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the Yūsufzais sold their wives and children for bread.

[1] He was from Herat and was a brother of Abdul Majīd Āsaf K., B. 353. He died at Tānda (Stewart's Bengal 179). For Wazīr's biography see the Maaṣir M. III. 929.

[2] B. 498. The Iqbālnāma calls him a sazāwal. He is elsewhere spoken of as belonging to Isfarain. The Iqbālnāma adds some details about opposition being offered to M. Murād by Wazīr's son. See A. N. infra, p. 534.

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One of the occurrences was the sending of Zain K. Koka to seize Swād and Bajaur. Though the Yūsufzai tribe had received suitable punishment, yet they did not refrain from robbery and wickedness. At the time when Jalāla Tārīkī got into difficulties, he went off from the defiles of Tīrāh to the Yūsufzaīs, and the wretches gave him a place among themselves. As H.M. desired that the Kokaltāsh might be delivered from his former disgrace, an order was given that Khwāja Shams-ud-dīn (Khāwfi) and a body of men should be left in charge of Kabul, and that Zain K. should go with his officers to Swād and Bajāur. An order was also given to the army of Jamrūd and Bangash that every one should apply himself to the capturing of the ringleader of the Tārīkīs, and that they should take care that he did not get away in that direction. Also Ismʿail
526 Qulī was removed from Ohand and sent to near Qabīla Ayāzī? in order that he might watch over Ishtaghir[1] (Hashtnagar). Ṣādīq K. and some other officers were sent from court to take post on the plain of Swād in order that Jalāla might be taken on whatever side he emerged. To Jagannāth (S. Behāri Mal, B. 381) who had returned from Kashmīr, an order was issued that he should join the Koka. On the 21st the Kokaltāsh had made his arrangements to set about the work. Ḥaidar Ali Khwesh and others went with him. They took the road of Kāmah[2] and Kushka and that of Samaj.[3] The Tārīkīs and the Yūsufzais fortified the Nāwalā Pass[4] and prepared for battle. The imperialists turned back and marched by Dānishkol, and built a fort at the head of the three roads to Bajaur, Hashtnagar and Tīrāh. They brought corn from the Lamghānāt and erected granaries. This raised the spirit of the army. By an unknown route they entered Bajaur, and there was some fighting. The jewel of bravery received new lustre, and many of the wicked were killed. Some escaped by being admitted to quarter. The Tārīkī was nearly seized, but he came out by the pass of which Ismʿaīl Qulī was in charge, and hurried off to Tīrāh. Ismʿaīl was one of the thānadārs of the plains (*dasht*). He was aggrieved at the sending of Ṣādiq, and from caprice went to court and left the passage open.

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[1] See J. II, n. 1, where a list of the eight villages is given.

[2] J. II. 411. [3] A road leading from Kabul to Bajaur, J. II. 392.

[4] There is the variant Nawagai, and no doubt this is right, for Nawagai is a village in Bajaur.

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At this time Jalāla got his opportunity and came out of the defile and went off. When H. M. heard of the misconduct of Ism'aīl Qulī K. he censured him, and sent Āṣaf K. in his room.

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of Rajah Madhukar.[1] This mountaineer of slumbrous fortune withdrew from accompanying the army of the Deccan, and instead of apologising, he increased his refractoriness. Shihābu d-dīn Aḥmad K. and other fief-holders went off to punish him. On the 23rd, when they came within four *kos* of Unḍca (Oorcha) which was his residence, he came forward with protestations. By the intervention of Rajah Askaran and Rajah Jagman, his submission led to his deliverance. He waited upon the general, but from short-sightedenss he fell into evil thoughts and went off into the desert. As advice was of no avail, his home was plundered. From want of provisions they could not stay there and proceeded to take the fort of Kajwa. Indrajīt and Satrāī, his sons, and Hardeo, his grandson, had strengthened this place. They came out into the defiles to give battle, and were defeated. One day Rāghū Dās, his brother's son, fought. Samānjī K. and M. Beg Qīqshāl gave proof of bravery and were victorious, and that wretch (Rāghū) was killed. They besieged the fort for a month. Every time that the enemy came to fight, they failed shamefully. 527
When they had no strength to contend, they fled. Every one went off to his fief.

One of the occurrences[2] was the capital punishment of M. Fūlād

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[1] The father of A. F.'s murderer. See his biography in Māāṣir II. 131. The genealogical tree in B. 483 does not mention the sons named in text. Indrajīt and Satrujīt are mentioned by Mr. Silberrad. A.S.B.J. for 1902, p. 109.

[2] See Badayūnī, Lowe, 327 and 376. As pointed out by Rieu I. 118, there is an account of Aḥmad in the Majālisi-l-Mūmīnīn. The passage occurs in Hājī Ibrāhīm's lithographed edition, p. 245. Aḥmad is there called the son of Naṣr Ullah, the Qāẓī of Tatta. Aḥmad was especially objectionable to the Sunnīs because he was an apostate, his father having been a Hanifī Sunnī. The Majālis 246 tells a story of how Aḥmad implied by an answer to Akbar that the murder of Uṣmān, the 3rd Caliph, was an advantage to religion. He was one of the authors of the T. Alfī. See Elliot V. 150. The Iqbālnāma adds some particulars, saying that M. Fūlād was of a Caghatai family, and that Mullā Aḥmad and he had a dispute in the house of Ḥakīm 'Abdul-Fatḥ, and that the Mīrzā was wounded by the

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the son of Khudādād Barlās. As the world lord exercises world-sway on the principle of "Universal Peace," every sect can assert its doctrine without apprehension, and every one can worship God after his own fashion. In consequence of this, Mullā Aḥmad of Tatta, who had undergone much toil in the acquisition of the ordinary sciences, and who was a firm adherent of the Imāmī doctrines, and talked largely about them, continually brought forward discourse about Sunnīs and Shīās, and from a despicable spirit used immoderate language. That hot-headed young man from his attachment to Sunnism regarded Mullā Aḥmad's doctrines with contempt. Owing to the turbulence of youth, he resolved to hunt for his life. On the night of 21 Dai, 31st December 1587, he and a companion lay in wait in a dark lane, and sent some man, as if a royal messenger, to call Mullā Aḥmad. On the way they attacked him with swords and cut off his arm from the middle of the forearm. He fell out of the saddle to the ground. The audacious villains thought they had cut his head off and without thinking[1] of the consequences came out by the lane. He took up his arm and conveyed himself to the house of Ḥakīm Ḥasan. Khwāja Mulk 'Alī[2] the night watch (*'asas*) by making a strict search apprehended the two delinquents. Though by certain indications, such as blood, the case was clear, yet, when he brought them to the palace, they did not tell the truth. And though the stains on the swords and the clothing were truthful witnesses, they did not admit their guilt. The Khān-Khānān, Āṣaf K.[3], Khūdāwand K. and the writer were sent in order to make enquiries of that traveller to the world of annihilation. As he had some consciousness, he expressed the pain of his soul, and told what had happened. The just Shāhinshāh released the two evil-doers from the bonds of existence. He had them tied to the feet of an elephant and paraded through the city. Though leading persons[4] exerted themselves to procure their release, they

sword-tongue of Mullā Aḥmad. He sent a piāda in the dress of a royal chobdār to Aḥmad and lay in wait with a servant. His mother and other ladies interceded for him, but in vain.

[1] *Pai gam kanān*, lit. losing their feet, a phrase meaning that in doing something the doers do not consider what the result will be. Vullers, I. 88a.

[2] B. 542.

[3] Apparently A. F.'s brother-in-law.

[4] Badayūnī says the ladies of the harem interceded for him.

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were not successful. It was a cause of guidance to many who had gone astray, and the contest between Sunnī and Shīā subsided. Soon afterwards Mullā Aḥmad died of his injury.

About the same time a Brahman in the town of Sihondā[1] gave out that he was Rajah Bīrbar. He had been wounded, he said, and had then got away from the Yūsufzai by the help of a survivor, and was passing his days, according to his custom, in gathering the materials of salvation. Simple-minded persons, from the similarity of his appearance, and his abundant audacity, believed him. Though the acute persons of the court were agreed that the story was not true, yet discerning men were sent to inquire into the facts. The men of the locality were sending him to court, but be- 528
fore he arrived, and the veil over his shamelessness was removed, he took the road of annihilation.

On 10 Isfandārmaẕ, 20th February 1588, Qāsim K. arrived from the delightful country of Cashmere and was exalted by doing homage. 'Alī Sher Mākrī and many other leading men of that country were admitted to an audience, and obtained the gratification of their wishes.

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[1] Badayūnī, Lowe 368 and 369, where Nagarkot is mentioned as the neighbourhood of the place of deception. The text has سندہ Sanda, but the variant Sihonda سہندہ has the support of the B.M. MS. 236. Sihonda is in Kālinjar Sarkār. See Elliot Supp. Glossary II. 110, and J. II. 166 where we have Sindha, which only slightly differs from the Sandha of text. Badayūnī reports that the impostor was first said to have been seen at Nagarkot and afterwards at Kālinjar, which was Bīr Bar's jāgīr. He also says that the Krorī put a poor, doomed traveller to death, pretending that he was Bīrbar, and then reported that he had died naturally.

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CHAPTER XCVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 33RD YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ĀZAR OF THE THIRD CYCLE.

At this auspicious time, the drum of the New Year rejoiced the age. The ever-vernal heart of the Shāhinshāh celebrated the event by a feast.

(*Verse*).

On Sunday 22 Rabī-ul-akhir 996, 10 or 11 March, 1588, after the passing of 10 hours and 48 minutes, the spiritual and temporal Light-giver glorified the Sign of Aries. There was a new feast every day up to the day of culmination. In the beginning of this glorious year the marriage of Prince Sultān Daniel was celebrated. As marriage is a means of cultivating the garden of creation, and is the adornment of the social world, especially in a ruling family, H. M. arranged that an union should take place between the prince and the chaste daughter of Sultān Khwāja. An august feast was prepared, and crowds of men became possessed of joy. On 20 Khurdād, 30 May, 1588, the ceremony took place in the house of Mirīam-Makānī.

(*Verse*).

Also on this day, the lunar weighment of H. M. took place, and mankind rejoiced.

One occurrence was the sending of troops to assist Ṣādiq K. When Zain K. took on himself the affairs of the plain of Swād, Ṣādiq was sent to Tīrāh. Shāham K. Jalair, Burhāna-l-Mulk, Khwājā
529 Faizī and others were sent off to join him. Also, an order was given that throughout the empire only the *gaz Ilāhī* [1] should be used.

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[1] J. II. 61. "The standard *gaz* or yard of 41 fingers. After much controversy respecting its length, it was authoritatively declared by Government to be 33 inches long." Elliot Supp. Glossary, II. 177 178.

In the *Aīn* A. F. speaks of the measure as having been introduced in the 31st year.

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Some account of this has been given in the concluding volume (the Ayīn volume).

One occurrence was the birth of Sultan Rustam. On 4 Shahrīyūr (August), after the lapse of 7 hours, a son was born to Sultan Murād by the daughter of the Khān Ā'ẓim. H.M. named him, and there were thanksgivings.

(*Verse.*)

According to both Greek and Hindu calculations, the horoscope was in Scorpio, but the degrees differed. I have not time to explain the (two) horoscopes, but I may say that this difference of degrees may have the purpose of checking too great joy or sorrow, and of preventing the breaking of the thread of circumspection.[1]

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Shahbāz K. When S'aīd K. went from Bihar to Bengal, he came to court, and arrived on 2 Mīhr. He was not admitted to pay his respects and was censured. But when it appeared that when he was sent (to Bengal) an order had been given that whenever his mind was at ease about the country, he might come and do homage, he was granted an audience, and received royal favours. Rajah Todar Mal had some dispute with him. An order was given that the Khān Khānān, 'Aẓdu-d-daula, Ḥakīm Abul-fatḥ, and the author should enquire into the matter. On their doing so, it appeared that self-interest had thrown a veil over the eyes of both of them. By proper measures, the dust of contention was laid.

On the 19th H. M. went hunting, and in nine days careered about from Pancgrāmī[2] to Qasūr.[3] On the 27th, when he was to come to the city, an injury happened to him near Cakgopāl, 7 *kos* from Lahore, but it turned out well. He shot a wolf and it appeared to be dead. H. M. was examining it, when suddenly it seized his right foot, and his teeth penetrated. But H. M. struck him such a blow with his other foot that the wolf gave up his life. A little damage was done, but he soon recovered. On 1 Ābān the solar weighment took place. According to the annual custom he was weighed against

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1 The child died in November 1597. A. N. III. 735.

2 J. II. 318. It was in the Bārī Dūāb.

3 34 miles S.-E. Lahore

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twelve articles. There was a time of rejoicing, and the needy obtained their desires.

530 One[1] of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion in Gujarat. Pan-Cānan[2] and Jaisa, brother's sons of Khangār, stirred up commotion in concert with Mihrāwan, the uncle of the Jām and Moẓaffar Arghūn, and invested the town of Rādhanpūr. Rādhan K. Balūch and other brave men took steps to defend the place. Twice they made a night attack, and they also came out in the day-time, and fought strenuously. Saiyid Qāsim and other heroes were active in assistance. Soon it was bruited abroad that Moẓaffar Gujarātī and the Kāīthāns[3] (from Kāthīāwār) had risen. Khwājā Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, Khwāja Rafī', M'aaṣūm Bhakkarī and others followed them. Naurang K. hastened to Bīrāmgānw, where the rebels were. Qulīj K. stood firm in Aḥmadabad with a few men. By the divine aid, when the first army arrived within ten *kos*, the rebels dispersed. When the second force joined, they left their baggage and proceeded rapidly. They crossed the Runn, and plundered the homes of the rebels in the town of Kātārīh.[4] A great amount of booty was obtained. Bahamāra[5] (?) the ruler of that country submitted. The officers accepted his submission and proceeded to the town of Māliya. They crossed the dreadful Runn in another place. A remarkable thing is that the Runn increases (in water) on the 13th to the 15th (of the month), but by H. M.'s good fortune the water did not rise, and the troops crossed with ease. Though the rebels were not caught, yet the country was plundered, and a large quantity of booty was obtained. From there they went to Morbī, and on the way much of the cultivated land was plundered, and strong stockades (*sangarhā*) were taken. When the victorious troops came near Morbī the proprietors came out and surrendered. Wazīr K. had in his time given the place to Khangār, and the Khān-Khānān left him in possession.

One occurrence was the death of Baharjī. His territory is a cultivated country, and a dependency of Gujarat. Its name is Bag-

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[1] Cf. Elliot V. 445.

[2] I.O. MS. 236 has Bajāīn, which is also the name in the T. A.

[3] The Kāthīs of I. G. XV. 177.

[4] Katārīa. Elliot V. 446 and the Kather or Kankar of J. II. 258. Perhaps the Kirkanagar of Bayley's Map. The places are in Cutch.

[5] Bahāra in I.O. MS. 236.

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lāna,[1] and the ruler is called Baharjī. His brothers wickedly made a commotion, and he took refuge in the strong fort of Mūler. As he had bound the burden of service on the shoulder of loyalty, Āltūn [2] Qulīj, Khwājah Rafī' and others went to help him. Before they arrived, he had been got rid of by enemies in the disguise of friends. The wiles of the evil-doers misled the relieving force and retribution was not exacted, though it was prepared (?). 531

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion in Gujarāt.[3] Fatḥ K., the younger son of Amīn K. Ghorī, made war on his father, and thereby disgraced his family. Moẓaffar also joined with him and stirred up the dust of strife. Amīn K. did not see in himself the power to control, and so retired. He wrote a supplicating letter to the imperial servants and asked for help. Naurang K., Khwāja Niẓām-ud-dīn Aḥmad, Medinī Rai, M'aaṣūm Bhakkarī, Qāẓī Ḥusaīn, Kāmrān Beg, Daulat K. and some of the Saiyids of Bārha hastened to assist him. Moẓaffar retired to the hills, thinking that perhaps the country would be taken from him, and the son became reconciled to the father. Sīdhī Rīḥān, Lokhan, Karhal and many others waited on the officers.

At the request of Amīn K. and the Jām, Medinī Rai went and brought the sons of them both. All at once the disturbance ceased. Also at this time Ism'aīl Qulī was sent to Gujarat, and an order was given that Qulīj should return to court.

An occurrence was the dispersal of the Tārīkīs. It has been mentioned that Ṣādiq had been appointed to overthrow them in Tīrāh. Shāham and others had been appointed afterwards. When the army had been collected, he went to the spot. He did not think it advisable to enter the defiles, but appointed men to watch on every side. Shāh Beg built a fort in the village of Bāra (S. W. Peshāwar); Aḥmad Beg and Muḥ Qulī remained on guard in Maīdan (W. Tīrāh). Shāham Jalāīr, Alī Muḥ. Alif and others served in Janakī (?).[4] In this manner able men were appointed in various places. The warriors opened the hand of attack, and thus remedied the scarcity

[1] Bāgdān of I. G. VI. 190.

[2] B. 500. He held a command of 300. Āltūn means gold in Turkī.

[3] This comes so soon after the paragraph at the beginning of p. 530 that it looks as if in the latter place A. F. wrote or meant to write Kach instead of Gujarat.

[4] Jangal W. Kohat?

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of provisions. Ṣādiq K. opened the tongue of conciliation, and the hand of liberality, and he made the Afrīdi and Ūrakzai tribes—which are the homes of the Tārīkīs—obedient. The spring crops of the landowners came into the hands of the soldiery, and they could not sow the autumn crops. Mullā Ibrāhīm, whose son Jalāla reckoned himself to be, was caught. The position of the wretch became difficult, and he had no longer confidence in his comrades. Every day he went about with his family (*qabīla*) and fell into a hundred troubles. At last he went off to Tūrān by the route of Kānīgaram (S.-W. Bannū). On 24 Mihr (about 4th October, 1588) the Afghans delivered up his family, and the minds of the imperial servants were somewhat quieted. The Afrīdis and the Urakzai in addition to doing good service gave hostages and undertook the preserving of peace in the Khaibar. The army enjoyed itself and returned.

532 An occurrence was the conquest of Swāt. When Zain Koka came to Bajaur, he established forts in some places, and the ill-fated ones withdrew to the defiles. They came out at night and carried off the grain. The Koka arranged that a body of men should wait in every ravine from the beginning of night, and should lie in wait on the skirt of the hill. At midnight some others were sent. When the Afghans came down from the tops of the hills, and were taking the crops, the two forces came from in front and from behind, and chastised them. The fighting went on for eight months, and many were killed. Of necessity, the survivors took the burden of submission upon their shoulders. The Kokaltāsh showed a design to take Swāt. He brought before himself Jagannāth and Āṣaf K. who were in the plains, and proceeded to that district. First, he established a strong fort on the banks of the river Pajkorah (Panjakora) which is the beginning of the entry into the country. The Yūsufzai had collected stones on the roads and were prepared to fight. By the wonders of Fortune, they went by a secret[1] road. On 9 Ābīn (19th October, 1588) when the enemy were busy holding the Qūrbān-feast,[2] the victorious troops entered the pleasant country of Swāt. The bewildered Afghans returned, though some bravely gave their lives.

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[1] Perhaps the meaning is that they passed without being observed, as the Afghans were engaged in feasting.

[2] The Qurbān 'Īd is held on 10 Zī-l ḥajja, the last month of the Muhammadan year. In 996 this corresponded to 21 October, 1588.

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Much booty was obtained. The wretches were divided into two parties. Some made a stockade on the hill of Batkhari (?), and some did so in the hill country of Mahra (?). The Koka pursued, and erected forts in Chakdara[1] and Malakand, etc. He built a fort on the plain near a hill at Sarobī (?). He left capable men at various places. The roads became safe and hill and plain were united. Traders came from every side and things became cheap. At this time Muḥammad Baḥrī[2] and Malik Asghar came from the mountain of Mahra by the route of Sherkhāna to the plain, and invested the fort of Sarobī. Many had gone from there towards Jalālābād, in order that they might convey the caravan. Ḥamīd K. came out with a few men and fell bravely. The sons of S'aid K. had not the courage to come and help him, but by the excellence of destiny[3] the enemy was not able to take the fort. They left what they had collected and fled. As there did not remain much work in Swāt, Aṣaf K. got leave to go to court. He went off post from Malakand. Some servants were coming after him. Suddenly they beat high their drums, and terror seized the enemy, and they fled, after flinging away many of their goods. Afterwards Abu-l-Qāsim Tamkīn and Sher K. were left on guard there, and the work was properly done.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of Kālū K.[4] He is the wicked man who absconded after receiving so many favours 533
from the Shāhinshāh. He chose the companionship of the turbulent. The Afghans of Damghār (?) chose him for their leader and went off to the hill of Mahra with the idea that something might be done. When the Kokaltāsh heard of this, he made a night march. The vanguard beat their drums, and the Afghans dispersed. Though the wretch himself escaped, yet more than seventy men were killed. Also at this time Muḥammad Baḥrī and Malik Asghar fell upon Sarobī. Mīr Abu-l-Qāsim came out to fight, and Sher K. who had been at Ghanjī (?), appeared at the time of the fighting. Nearly 400

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[1] Famous for its defence in the campaign of 1897-98. The Batkhari of text may be the Batkhala of Fincastle's map.

[2] Lanjarī in variant and I.O. MS.

[3] Apparently this refers to what follows. Āṣaf K.'s servants were coming after him, and the beating of their drums made the besiegers fly.

[4] He was a Yūsufzai, and had surrenderd: see p. 495, where he is called Kālū Sulṭan He was afterwards caught and imprisoned. See p. 559.

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Afghans were killed, and the power of the villains was somewhat broken.

One occurrence was the submission of Rajah Rūdar, the ruler of the Kumāon hills. He is one of the great landholders of India. Though on account of the strength of his country, and his listening to the stories of his ancestors, he had not come to court, yet he used to exhibit deference and send presents. At this time, when Mathurā Dās Sahakal went to the Collectorate of Bareilly, he had an interview with him (Rūdar) and suggested an union of concord, and endeavoured to induce him to come to court. He replied that he had long cherished such a wish, but he had no proof that he would attain such a blessing by his (Mathura's) protection. If Rajah Todar Mal would take charge of him, he would come. The Rajah sent his son Kalyān Dās to reassure him, in reliance on him he came and paid his respects. On 9 Āẕar he obtained this felicity.[1]

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the Yūsufzai. They were much disturbed by the fort which had been founded on the top of the ravine, and were lying in wait to attack it. Now they united with the men of Mahra and attacked it. There was a hot engagement from dawn till evening. The broken nature of the ground and the height of the hill made the contest a long one. At last the breeze of victory blew, and many of the evil-minded ones were killed. In a short time the fort was completed and was a means of keeping the refractory in check.

One of the occurrences was a great act of liberality on the part of the Shāhinshāh. Owing to civilisation and justice there was a great cheapness of articles so that it was difficult for the peasantry in some provinces to pay the revenue. Accordingly in the spring instalment for the provinces of Agra and Delhi a deduction of one-sixth was made, and for the autumn instalment a deduction was made of one in 4½ and in Agra, Oudh, and Delhi of one-fourth. In the
534 exchequer lands this came to 19 krors, 32 lakhs, 80,175 dāms. From this an estimate can be made of the amount of the reduction in the fiefs. Also, at this time, Zain Koka did homage. When Swāt and Bajaur had been in some measure settled, the Kokaltāsh was summoned to court, and an order given to Ṣādiq to hasten there

[1] Badayūnī, Lowe, 377.

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(Bajaur) and reduce to obedience the remainder of the refractory to obedience. On 15 Bahman the Kokaltāsh arrived at court.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance caused by Ṣāliḥ. When Wazīr died, Shahbāz made over the subordinates to Ṣāliḥ who was Wazīr's son. He did not know that in matters of chiefship and generalship, relationship and the good deeds of ancestors are of no avail. They cannot be accepted in the absence of discretion, capacity, etc. When Shahbāz K. went to pay his respects, the wicked Ṣāliḥ, owing to bad associates and the keenness of his desires, imbibed crooked thoughts, and was waiting to make a disturbance. Before the veil of his reputation was rent, an order was issued. Mīr Murād, who had gone as *sazāwal* of the Amīrs of Bihār and Bengal, enlisted every one of Wazīr K.'s soldiers who was willing to serve the Amīrs of these provinces, and brought the others along with the son to court. Sāliḥ made difficulties about going, but as Mīr Murād knew his business, they were of no use. Willing or unwilling, he had to set out. Every day he was looking for an opportunity, and his ideas of making a disturbance were gaining force. Mīr Murād wrote letters to all the fief-holders of the country, and made proper arrangements. Owing to the number of the Shāhinshāh's adherents, every wile that Ṣāliḥ thought of came to nought. As he always practised feline tricks and used cajolery, the local officers quarrelled among themselves and (Mīr Murad?) did not arrest him (Ṣāliḥ). But out of prudence they (he?) put men along with him. When Ṣāliḥ came to Jaunpūr, he deceived the Rajah's son [1] and so from simplicity and bribery the latter did not send any one with him. The Mīr was obliged to go on, and Khwājah Khalīl [2] had the good feeling to separate from Ṣāliḥ and to join (the Mīr). Meanwhile the base fellow (Ṣāliḥ) lavished gold, and collected fly-like men. He got together a number of musketeers. Khān Kamāl and Bahaī K.—two wicked Afghans—joined him with many others. Near Fatḥpūr Hanswa [3] he marched to the Mīr's quarters with an army of rascals. The Mīr used foresight, and entered the fort of Fatḥpūr Hanswa. The hare-brained fellow besieged him there, and also set about plundering. He made shelters out of cattle- 535

[1] This was Dhārū (Iqbālnāma).
[2] Wazīr's Vakīl (Iqbālnāma).
[3] The Fatḥpūr Haswā of Elliott. It is 70 m. N. W. Allahabad. It was in Sarkār Karra (Corah). J. II. 168.

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hides and arranged ladders, and set fire to the town, and plundered it. He was nearly taking the fort. Suddenly, the fief-holders of the country-side heard of this commotion and arrived there. The first of all to come was Allah Bakhsh Maral, and he brought a good contingent. When the Rājah's son knew about the misconduct, he sent off Allah Bakhsh from Jaunpūr, and felt ashamed of what he had done. When able men arrived, the scheme of the rebels failed. Sāliḥ was bound and taken to court. S. Ibrahim sent him with his own men. On 20 Bahman he was brought before H.M. whose kindness sent to prison one who was worthy of death. On 1 Isfandārmaz (11 February 1589) H.M. distinguished the writer's brother S. Abu-l-faiẓ faiẓī—who was my elder in years and in knowledge—by the title of Malikush-sh'arā (king of poets). Assuredly he is unique in all departments of poetry. He writes delightfully in Persian and in Arabic, and scatters pearls without stint. By the strength of his genius he composes works of art (*ḥikmatnāmhā*) and civilizes the age by his talents. Two or three days before this he extemporised an ode These are some lines of it.

Verse.

On that day when he was bounteous [1] to all
He made me the king of words.
He altogether snatched me away
That he might complete the work of speech.
For the sake of exalting my genius
He made me the ornament of the seven heavens.

One of the occurrences was that Indar Brahman obtained leave to go to the desert of deliverance (from the social state). He was one of the eloquent men of the august court, and was importunate in expressing his desire to sever the thread of association. It passed from the truth-speaking lips of Akhbar." "If [2] his heart have become disgusted with this variegated and soul-deceiving condition, it would not be proper to restrain such a free spirit, and if his idea be to get a higher rank, then he will have his retribution by his leave being granted." In a short time *his* coin was tested, but the graciousness

[1] Faiẓ, a play upon Faiẓī's name. The phrase *Haft Bām* in the last line may refer to Faiẓī's poem the Haft Kishwar which was in imitation of Niẓāmi's Haft Paikār.

[2] See a similar passage in the sayings of Akbar. J. III. 387.

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of the Shāhinshāh sewed up the veil over his honour. I was somewhat pleased with this charming discourse, and sate at the door of hope. May he test my troubled soul, and by a holy order bring my long-cherished wish to pass! And before this faithless world display her coquetries and blandishments, or the journeying to the land of oblivion take place, may I, with an open brow abandon (lit. set the back of my foot upon) this wretched old woman (the world), and lie released from the spectacle of human shapes who are worshippers of externals. As by serving the State, wisdom's cord has been cut, and I have become acquainted somewhat with the cajolery of my household foe (the carnal spirit), may I be delivered from the stain of formalism, and live free for a while! If some breaths of life be accorded to me, may I spend them in rebuking carnality, and use my judgment in self-improvement, and acquire good ways. Having gained my freedom may I rejoice in the ever-verdant garden of wishlessness! **536** If I cannot reach this height, I hope that the lees which remain in the cup of my existence may not like the clear wine of former days, be put into the jar of oblivion, or poured on the dust of trifling.

Verse.

I hope that Thou who acceptest a rain-drop
Wilt give a favourable reception to my tears.

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CHAPTER XCVII.

Beginning of the 34th year from the Accession, to wit, the year Dai of the third cycle.

On the eve of Tuesday, 4 Jamāda-ul-awal 997, 10 or 11 March 1589, after four hours and thirty-six minutes, the brightener of the world's face entered Aries. The beginning of the tenth year of the third cycle brought the news of eternal dominion. H.M., according to the yearly custom, held a feast every day till the culmination, and crowds of men obtained their wishes.

(*Verse*).

In the beginning of this auspicious year a daughter was born to Prince Sulṭān Selīm. It was on the 28th (Farwardīn, 6 April, 1589) that the daughter of S'aīd K. obtained this great blessing. Contrary to the custom of contemporaries, it was made an occasion of rejoicing. H.M. gave the child the name of 'Affat Bānū [1] (the modest lady). At this time Muḥibb [2] 'Alī came from Rohtās, and did homage. For a long time H.M. had desired that he should have the blessing of coming to the Presence. Accordingly his fief was given to Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and Multan was given to him as jāgīr. When the order was conveyed to him, he gladly set his face towards the threshold. He had the blessing on 14 Ardibihisht, and received varied favours. On the 15th do., 26 April [3] 1589, Mīyān Tānsen died, and by H.M.'s orders, all the musicians and singers accompanied his body to the grave, making melodies as at a marriage. The joy of the Age was overcast, and H.M. said that his death was the annihilation of
537 melody. It seems that, in a thousand years, few have equalled him for sweetness and art!

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[1] Her death is not mentioned in the A. N., but in Price's Jahangir, 20, it is stated that she died at the age of three.

[2] This is Muḥibb Rohtāsī. B. 422.

[3] B. 612 and Archael. Reports (Cunningham), article Gwaliyar.

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CHAPTER XCVIII.

EXPEDITION OF AKBAR TO THE DELIGHTFUL COUNTRY OF KASHMĪR.

The world's lord keeps his eyes open for wonders and regards the old world as a fresh ornament of the Creator. He does not fix his heart to one place, and gathers new affluence from every quarter. But he brings a profound vision to bear on the subject, and mingles knowledge with action. His heart is especially drawn to any place where there is the wondrous work of destiny. Hence he always bore Kashmīr in mind. He kept before his eyes its delightful climate, and when the Incomparable Deity included that charming land within his empire, his wish to traverse it became stronger. Though the eloquent talkers of the sublime banquets deprecated the sovereign's going to such a distance, and putting himself in a corner, these representations were of no avail. He said that God, the author of desires, had implanted in him an irresistible wish, and that Jinnat Āshīyanī (Humayūn) had had the same longing. "Our going thither is, apparently, the fulfilling of his honoured desires."

Accordingly, on the eve of the 16th (Ardibihisht)[1] after the passing of 2 h. 48 m. he crossed the Rāvī, and encamped near the serai of Mādhū Singh. He had travelled one *kos* and 12 bambu-lengths.[2] Three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners, and splitters of rocks, and 2000 bēldārs (diggers) were sent off under Qāsim K. that they might level the ups and downs of the road. At this stage H. M. gave Sīalkot in fief to Zain Koka. Sarkār Sambal became the jāgīr of Qulīj Khān. Multan was given to Muḥibb 'Alī K. Shahbāz K. was made the Provost Marshal of the Camp (*Kotwal-i-Urdū*). Raja Bhagwant Dās, Rajah Todar Mal and Qulīj K. were left in Lahore in order that everything might be carried on with their approval.

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[1] The T. A. Elliott V. 457 says he started on 22 Jumāda-s-Ṣānī 999 (28 April).

[2] Four hundred bambus made a *kos*, each being 12½ gaz. Taking the gaz as 33 inches, each bambu-length was about eleven yards.

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On the 20th he travelled 2 *kos* 50 poles, and encamped near Shāhdara.[1] On the 4th (Khurdād) he travelled 4 *kos* 41 poles, and encamped near the village of Jorā.[2] After one day's halt he marched $3\frac{1}{4}$ *kos* 72 poles, and alighted near Aminābād. On this day the Rajah of Radaur[3] obtained leave to go to his home, and was presented with a choice khilat and 101 horses. His fief was increased by some parganas. After an interval of one day he marched $4\frac{1}{4}$ *kos* and encamped in the territory of Sitarām.[4] At dawn he marched $4\frac{3}{4}$ *kos* 35 poles,
538 and halted at Talwandī.[5] Then after one day he passed Sūdhīra[6] and encamped on the bank of the Cināb. It was a march of 6 *kos* 41 poles. On this day the festival of the lunar weighment increased joy. That personality which was equal to the sky in majesty was weighed against eight articles, and the world rejoiced. On the 31st he crossed the river[7] and an order was given that the troops should cross by a bridge, watch by watch, company by company (*Cauki ba Cauki ū qushūn qushūn*). The march was $1\frac{1}{4}$ *kos* 51 poles. After two days he reached Gūnacor,[8] a dependency of Sīālkot. The march was 4 *kos* 5 bambus. There it was represented to him that Allah Bardī, the agent of Ṣādiq, and Shiqdār of Tīha[9] Hanū and Rāij had opened the hand of oppression, and was dishonouring the weak. An order was given that 'Aẓdu-d-daula, Shahbāz and Qāsim Beg[10] Mīr 'Adil should sit in judgment on him. Soon, his injustice was made

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[1] Six miles from Lahore, west bank Rāvī. It contains Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān's tombs. A. F. plays on the word Shāhdara saying *nazidīk Shāhdara shādrawān-i-'izzat barafrāshtand.* "He neared the mansion of honour near Shāhdāra."

[2] Corā or Caurī in I.O. MS. 326, but perhaps the *rā* is a case ending and the name is Jau or Cau. It may be the Juāhir-pul of the Indian Atlas, which seems to correspond to Shāh Daulapul on the Deeg river, 22 miles N. Lahore. See the India of Aurangzīb by Jadu N. Sarkār, p. 1.

[3] Rūdar in text, but there is the variant Radar. The place meant is Radaur in the Ambāla district, 40 m. S. E. Ambala. I. G. XI. 341, old ed. See also Rieu's Pers. Cat. I. 302b. It is not mentioned in the new edition I. G.

[4] Sahasrām in I.O. MS. 236.

[5] J. II. 320.

[6] The Sūdhara of J. II. 321.

[7] The text omits the words "by boat," but they occur in the variant and in T. O. MS. 236.

[8] Variant Kolājor, but Gūnācor is right. It lies S. E. Jālindhar and is the place where Bairām was defeated. See B. 317 n. and 619.

[9] I. O. MSS. have Tuba Janū'?

[10] It is Khān in text, but I.O. MSS. have Beg. See B. 517 and 541. He was an Arabic scholar.

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manifest, and he received the reward of his deeds. Though his life came to an end, his death was a cause of life to others. Next day H. M. marched 4½ *kos* 51 bambus and encamped at Ḍīkrī, a dependency of Sīalkot. After two days he marched 4½ *kos* 60 bambus and halted at Jaipūr[1] Kherī, a village of Bhimbar. On 9th Khurdād (19th May 1589) he went with a few attendants to see the pass of Bhimbar which Kashmīrīs call Kājīwār,[2] and other hill men, Adī Dat.[3] He enjoyed being on the top of it. Suddenly it occurred to him that he would go on alone (jarīda), (*i.e.* comparatively unattended). Sultan Murād was sent off to take charge of the ladies in the camp, and to keep order in the army. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was left in the Pass to prevent any but certain persons who were named, from following. Then he went on horseback and traversed heights and hollows, partly riding and partly on foot. At midday he rested for a while under a tree. There were with him the Khān-Khānān, Zain Koka, 'Aẓdu-d-daula, Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ, Jagannāth, Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, Qāẓī Ḥasan, Nūr Qulij, Rām Dās, the writer, and some young cavaliers (*īkkā jūānān*).[4]

On this day he gave weighty counsels to Burhānu-l-Mulk at the entrance of the pass, and sent him to conquer the Deccan. As in the time of his elder brother Murtaẓa Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, the peasantry and soldiers enjoyed some repose, and though he was melancholy and a recluse, yet he kept strong the thread of justice, H. M. did not send Burhānu-l-Mulk—who had taken protection at his court—with an army to that country. When he died, and news came of the disturbances in the Deccan, he recalled[5] Burhān from the Tīrāh

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[1] Jyepore of the maps, S. Bhimbar.

[2] Text Kājīwār, but variant adār seems right It is the Kashmīr gates of Tiefenthaler I. 79. See Elliot V. 457 N. 3.

[3] The Adidak of Bates' gazetteer 6 miles N. Bhimbar, the Aditak of the maps.

[4] Of Qazwīn. B. 498.

[5] Ferishta informs us that Akbar had given Burhān estates in Bangash.

There is a full account of Ṣalābat K. in Ferishta's history of the Aḥmadnagar dynasty in the chapter dealing with Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh, p. 139, etc., of Newalkishore's edition. He was sent by Ṭahmāsp, the king of Persia, to Burhān Niẓām Shāh I. Ferishta gives him a very fine character and says that he himself was one of those who tried in vain to dissuade him from obeying his insane king and voluntarily putting chains on his feet and going to prison. The

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army with the intention of sending him (to the Deccan). The events
539 of that country are as follows: Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the ruler of Irān, had sent Shāh Quli Gurjī (Georgian?) with presents; and he had attained influence in the Deccan, and received the title of Ṣalābat K. For the space of twelve years that Nizāmu-l-Mulk was in seclusion on account of melancholy, the financial and political affairs of the country were conducted by Ṣalābat. As the ruler had not wisdom, and did not give audiences, there arose a disturbance. Owing to the power of insanity, that man of disturbed brain wrote to outsiders that they should confine Ṣalābat in a certain fort. That excellent servant heard of this and betook himself to that fort. Though leading men represented that he should not imprison himself at the word of so insensate a person, it was of no avail. He said he could not depart from his master's order. Afterwards an unchaste woman obtained influence over the madman, and her brother Ismʿaīl laid hold of the administration. By his help, M. Khān Sabzwārī obtained influence, and he brought the madman's son out of the fortress of Daulatabad and raised him to power. He (the son) put the madman to death. Soon, the dust of dissension arose between them, and each tried to injure the other. At last, Mīrzā K. got his opportunity and shut him (the son) up in Aḥmadnagar, and raised Ismʿaīl S. Burhānu-l-Mulk to the supremacy. Ismʿaīl K. Deccāni collected men and besieged the Aḥmadnagar fort. The wretch (Mīrzā K.) cut off the head of his prisoner (Mīrān Ḥusain the parricide) and flung it out, thinking that thereupon the son's well-wishers would withdraw. But they became more eager, and broke into the fort. Mīrzā K. came out secretly and fled, but was caught on the road and

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unchaste woman referred to in the text is a dancing girl named Fatḥ Shah who, Ferishta says, was both beautiful and clever and could play chess well. Murtaẓa Niẓām was put to death by his own son Mīrān Ḥusain, but it must be said that the madman had deliberately tried to burn his son. Murtaẓa was killed on 17 Rajab 996, 2nd June 1588; his son only reigned 2 months 3 days. A. F. does not tell the whole truth when he says that Akbar did not interfere so long as Murtaẓa Niẓām was alive. He sent the Khān Āʿẓim to conquer the country, but he failed. Burhān had two sons, and when he fled the country Ṣalabat kept them in custody. Ibrāhīm was the eldest, but as his mother was an Abyssinian, he was black. His younger brother Ismʿaīl was raised to the throne. He was only twelve years old. Afterwards his father obtained the throne.

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put to death. Ism'aīl was raised to power, and he,[1] out of revenge hunted for the lives of the Irānīāns and Tūrañīans, and 3000 innocen persons were put to death. When H. M. was going to Kashmīr, Burhān came from Tīrāh and H. M. sent him off to the Deccan. An order was given to the Khān Ā'ẓim, the general of Mālwā, to Rajah 'Ālī, the ruler of Khandesh, and the officers, that they should get together a choice army and exert themselves so that Burhān might soon be successful.

When the temperature moderated, he resumed his progress (lit. mounted his bay horse), and traversed the defile between the Serai Jogī and Naushahra, which is called Ghātī Badū.[2] At one watch of the night he halted after travelling 13¼ *kos*. Some rulers of Kashmīr used to fortify the first pass, when they had wars with the rulers of India, but most of them fortified this one. Few were able to keep up with H. M. on this march, which was full of heights and hollows. Next morning the ravine of Ghāzīkot between Naushahra and Serai Cingīz was traversed with difficulty. After passing Rajaurī, H. M. halted at the tents of Qāsim K. who was proceeding with the work of making the road clear and level. The march was 8 *kos* 9 poles. As several roads led from this place, and each was full of snow, experienced men were sent off to make enquiries, and a council was held. It appeared that the best route for a large army was by the defile of the Hastī Watar. As it was difficult of passage on account of the large amount of snow and rain, H. M. chose the Pīr Panjāl route. 540
The eldest prince (Jahāngīr) was ordered to go back to the camp, and to bring on Sultān Khhusrū and some of the ladies.[3] As M. Kaiqabād, the son of M. Ḥakīm, had fallen ill, he was left at this stage and the Maliku-l-Sh'āra S. Faiẓī [4] was appointed to attend on him. After two

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[1] It was really Jamāl K. who did this.

[2] Badū is a name of King Zainu-l-'ābadīn, and is apparently the Kashmīrī Bar Shāh. See Drew's Jummoo 17. It means: "The great King." Text Jogī, but the variant Cingīz is supported by I. O. MSS. and by Tiefenthaler I. 87. It is the Chingas Serai of Bates and is about half-way between Naushahra and Rajaurī. It is on r. bank Tavi.

[3] Apparently most of the ladies stayed at Bhimbhar and eventually went to Rohtās, without entering Kashmīr, and finally joined Akbar at Atak.

[4] Faiẓī was a doctor as well as a poet.

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days H. M. went on from Rajaurī and marched 3¼ *kos* 19 poles. The camp was near Lāhā, a dependency of Rajaurī. Next day he marched 1¾ *kos* and reposed near Thāna.[1] This village is at the foot of the defile of Ratan Panjāl. At this place the Kashmīrī language begins. H. M. remarked, countries are divided from one another by hills, rivers, deserts, and language. For the first (three) of these Bhīmbhar is the boundary of Kashmīr, and for the last, this station is. Though the cavalier of fortune's plain was unattended, the Divine glory (*far īzdī*) was radiating from the august forehead, and wherever he went, crowds of men and women offered up thousands of supplications. Every one of them brought vows of long standing before him, and reaped eternal bliss. At this place the Nayīks who were the guardians of the passes on this route did homage under the leadership of Bahrām Nayīk. Muḥammad Bhat and a number of Kashmīr leaders were exalted by obtaining an audience. Next day he set his face to the defile. First, he crossed the Ratan[2] Panjā pass, which is high as heaven, and arrived at Bahramgalla. The march was 2¾ *kos* 5 poles. It is a delightful place, and has few equals for climate and for variety of flowers. The special bay horse[3] which was brought into the pass (*kotal*) slipped, and no trace could be found of it. Many climbed the pass on foot. On this day there was a disturbance among the special cooks, and the writer was appointed,[4] in addition to his other duties, to look after them. On the way M. Yūsuf K. came from Kashmīr (Srīnagar) and did homage. A large number of the chief men of the country had the blessing of a reception. Next day the august retinue advanced 2 *kos* 55 poles, and encamped at Pūshīāna. There were wonderful hills clothed with forests, and numerous flowers and fountains gladdened the heart. Many bridges are placed over the streams

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[1] It is Thāna in the Iqbālnāma, and is the Thana Mandī of Bates. It is 14 miles N. Rajaurī.

[2] The pass is five miles N. E. Thāna, and is the Ratan Pīr of Stein II. 398 and the Ruttan Pīr of Bates. It is 8,200 ft. high. Bahramgalla is the old Bhairavagali. The text has Bairamkala.

[3] *Gulfām khaṣagī*. Perhaps *gulfām* was the name of the horse. See B. 134. There were six stables of Khāṣgī horses. Apparently this horse disappeared over the *khad*.

[4] Apparently A. F. was made Mīr Bakāwal. See B. 56.

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and are called *kadal* [1] in the Kashmīrī tongue. As the station (*manzil*) was filled with snow for more than two *kos*, H. M.'s fellow-travellers were much frightened, but the encouragements of H. M. soothed them somewhat. As it is the custom for pedestrians, when going over the snow, to use shoes woven out of ropes of rice-straw, most provided themselves therewith, but this was a thing which H. M. did not approve of. Next day the Pīr Panjāl pass was crossed, and the standards of victory were pitched in the village of Dūnd near the pass of Nātī [2] Barārī. The march was 3½ *kos* 20 poles. The walking was over snow. Shall I describe the severity of the cold? Or shall I tell of the depth of the snow, and of the bewilderment of the natives of India? Or shall I describe the height of the pass, or 541
speak of the narrowness of the path, or of the heights and hollows of this stage? Or shall I write of the fountains, the trees, the flowers? While crossing, it snowed and hailed. By the blessing of H. M.'s personality, no harm ensued. When the station was reached, it snowed heavily for an hour. Every one of those who were coming behind, and who on that day showed foresight and turned back, arrived at a comfortable place. Some inexperienced persons who went on rapidly lost their lives on account of the snow and rain.

It is commonly reported by the inhabitants, high and low, of this country that ancient sages have thrown spells (*tilisma*) on these two roads [3] so that whenever a large army passes by there, or a horse or bullock be killed, or a drum beaten, black clouds soon gather and rain and snow pour down. Whenever an army passed by this route, the statement was confirmed. As the ladies had been sent for, and the difficulty of the road had been impressed on H. M.'s mind, an order was issued that the officers who were in attendance on H.M. should station experienced men at each stage, and that every stage between Bhīmbhar and Hīrapūr should be assigned to one of the officers, so that tents, fuel, forage and food should be in readiness,

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[1] This is still the Kashmīrī word for bridge.

[2] Apparently Tārī in I. O. M.S. 236. Dūnd is not marked in the maps. It must be near A'llābād Sarai.

[3] Presumably the Pīr Panjāl and Hastī Watar routes. Cf. J. II. 348 and N. 1. Perhaps the meaning is that the spell was laid where the two routes join near Ālābad Seraia. Jahāngīr, Price, 82, says he had never seen anything to confirm the story about the spell.

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and that the ladies should not suffer any inconvenience. Next day H. M. traversed Nārī Barārī,[1] which is the most difficult of all the ranges (*girīwahā*), and reposed in Hīrapūr.[2] The distance was 4¼ *kos*. Forty-four bridges were crossed. M. Yūsuf K. had arranged tents, etc. here. The difficulties of the hills between this place and Bhīmbhar had now been overcome and were forgotten. To speak briefly, from Bhīmbhar to Hīrapūr there is a continuous range of hills which for narrowness and difficulty, and for ascents and descents, is unrivalled. The groves, the blossoming flowers, the glorious air, the melody of the waterfalls, increased astonishment from time to time; and removed from the heart the troubles of the journey. But when we on this day passed from the hills to the plain, there was a splendid spectacle. A new world appeared, and a new paradise withdrew the veil from her countenance. Commonplace people who looked only to secondary causes forgot altogether the toils of the way, and the pious and profound entered upon new delight. Crowds of men, consisting of God-seeking ascetics, learned persons, skilled craftsmen, and magical musicians, came from the capital, and were gratified by princely favours. On this day the Khān-Khānān was sent off in order that he might attend the Prince, and assist him in bringing on the secluded ladies. Also at this stage M. Kaiqabād and the Maliku-sh-sh'ara S. Faiẓī arrived and performed the prostration.
542 After one day 2 *kos* 79 poles were traversed and H. M. halted at Dewar[3] (?).

At the end of the day a cloud settled on the face of joy! While H.M. was looking for the arrival of the ladies, the Prince Royal arrived alone and reported that on account of the difficulties of the road it was not fitting that the ladies should be brought, and that he had left them at Naushahra.[4] As there had been no order to this

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[1] Variant Tārī Barārī. The name is not marked on the maps. The Iqbālnāma has only the word Barārī. The highest point on the route from Bhīmbhar to Srinagar is the Pīr Panjāl which is 11,400 ft. high. Stein II. 394. The proper spelling is Pīr Pantsāl.

[2] Properly Hūrapūr, the ancient Sūrapūra. See Stein and Bates.

[3] Probably this is the Degrāma of Stein's map and J.A.B.S. paper, p. 186. The name seems to be Depūr in I. O. MS. 236. See Stein, II. 472. Degrāma is about 1½ miles west of Supiyan.

[4] That is, he had brought them from Bhimbhar as far as Naushahra and then left them.

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effect, the prince was not allowed to pay his respects, and an order of censure was sent to the Khān Khānān. "If the prince, owing to his evil propensities, behaved in this way, why did you allow him to exhibit such audacity?"

In his wrath, H. M. ordered, in the midst of the rain, and of the slipperiness of the ridges, that his horse should be brought. His whole thought was that he would go in person and bring the ladies. He took with him Jagannāth, Rām Dās, Naqīb K. and some Aḥadīs. Zain K. Koka, Ḥakīm Abu-l-Fatḥ and the writer were left in charge of the camp. An order was given that no one except the persons above mentioned should accompany H. M. He travelled that day up to evening and reached Hīrapūr. I was nearly losing my senses, and the dress of society was falling from my shoulders.[1] By God's help the ebullition of my disposition did not prevail over my reason and discretion. The whole confusion was caused by thinking why at such a time should the Shāhinshāh of the Universe become so angry. And why did he take upon himself this task which could be accomplished by an inferior servant? Why did he not accept the truthful speaking of his loyal servants. The Prince shut himself up in his tent, and abstained from food and sleep. When the devoted servants petitioned, the wise sovereign yielded, and returned. An order was given that the Khān-Khānān should bring on the ladies: 3½ *kos* 81 bambus were traversed, and H. M. halted at the village of Kūsū. Next day 3¾ *kos* 13 poles were traversed, and H. M. halted at Khānpūr.[2] A remarkable thing there is that there is a tree called Hal Tal[3] on the roadside, which is a wonder to beholders. It has

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[1] Meaning that A. F. felt disgusted with the world.

[2] There is a Khānpūr Serai marked on the map S. S. W. Srīnagar, but it is further off than 1½ *kos*. Apparently it is 12 miles from Srīnagar. Tiefenthaler puts it at 5 miles, *i.e.* *kos*. Stein I. 482 n. states that the real name is Khāmpūr. See also Bates' Gazetteer. The Iqbālnāma says the quivering tree was 3 *kos* from Srīnagar.

[3] This tree is mentioned by Niẓāmu-d-dīn in his account of the kings of Kashmir. He calls it a Khubāzī (mallow?) tree. He says that when he went with Akbar on his second expedition to Kashmīr he tested the quality of the tree. Ferishta copies his account, but calls the tree a willow (*bed*). Perhaps it is the poplar (Populus alba). See T. R., Ross and Elias, App. A., p. 400, where for 22 read 200. I have seen a tree in the Bhagalpur public garden which shook all over when a branch

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a strong trunk and many branches, and numerous leaves. If a twig of it be set in motion, the whole tree begins to shake. There are plenty of trees of this species, but they do not behave like this one.

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was touched. It has been ascertained (by Dr. Prain) that it is an Adansonia digitata. The Khānpūr tree seems to be the same as that mentioned by Ḥaidar in the T. R. Ross and Elias, p. 428, as being at Nāgām, one short march from Srinagar. Nāgām according to the map is about 3 miles W. Khānpūr. The Iqbālnāma seems to call the tree Hall-mal, which agrees with the variant in the A. N. Bib. Ind. In the Aīn J. II. 336, the tree is mentioned, but Hal Tal or Hal Thal is given as the name of the village, not of the tree. Sir G. King thought it might be the Populus tremula or the P. Euphratica. Stein II. 475, and 1 Book VII. 159 note, adopts the Āīn statement that Halthal is a village and supposes it to be the Shalishthala of the Rājatarangini. Jahangīr, Tūzuk 304, gives Hal Thal as the name of the tree, and says he saw another of the species in Cārdarah, the residence of Ḥaidar Malik. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 398, where for "height more than a *gaz*" read "height more than an arrow-flight." Perhaps, *haltal* means "quivering." Ḥaidar Malik, I. O. MS. 510, also mentions the tree, p. 232b, and calls the village Pal Thal.

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CHAPTER XCIX.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE STANDARDS OF FORTUNE AT THE CAPITAL OF KASHMĪR.

On 25 [1] Khurdād, 5th June, 1589, after 8 hours 24 minutes, H.M. having marched 1½ *kos* 18 poles, planted his standards in the city of Srīnagar. Crowds of people arrived and had their desires gratified. **543** There was the glory of largesse and presents H. M. alighted at the lofty palace of Yūsuf K., the ruler of Kashmīr. The quarters of the soldiers (i.e., of Yūsuf's soldiers) were allotted to the various servants, and an order was given that the troops should not be quartered in the houses of the inhabitants.

From Lahore, the capital, to this place (Srīnagar) 97 *kos* [2] 7 poles were traversed in 24 marches. Though the number of *kos* is not great, yet on account of the ups and downs, the distance is very long and difficult. God be praised that a long-cherished wish of H. M. was easily gratified! What former rulers had died wishing for, was attained with a small amount of application. Mountains which pedestrians could not traverse were crossed by H. M. with a large army and numerous elephants! Srīnagar is a great city and has been long peopled. The river Bihat flows through it. Most of the houses are of wood, and some rise up to five [3] storeys. On the roofs they

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[1] Akbar took about forty days to reach Srīnagar. Either there is a hiatus in the MSS. or A. F. has not recorded the last stage or two. The last stage he mentions is Khānpūr, and then at the beginning of this chapter he tells us that Akbar entered Srinagar after a march of 1½ *kos*. But Khānpūr is 4 or 5 *kos* from the city. The Iqbālnāma says that Akbar travelled from Hīrapur to Srīnagar in two days and a night (*shab darmīyān*), and that he saw the great quivering tree, when he was 3 *kos* from the city. The date given in Elliot V. 457 is 1 Shabān 997, 5th June, 1589.

[2] Though he here mentions 97 *kos*, the distances given by A. F. only amount to about 89½ *kos*, and the number of stages mentioned is 23 and not 24. Lawrence, p. 266, states that the distance from Srīnagar to Bhimbhar is 148 miles.

[3] The Iqbālnāma says, from 2 to 3

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plant tulips[1] and other flowers, and in the spring these rival flower-gardens. When it is the rainy season in India, it also rains here,[2] and, like Turān and Irān, much snow falls in winter. In spring there are showers (*bārān*). The crops seldom suffer from a deficiency of rain. The praises of the country cannot be contained within the narrows of language. Something has been said about this in the concluding volume. My brother, my spiritual and physical elder, wrote a great ode in praise of the Shāh and of Kashmīr. I quote some lines[3] from it.

Verse.

547 On this day Shahbāz K. was transferred from the great camp (at Bhimbar) to Swād. Mīr Isfarāīnī was sent as sazāwal to escort him thither and to bring Ṣādiq to court. At this time Gohar[4] Ṣūfī came and paid his respects. He was an emancipated one (*āzāda*) belonging to the sect of *Rīshīs*.[5] Thirty years before this, Ghāzi K., the ruler of Kashmīr, had put his teacher to death on suspicion that some rebels had been sheltered in his house. The darvesh (Gohar) had thereupon become disgusted with life, and had struck a knife into his belly, but did not accomplish his purpose. Next time he thrust his belly against the edge of a wall and a fissure was opened out, whereby his bowels burst forth. But this did not cause loss of life. The portion of the bowel which was inside dried up at its

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to 5 storeys, and that the latter are called *lohi* in Kashmīrī. Jahāngīr, Tūzuk 299, describes the roof-gardens.

[1] Probably the Fritillaria Imperialis. J. II. 349.

[2] But the rains are much less in Kashmīr, and there is no rainy season. Stein 119 says: "What chiefly characterises the climate of Kashmīr as against that of the Indian plains is the absence of a rainy season, and the equally marked absence of excessive heat."

[3] There are 196 lines, and I have not thought it necessary to translate them, as they are not of special merit. Farzī says in them much more in praise of Akbar than of Kashmir. In two of the lines he gives the date of the conquest, viz. "middle of Khurdād of the 34th year, or Rajab 997; May 1589."

[4] The variant Kotar or Kota seems preferable.

[5] Text *darveshe*, but the variant *rīshī* is right. The Rīshīs were a Muḥammadan sect. See Bates' Gazetteer, Introd., p. 31. In J. II. 353 A. F. is made to speak of *brahmans* as the most respectable class in the country, but this is a mistake caused by a bad reading in the text. The true reading of Rīshī is in Gladwin. See also Lawrence 287.

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head, and there remained outside about a cubit in length. His excrement passed out by this (aperture?). He cleansed the outer portion and put it into a wooden vessel (*āwand*). H. M. treated that broken-hearted one kindly, and a new rank was given to devotion.

On the 28th (Khurdād) he went to visit Shihāb-u-d-dīnpūr.[1] This is a delightful spot on the bank of the Bīhat. The planes (*cinārhā*) there raise their heads to the sky, and the verdure enchants the eyesight. It was stated that whenever soilure was caused by men's visiting the place, or by any bones etc. falling there, they disappeared next morning. People said a spiritual squadron came and swept and cleansed the place. When H. M. appointed truthful and acute persons to inquire into this, the tale was found not to have the glory of truth. It was an exaggeration on the part of former eulogists, and short-sighted people in their simplicity believed it. On his return he passed by the polo (*caugān*) ground. Travellers have seldom seen so verdant and charming a spot. On the 31st the Prince Royal was sent off to bring the ladies. He was ashamed of his former mistake, and was continually showing a desire to obtain this service. The Shāhinshāh granted his request and gave him leave to go. Āṣaf K., Mādhū Singh, and some other servants were sent with him. Also on this day he indulged in water-fowling and enjoyed it greatly. Several times he engaged in this sport. The 548
chief huntsmen take hawks on their arm in little boats (*zoraqchahā*) and let them fly at the proper moment. Those swift birds rush down from the air and hold the waterfowl down[2] on the surface of the water and sit upon them and convey them to the boat.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ladies. Prince Sulṭān Murād, the Khān-Khānān, Qāsim K. and other servants exerted themselves greatly in improving the road, and in assisting

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[1] This place is mentioned in Ferishta's account of Ḥaidar M. T. R., Ross and Elias 490. It and the plane trees are referred to in the Āīn. J. II. 364. It is now known as Shādīpur, but Dr. Stein scouts the idea that this means the city of marriage. It lies at the junction of the Bihat and the Sindh, and is regarded in consequence as a "Priyāg," or holy place, like the meeting of the waters at Allahabad.

[2] See J. II. 351 and B. 295, where the method of hawking in Kashmīr is described. Lawrence 134 states that this sport is not practised nowadays.

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the bearers. The Prince Royal joined them in Pūshāna.[1] Prince Sulṭān Murād returned to take charge of the main camp. When they had approached to within two *kos*, H. M. received them on 9 Tīr, 20th June 1589, and by various kindnesses gave joy to the visitors. The officers who had performed the service received fresh honours.

One of the occurrences was a great flood in Ujjain in Mālwa. It began to rain on the 12th, and this continued for three days. The river Siprā[2] rose high and the outer and inner lakes (kūlāb) overflowed. 1700 houses were carried away. Though but few men were lost, yet many animals were carried away by the waves. The flood had reached the gate of the city when the outer lake[3] burst, and the waters were dispersed.

One of the occurrences was the assessment of Kashmīr. When the able accountants brought forward the subject of the revenue, the just sovereign proceeded to make inquiries. He sent S. Faiẓī, Mīr Sharīf[4] Āmulī, Khwājagī[5] Muḥammad Ḥusaīn to scrutinize the Mararīj[6] (Marrāj), while Khwāja Shamsu-d-din Khāfī—who had come at that time from Kabul—and the Kuar (Mān Singh) were sent to examine the Kāmrāj.[7] Though the autumn crop was over, yet they were able by their skill to make an estimate of it. In India the land is divided into plots, each of which is called a *bīgha*. In the delightful land of Kashmīr every plot is called a *patta*.[8] This should be one *bīgha* one *biswa* according to the Ilāhi *gaz*, but the Kashmīrīs reckon

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[1] For Pūshīāna. So in text, and the name is probably right, but the I.O. MSS. seem to have another reading. Murād apparently went back to Bhimbar where the main camp remained. The bulk of the army seems never to have entered Kashmīr.

[2] J. II. 195 and 196 and the I. G. Ujjain is situated on the Siprā. According to A. F. it sometimes flowed with milk. Jahāngīr, Price, 118, speaks of a large lake near the city of Ujjain, and of its washing the castle walls. Perhaps the "inner and outer lakes" means Kāliyādaha mentioned in J. II. 196, and more particularly described by Faiẓī Sirhindī in his account of Akbar's march to the Deccan in the 44th year. The reservoir was composed of a running stream.

[3] The old city of Ujjain is about a mile to the N. of the modern one. These lakes (kūlāb) are not mentioned in the I. G.

[4] B. 452, etc.

[5] He was the younger brother of Qāsim, the conqueror of Kashmīr.

[6] and [7] Upper and Lower Kashmīr. See J. 368, 370.

[8] This measure of land is not mentioned by Lawrence. He says, p. 243, Land measures are calculated, not by length and breadth, but by the

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2½ *pattas* and a little more as one (Kashmīrī ?) *bīgha*. By agreement[1] with the Government (*Diwān*) one-third of the produce is paid as revenue. In accordance therewith every village has been assessed at a certain number of *kharwārs*[2] of rice. The same amount of *kharwārs* is demanded every year without any fresh investigation. The *kharwār* is 3 *mans* 8 *sīrs*.[3] Akbarshāhī. Sometimes they reckon by the *trak*,[4] which is eight royal (*i e.* Akbarshāhī) sīrs. Of the spring (rabī') crop they take for one patta of wheat, barley, pulses, and mustard, two *traks* as the share of the ruler. In Lār[5] and its appurtenances the persons deputed to inquire found that 1 *man* 26 sīrs of wheat, 1 *man* 26¾ sīrs of barley, 1 *man* 30½ sīrs of pulses and mustard were taken and that in the autumn-crop there was taken from that extent of *shālī* 12 (rice) (land) one *kharwār*, from *mung* (phaseolus mungo), *moṭah* (P. aconitofolius) and *māsh*, two *traks*, from *gāl* and millet four *traks*. When the unofficial (*kāghzkhām*) papers of every village—which showed the real facts—were obtained, the amount of the ruler's share came to 5 *mans* for rice, while for *mung*, *moṭah* and *māsh* it was 549
1 *man* 30½ sīrs, from *kangnī*[6] and millet it was 2 *mans* 22½ *sīrs*.

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amount of seed required by certain areas of rice cultivation. A *kharwar* of land, i.e. the area requiring *kharwar* weight of seed, is equal to four British acres.

[1] Text, *az farāz*, but it appears from the I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. of the A. N. that the proper reading is *az qarār*. The literal meaning of the passage seems to be "With the diwān the agreement is for three heaps of crop." Blochmann, p. 346, has given an abstract of the passage, taken apparently from the account of M. Yūsuf in the M'aasir U. III. 313. The translation, "three kinds of grain pay taxes in Kashmīr," is wrong, and the account in the A. N. shows that all grains were taxed. The passage is explained by the Āyīn, J. II. 366, where it is said that one-third has long been the nominal share of the State. The words in the Persian text of Aīn I. 570 are *sih toda*, just as it is in the paragraph in the A.N.

[2] *Khharwār*, lit. an ass's load. According to Wilson's' Glossary it is 700lb. but the Kashmīrī *kharwār* is stated by Lawrence to be 177$\frac{129}{175}$ lb. Cf. J. II. 366 and Stein's Rajataranginī Book V. 71, p. 145 note.

[3] Seven in text, but I. O. MS. 236 has eight as in the variant, and this agrees with the Āīn, J. II. 366. A *trak* is = 11$\frac{19}{175}$ lb.

[4] See Lawrence 243. A. F. spells the word and he makes it *tark*, see B. 84 n. 3, but trak or trakh is the proper pronunciation.

[5] "It borders on the mountains of great Tibet." J. II. 363.

[6] Kangnī is described in Lawrence's Kashmīr, p. 337. It is also called Shol, and its botanical name is

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The Mararāj investigators brought back similar reports. As there was abundance of futile talkers and concealers of the truth, and the governor (*mirzbān*) [1] of Kashmīr was desirous that the truth should not appear, and the sovereign [2] had in his mind the enjoyment of sight-seeing, and the cultivators were chiefly soldiers, the assessment was not fixed upon actual facts (*qarār-i-wāqa'*). The twenty lakhs of *kharwārs* of rice were increased by two lakhs. Apparently, the far-seeing glance (of Akbar) perceived that an increase in the assessment, even though it did not exceed a duly calculated amount, would bring destruction on the cultivators, especially in a newly conquered country.

On the 22nd (Tīr, about 2nd July 1589) H.M. gave leave to the writer to visit Wāhid Ṣūfī. Inasmuch as he has a daily-increasing desire to seek out good and pious men, his blissful servants take pains to search for such. At this time the Malku-sh-sh'ara S. Faiẓī [3] wrote to this least of men (A. F.): "Here an enlightened anchorite has come into my view. For thirty years he has in an unnoticed corner been gathering happiness on an old mat. Affectation and self-advertisement have not touched the hem of his garment. By dint of inward purity he has come to know somewhat of the Shāhinshāh

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Setaria Italica. Elphinstone II. calls it Panicum Italicum and says it is termed Ghoosht by the Afghans, and *congunnee* by the Hindustanis. Its grain is husked into rice, but it is not esteemed by the Kashmīrīs as food, being considered by them to be heating."

[1] Payments in coin and kind were estimated in kharwārs of (Shālī) rice," J. II. 366. The kharwār was reckoned at 16 *dāms*, B. 346. In the Ayīn the kharwār in kind is stated to be 29 *dāms* and the kharwār in cash to be 29 *dāms* as formerly. At this assessment, says the Maaṣir, the country was made over to M. Yūsuf K. The revenue was afterwards raised in the 36th year to 30 lakhs, 63,000 kharwārs. Āṣaf's settlement was a little higher, being 30 lakhs, 79,000 *kharwārs*, and it appears that the money value of the kharwār was also enhanced. See J. II. 366-67 (the Āṣaf K. referred to is Āṣaf No. 3: see B. 411). The increases led to a rebellion and to the murder of Qāzī 'Alī.

[2] The word is *shahrīyār*, and must mean Akbar. He was bent on enjoying the spectacle (*tamāsha*) of Kashmir and did not scrutinize the assessment. Perhaps, the meaning is that he wanted to see the cultivators happy and so only made a trifling increase in the assessment.

[3] The Ṣūfī lived a long way up the Jhelam. Faiẓī had gone in that direction in connection with the settlement, as he had been deputed to the Marāj district.

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and though he has not seen him, he bears on his heart's shoulder the burden of his discipleship." When I brought this to the notice of H.M. he ordered this traveller for the search of truth to go and make a thorough inquiry into the matter. If the account given of him turned out to be true, and he was willing to come, I was to bring him with me. By great good fortune I met in with that bewildered [1] one, and the old sore of Divine longing opened afresh. For a long time he had lived, like Aweis [2] and Karkhī, in a ruined habitation. As he concerned himself but little with men's customs, some called him mad, and some called him an atheist. He lived apart from joy and sorrow, and took nothing from anybody except broken bread. After many years he assumed an old and tattered cloak. I brought forward the old secret, and laid hold of his companionship. Though owing to the obscurity of my understanding, I did not know the Kashmīrī language, yet I gathered much edification through an interpreter, and there was a new market for my ear. As his heart was much alienated from the sons of men, he could not come out (from his cell). The world's lord was delighted with this news and

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[2] Aweis Qarnī, a saint who had given up the world. He was a contemporary of Muḥammad and was killed in battle in A.D. 657. See Beale's Dictionary. Karkhī appears to be the M'arūf Karkhī of J. III. 355 who founded the Karkhī order. He died in A.D. 815. There is an account of him in Beale ed. 1894, p. 245. I am however convinced that the text is corrupt, and think that the editors of the Bib. Ind. ed. have substituted what they considered an intelligible reading for one that to them was not so. None of the MSS. seems to have و كرخي *u* karkhī, and it does not appear from the account in the Ayīn or in Beale that M'arūf was distinguished for asceticism. I.O. MS. 236, which is generally correct, has *basān Avīs dāda barkh.* Dāda is Turkish and is a name given to darvishes and qalandars, and here I think it is an appellation of Aweis. *Barkh* means a small house, or den, and should, I think, be connected by 'iẓāfat under the following word *khrābanishīn.* The phrase then would run "living in a hovel, like Avīs the qalandar." But *uwais* means a wolf, and possibly the words *uwais dada barkh* mean a wild wolf's den.

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The Mararāj investigators brought back similar reports. As there was abundance of futile talkers and concealers of the truth, and the governor (*mirzbān*) [1] of Kashmīr was desirous that the truth should not appear, and the sovereign [2] had in his mind the enjoyment of sight-seeing, and the cultivators were chiefly soldiers, the assessment was not fixed upon actual facts (*qarār-i-wāqa'*). The twenty lakhs of *kharwārs* of rice were increased by two lakhs. Apparently, the far-seeing glance (of Akbar) perceived that an increase in the assessment, even though it did not exceed a duly calculated amount, would bring destruction on the cultivators, especially in a newly conquered country.

On the 22nd (Tīr, about 2nd July 1589) H.M. gave leave to the writer to visit Wāhid Ṣūfī. Inasmuch as he has a daily-increasing desire to seek out good and pious men, his blissful servants take pains to search for such. At this time the Malku-sh-sh'ara S. Faiẓī [3] wrote to this least of men (A. F.): "Here an enlightened anchorite has come into my view. For thirty years he has in an unnoticed corner been gathering happiness on an old mat. Affectation and self-advertisement have not touched the hem of his garment. By dint of inward purity he has come to know somewhat of the Shāhinshāh

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Setaria Italica. Elphinstone II. calls it Panicum Italicum and says it is termed Ghoosht by the Afghans, and *congunnee* by the Hindustanis. Its grain is husked into rice, but it is not esteemed by the Kashmīrīs as food, being considered by them to be heating."

[1] Payments in coin and kind were estimated in kharwārs of (Shālī) rice," J. II. 366. The kharwār was reckoned at 16 *dāms*, B. 346. In the Ayīn the kharwār in kind is stated to be 29 *dāms* and the kharwār in cash to be 29 *dāms* as formerly. At this assessment, says the Maaṣir, the country was made over to M. Yūsuf K. The revenue was afterwards raised in the 36th year to 30 lakhs, 63,000 kharwārs. Āṣaf's settlement was a little higher, being 30 lakhs, 79,000 *kharwārs*, and it appears that the money value of the kharwār was also enhanced. See J. II. 366-67 (the Āṣaf K. referred to is Āṣaf No. 3: see B. 411). The increases led to a rebellion and to the murder of Qāzī 'Alī.

[2] The word is *shahrīyār*, and must mean Akbar. He was bent on enjoying the spectacle (*tamāsha*) of Kashmir and did not scrutinize the assessment. Perhaps, the meaning is that he wanted to see the cultivators happy and so only made a trifling increase in the assessment.

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resolved[1] that he would go in person, and illuminate the darkness of his hermitage.

One of the occurrences was an exhibition of H.M's knowledge of mysteries. It had been reported to him that the ruler of Kashmīr had in a fit of intoxication thrown one of his ladies from the top of a terrace. One day when he was inspecting the Kashmīr palaces, he, while many lofty windows and watch-towers were around him, said with his pearl-laden tongue: "It seems that Yūsuf must have flung that innocent one from this terrace." On inquiring this was found to be the case.

Also, on this day, Jagannāth, who was troubled for want of a house, and was wishing for the house of Qarā Beg, performed[2] the kornish from the top of a terrace. H.M. quickly said to him, "You have come a long way down; the house of Qarā Beg is large and is near: let that be your quarters." A cry of wonder arose from all. Also about this time, one morning, the sound of singing reached his ear, and he
550 said to Naqīb K: "Can you from the voice make any guess as to the age of the singer?" After much reflection he replied: "It seems to be more than forty and less than fifty." H. M. said: "I think it is more than twenty and less than thirty." When inquiry was made, it was found that the age was twenty-five.

At this time he felt a desire for the coming of Miriām Makānī,[3] and ordered that a petition to that effect should be written to her. With his pearl-laden tongue he said: "Let this verse which my soul has just now uttered be made the preamble to the application."

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[1] Akbar fulfilled this intention. See *infra*, p. 551.

[2] So in text, but the MSS. have a different reading. I.O. MS. 236 has *kornish dādand, badūr farmūdand*—"Akbar permitted the kornish and said to him." I.O. MS. 235 has *bāz kornish dādand.* He (Akbar) returned, or acknowledged, the *kornish.* I think that on this account, and also because of the words *az farāz bāme,* that the words "from the top of the roof" refer to Akbar and not to Jagannath. The word *zūd* "quickly" seems wrong. *Kornish dādand* means "gave permission to perform the *kornish.*" See *supra* p. 542 line four, where we are told that Jahāngīr, as being in disgrace, was not allowed to perform the kornish, *kornish nadādand.*

[3] She was not in time to join him in Kashmīr, but she, and apparently Gulbadan Begum and other ladies, joined him near Kabul. See *infra* p. 568.

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Verse.

The pilgrim may go to the K'aaba to perform the *ḥaj*.
O God! May the K'aaba come towards us!

On the 23rd (Tīr, about 3 July 1589) Hāshim K. the son of Qāsim K. was sent off to put to right the Paklī road, as H.M. intended to return by that way. Many stone-breakers and diggers accompanied him. Zain K.[1] Koka was ordered to return and to conduct the great camp and other people to Rohtās. He was (after that) to come back to H.M. by way of Paklī. On this day news came that Khudāwand[2] K. had died in Pātan Gujrat on 1 Khurdād, 11 May 1589. He was one of the brave men of the south country, and in company with the Berar officers he had had the blessing of an audience, and had been exalted by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. went to Mararāj by boat. From the view that to go by water is to sit while travelling, and that it brings many delights, it occurred to him that he would in this manner go in that direction. As in this country there were more than 30,000 boats but none fit for the world's lord, able artificers soon prepared river-palaces, and made flower gardens on the surface of the water. Men of note, and near relatives, also prepared boats so that more than a thousand were made ready, and there was a city upon the waters. On 24 Tīr, 4 July 1589, H. M. embarked with his ladies. The anchor was raised at dawn and they proceeded up stream. 5¾ *kos* 14 poles were traversed, and he encamped opposite Minaur[3] (Pampūr?).

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[1] He was with the emperor. See supra p. 542 where he is mentioned as having, with others, been left in charge of the camp at Dewar, or Digrāma near Supiyan. He was now apparently to conduct back the main camp etc. to Rohtās by way of Bhimbar, and then to come back and meet the emperor by the Paklī route. Or perhaps he was both to go and come by that route.

[2] He had married A. F.'s sister. See Badayūnī, Lowe 384. His mother was an Abyssinian and his father a Persian from Mashhad. He was a man of imposing stature and strength.

[3] There are the variants Pantūr and Pīnūr. I feel pretty certain that the place is Pampūr, the old Padmapūra, mentioned in J. II. 357; *pā* and *yā* are often mistaken for one another, there being only the difference of a dot between them. Pīnūr when written in Persian is not unlike Pampūr. The identification is strengthened by Blochmann's having read Banpūr and correcting it in his Index to Pampūr.

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On each side of the river there were flower gardens and verdures to delight the eye. Guards were stationed on each bank. They looked after the husbandmen and the weak. Things which give pleasure, and successes which make the lords of destinies to stumble, only make H.M. more wary. The farsighted in this way improve their lives, while those who do not extend their view beyond secondary causes become infatuated. Next day he travelled 4½ *kos* 60 poles and halted near Panj[1] Birāra (Bīj Bihāra). Starting at dawn next day he travelled 5¼ *kos* 8 poles and arrived opposite the plain of Nandī
551 Marg.[2] Though at every station there were choice spots, yet this *Alang* (pasturage) was a fresh vision to eye and heart. It is 3000 bīghas in extent, very level, luxuriant and verdant. Farsighted travellers find few places equal to it. The lord of the diadem gathered pleasure by looking at it, and offered praises to God. Nandī was a woman and a servant of Mahādeo, and *marg* means a plain. Romancers tell that she was in love with a young man, and when he came to this pleasant spot to play polo, she would come and soothe her soul by a sight of him. The governor of Kashmīr proposed to bring the plain under cultivation. Fearing that this would put a stop to the polo, she bought the plain for a large sum, and imprecated a curse on any one who altered the ground. Cycles have elapsed since then, but it is still preserved in its old state.

One of the occurrences was the death of M. Sulaimān. From the time that he did homage for the second time at the sacred threshold, he spent his days in repose and enjoyment. At the time of the expedition to Kashmīr he had been left in Lahore in order that nothing might occur to molest the tranquillity of this old man.

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[1] The Vej Brāra of J. II. 356, and the Vijayeśvara and Vijabror of Stein 173, 174 and n. Bror means God.

[2] The word is jallya, a plain. Cf. the description of Nandī Marg in J. II. 357 where it is spoken of as being near Punj Barāra. I think there must be some mistake for in addition to the fact of Nandimarg's being described in the Ayīn as near Vej Brāra, I do not see how Aybar could travel up stream 5¼ *kos* to Nandimarg, then 3 *kos* to Kanabal, when the whole distance between Vej Brāra and Kanabal appears to be under 5 miles. Possibly Nandīmarg is the Nanmarg of Vigne and of Bate's *Gazetter*. It is some 12 m. east Saupiyn and is apparently the Nan Miraj of Stein's map, but if so, Akbar must have left the Bihat to visit it.

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At this stage the news came that he had quitted the world on 13 Tīr, 23 June 1589. H.M. mourned for his death. The chronogram of his birth is Īkhshī.[1] He lived for 77 years, and was unique for courage, and knowledge of war.

On the following morning H.M. travelled 3 *kos* 44 poles and arrived at the village of Kahnapal [2] (Kanabal) beyond which boats do not go. On the way he visited the hermitage of Wāḥid Ṣūfī, of whom I have already given some description. He uttered heart-pleasing words, and made the dervish strong of heart. H.M. said that his sole idea was to keep his soul in ways well-pleasing to God as far as his powers would allow. It was also proper to observe order in the administration of the world. He hoped that this enlightened heart (the hermit) would strengthen him towards the fulfilment of this wish. He (the hermit) paid his respects and represented that he knew something of the lofty rank of the world's lord, and that his outward glory was the veil over his spiritual beauty. He had long cherished the wish that he might obtain edification from that spiritual and temporal lord. At this time the Prince-Royal came up from the rear, and an order was given that he should visit the hermitage. The writer of the noble volume was sent along with him. The prince first implored blessings for the world's lord, and the hermit gave the same reply as before. Then he begged his prayers for himself. The answer was that he should obtain his wishes from the temporal and spiritual primate.

From this stage H.M. went off on the horse (*bārah*) of fortune to see the fountain of Alanj,[3] which is a delightful place for visitors, and a place of worship of the ancients. There is a limpid reservoir, and

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1 The text has bakhshī, but Sulaimān was born in 920 A H. so īkhshī, beautiful, is the proper reading.

2 The Kanbal of Stein's map, just before Islāmābād. Lawrence says, p. 18 "the river is navigable without a single lock from Bārāmula to Kanabal, the port of Islāmābad, a distance of 102 miles."

3 The Achiaval of Bernier who visited and described it, the Achh Dal of J. II. 358, the Achibal of Stein's map, and the Achābal of Lawrence, p. 22, who says, it is perhaps the most beautiful of all the springs. See also Bates. It is about six miles E. of Islāmābād. Dal in the Āīn is probably correct, for the word *dal* means a lake. The text has Alanj, but the true reading seems to be Acch or Īch. See Stein 180, and Bernier's letters.

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the water always shoots up (from the earth). Occasionally, a beautiful, yellow, spotted fish appears, and whenever this occurs, the year is reckoned a fortunate one. It appeared about this time, and caused joy. From there he went to hunt, and his idea was that he would proceed on to the fountain-head [1] of the Bihat, but rain and the slipperiness of the defiles restrained him from this plan.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to Tibet. When the sound of the world-conquering armies reached that country, the rulers thereof had not the courage to come personally to the sublime court. They remained in bewilderment. As they showed obedience by continually sending presents, M. Beg was sent to 'Alī Rai the ruler of Little [2] Tibet, and Mullā Ṭālib [3] Isfahānī, and Mihtar Yārī to the ruler of great Tibet. Soothing and encouraging words were written to them.

On 29 Tīr, Divine month, 9 July 1589, H.M. fell ill, and that day passed in severe pain. Next day there were signs of improvement. After two days he took two spoonfuls of soup, and in a short time he became well. He used to say that he had often been ill, but that the pains of those days had not come up to the pain of that first day. May God the Giver of life long preserve him in sound health and in the administration of justice !

Verse.

May dominion not be far from his pillow.
May there be no light to the crown without his head.
May his life be sempiternal.
May his threshold be life's sanctuary !

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[1] Vernāg, Stein 182; but see Lawrence, p.18. See also Jahāngīr's account. Elliot VI. 304.

[2] Little Tibet is Baltistan, and Great Tibet is Ladakh. Haider M. conquered these countries and gave Little Tibet to Mullā Qāsim and Great Tibet to Mullā Hasan. T. R., Ross and Elias 489. Qāsim was afterwards killed. *id.* 490.

[3] B. 607 and n. He is there called Bābā Ṭālib. He was a poet. See J. III. 393, where a quatrain by him is quoted. See also Badayūnī III. 265.

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CHAPTER C.

Return of H.M. the Shāhinshāh from Kashmīr the paradisaical.

As the spectacle of that ever-vernal flower garden—which leads every one else to self-indulgence—made H.M. more zealous in devotion to the Creator, and as he had gathered some delight from travelling in it; and had made the peasantry and the soldiery joyful, he decided to return. Though the attractions of the climate, and the abundance of flowers and fruit shut off the road of escape, yet wisdom prevailed and prevented him from staying longer. On 1 Amardad, 11 July, 1589, the anchor was raised and he set[1] sail. The Paklī route was kept before his eyes. He travelled 3 *kos* 25 poles, and halted opposite Nandīmarg. On this day Abiyā[2] paid his respects, and was received with favour. As Y'aqūb Kashmīrī—who had in some measure awaked from his slumbers, perceived the majesty of the Shahinshah, and wished to pay his respects, H. M. made the arrivals happy, and sent them back satisfied. But as Y'aqūb was impressed by the greatness of his crimes, he had not the courage to come in, but sent his brother, in order that the good news of pardon might reach him, and might ease his fears. The brother returned after succeeding in his wishes. Next day he spent in the same delightful spot. On the morning following he departed, and **553** after travelling 4 *kos* 59 poles, he encamped near Joras (?).[3] On this day some ladies arrived from the great camp, and paid their respects. Āṣaf K., Khwāja Daulat, and others, did homage. Here a privy

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1 *Bādbān Kashīband.* In Bates' Gazetteer, Introd., p. 10, it is stated that Kashmīr boats have no sails. Perhaps A. F. is only speaking rhetorically.

2 Perhaps the name is Abhaya.

3 Text, جواس variant خواين. The I. O. MSS. have Joras. If the variant be correct, the village may be the Khūr or Khūr Nakavīr of Stein 183. But I incline to think it is Sursu, or Tsurus, the Soorvo of the map, a large village on bank of Jhelam, between Bij Bihāra and Avantipūr. It may, however, be the Jarura of the T. Rashīdī, p. 439.

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council was held, and the expedition to Kabul was decided upon. After one (day's) halt, he travelled 5 *kos* and halted near Pampūr. One day afterwards, he travelled 4 *kos*, 36 poles, and stopped near the Koh-i-Sulaimān.

On this day he paid a visit of consolation to Muḥibb Āli K.[1] and gave some pleasure to him, who was prepared for the last journey. Then he got into a small boat and proceeded towards the city. His only object was to exalt by consolation Amīr Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī who had been ill from his first coming to the city, and had been unable to accompany H.M. on the excursion. H M. came to the bedside of that chosen member of wisdom's family, and spoke graciously. Next day he halted. The days of Muḥibb 'Alī were ended. One said to to him, "Say there is no God except God." He, who had long refrained from speech, now said, "'Tis not a time to say Lā Ullah (without God). 'Tis a time to fix all one's heart on God (bā-ullah)." H.M., who appreciated merit, grieved for him and showed kindness to his family.

On 9 Amardād (about 19th July, 1589) H.M. travelled three *kos* and encamped after passing through Srinagar. On the way, his boat collided with a bridge, but by God's protection no damage resulted. After two days more he travelled 4 *kos* 60 poles, and encamped at Shihābu-d-dīnpūr.[2] Here Sultan Qoresh of Kāshghar arrived and was received with royal favours. His lineage goes back to the great Qāān (Cingez). He was s. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd s. Sultan Sāid s. Sultan Aḥmad, known as Ālanja K. s. Yunas s. Avīs s. Sher 'Ali Oghtan s. Khiẓr Khhāja s. Tughluq Timur s. Īsā Būgā s. Davā s. Burāq s. Bīsūm Tavā s. Mawatkān s. Caghtāī s. Cingez. Some account of Caghtāī has been given in volume one. Mawātkān was the second son of Caghtāī, whom Cingez loved more than all his other children. Mawātkān was killed by an arrow in 618 (1221 A.D.) under fort Bāmīān. Bīsūn Tavā, his second son, served Cingez till his death.

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[1] This is Muḥibb Alī Rohtāsī, and not the son of Bābur's prime minister. See B. 422.

[2] About 12 m. N. N. W. Srīnagar, and near the junction of the Sindh river. It is now known as Shādīpur, but Dr. Stein ridicules the idea that the name is derived from Shādī (marriage), and considers it to be an abridgment of the name derived from Sultan Shihābu-d-dīn of the 14th century. Jahāngīr has an account of the place Elliot VI. 305.

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Burāq was first with [1] Qubla Qāān who sent him to Transoxiana. He was tyrannical, and fought in Persia with [2] Ayāq s. Hulāgū, and was defeated. In Bokhara he adopted the Aḥmadī (Muḥammadan) religion and took the name of S. Ghīāṣu-d-dīn. On his death Davā succeeded, and reigned with great splendour. He conquered Transoxiana, Turkistan, Badakhshān and Kabul. He attacked Persia several times, and led armies into India, but was unsuccessful. Īsā **554** Būqā reigned, after his father, in Turkīstan, Kāshghar and Moghulistān. Tughluq Timur (his son) succeeded him. It is said [3] that Īsā Būqā had two wives, the elder being Sātilmish Khātīm, and the younger Manlīq. It being the rule that the elder wife, in a Moghul tribe, takes charge of the others, Sātilmish learnt, when the Khān was away on an expedition, that Manlīq was pregnant. She gave her to Sharāwal [4] Dukhtūī who was one of the great officers. When the Khān returned from his expedition, he was vexed at this, but there was no remedy. After the Khān's death there was confusion in the tribe. Amīr Būlājī Dughlat, the grandfather of M. Ḥaidar, proceeded to search, and sent Tāshū Taimūr to enquire, in order that he might get information about Manlīk and her progeny. After much search he found that she was dead, and he brought away her son Tughluq Taimūr K., after a thousand troubles, from the country of the Qalmāqs. At the age of 16 [5] he ascended the throne, and in his 24th year he adopted the Aḥmadī religion. There being a commotion in Transoxiana, he marched to that country and by his justice gave it tranquillity. He perceived the marks of eternal greatness on the forehead of Ṣāḥibqirānī (Timur) and made [6] over the country of Kash to him, and gave Transoxiāna to his own men. [7] After him Ilyās Khwāja K.

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[1] Coleridge's Kubla Khan. The text omits the word Qubla, but it is in the I.O. MSS.

[2] Should be Abāq or Abāqa. He succeeded his father in 1264. See Abaka K. in D'Herbelot.

[3] Taken, apparently, from T. Rashīdī. See translation p. 6. Text prints the passage as if it were a statement by Tughluq Timur!

[4] The Schivè Oghoul of Desmaison's translation of Abūl Ghāzī, p. 165. There, Būlājī is called Poulādtchi, and his messenger Tāsh Timūr. Though A. F. uses the word *jadd*, "grandfather," he must mean ancestor.

[5] T. R. 23.

[6] T. R. 20.

[7] Apparently he made it over to his son Ilyās. See T. R. 22.

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became ruler. When he died, the Moghal tribe fell into confusion. Amīr Qamaru-d-dīn Dūghlat put to death 18 persons from among the sons and sons-in-law of Tughluq Timur, and sat upon the throne. No descendant of Tughluq Timur survived except Khiẓr Khwājā. Amīr Khudādād, the brother's son of Qamaru-d-dīn, hid the child with the help of the mother (of Khudādād). Ṣāḥīb Qirānī (Timur, i.e., Tamer lane) waged great wars with Qamaru-d-dīn, and when the latter died, Khiẓr Khwāja was raised to the throne. He preserved peace with Timur, and by his prudence Moghalistān was civilised. He took an army several times to Cathay, and got possession of Turfān [1] and Qarā Khwāja. His daughter Takal [2] Khānim was exalted by entering Timur's harem. Timur was called Gūrgān because that [3] is the title of a son-in-law.

Sher 'Alī [4] Oghlān lived with his brothers after his father's (Muḥammad K.) death and died in early youth. [5] Avīs K. (Sher Ali's son) served his uncle Sher Muḥammad K. who was ruler of Moghalistān. He took to brigandage (*qazzāqī*), and fought battles. When Sher Muḥammad K. died, he ascended the Khānī throne. They say he waged 61 wars with the Qalmāqs, and was once victorious. Twice he was captured. Tāshī, [6] the ruler of the Qalmāqs, respected his high lineage and let him go. When Sātūq K. came against him, he
555 hastened to fight, and in the confusion he was killed by an arrow shot unwittingly [7] by one of his own men. Confusion arose in the Moghal tribe. After his father's catastrophe Yūnas K. was taken by some to Samarqand to M. Ulugh Beg, and Isā Būqā was made ruler of the Moghals. The Mīrza (Ulugh Beg) [8] killed many of them and took all that they had.

He sent Yūnas to Shāhrukh, and the latter kindly made him over to Maulānā Sharfu-d-dīn 'Alī Yezdī. From him he got some enlightenment, and when the Maulānā died, he passed into Arabia, Persia, Azarbaijān and Fārs. He made Shīrāz his home, bought land and acquired knowledge, and supported himself by his own

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[1] T. Rashīdī 52 and n. 6. Karākhoja is mentioned there as an important town on the borders of Cathay.

[2] Tavakkul of T. Rashīdī.

[3] T. R. 278 and note. [4] T. R. 60.

[5] The Vais K. of T. R. 60 *et seq.*

[6] Tāshī in text. See T. R. 65 and 79 n 1.

[7] T. R. 72.

[8] Bābur refers to this incident, Erskine 11. See also T. R. 84.

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industry. In his 41st year Sultan Abu S'aīd sent for him and provided him with an army. He sent him off against his brother who had come as an invader. After much fighting he was defeated, but by craft and stratagem he established himself near Farghāna, and men gathered round him. At this time Mīr Saiyid 'Alī, a grandson of Amīr Khudādād, died, and Yūnas' affairs became flourishing.

In a short time Īsā Būqā also died, and then his son Dost Muḥammad K. ascended the throne. In a short time, the government of Moghalistān became established in Yūnas K.; out of gratitude he gave his three daughters to M. Abu's sons, viz. Mihrnigār Khānim to Sulṭan Aḥmad, ruler of Samarqand; Sulṭan Nigār Khānim to Sulṭān Maḥmūd K. M. M. Sulaiman's father was born of this marriage. Qutlaq Nigār Khānim he gave to 'Umr S. M. H. M. Getī Sitānī (Bābur) was the offspring of this marriage. He lived for 74 years. At the end of his days he went into retirement [1] on account of the bad behaviour of his servants.

Sultan Aḥmad K., the second son of Yūnas, governed well, and fought with the Qalmāqs and won great victories. He prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazzāqs. When Shāh Beg defeated Aḥmad's elder brother S. Maḥmūd, Aḥmad came to help him, but by the jugglery of the heavens both brothers were defeated. Shāh Beg respected old obligations and let them go. Aḥmad fell ill of grief, and died. Sultan S'aīd was the third of Aḥmad's 16 sons.[2] He was for a while Shāh Beg's prisoner. He escaped and came to his uncle S. Maḥmūd. Then he left him and joined his brother Khalīl in Moghalistan. Between those two and the elder brother Manṣūr K. there was war. Sulṭan S'aīd K. had to traverse plains and deserts, but by the Divine aid he joined Getī Sitānī (Bābur) in Kabul, and was kindly received. He enjoyed himself for three years in the service of that ap- 556
preciative one. Then he took an army with him and came to Farghāna, and conquered most of the country. M. Abū Bikr, the ruler of Kāshghar, came to fight and was defeated. After this Sūnj [3] K., ruler of Turkistān, came with a large force. The Khān went to Qāsim K., the ruler of Dasht Qibcāq, and from there brought an army against Kāsh-

1 Ḥaidar says, T.R. trans. 114, that Yūnas was seized with paralysis and was bedridden for the last two years of his life. He does not say anything about the bad conduct of his servants.

2 T. Rashīdī, 160, has 18 sons.

3 Suzunj Khwāja K., T. R. 133.

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ghar. He fought with M. Abū Bikr and was victorious. He made peace with his elder brother Manṣūr K., and the *Khuṭba* was read in his (Manṣūr's) name and coin struck. They say that for some time after Manṣūr, the name of Khān was given to his son Shāh K. When he died, the government returned to S'aīd. He several times led an army against Moghulistān and was successful. He also fought with the people of Tibet, and gained victories. He sent his son Iskandar with M. Ḥaidar to Kashmīr by the way of Tibet, and that delightful country was conquered. On account of double-faced men, Ḥaidar made a sort of peace and returned. S'aīd died of asthma (*damgīrī*) and the insalubrity of Tibet. His son 'Abdu-r-Rashīd received his name from Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) at his father's request. When he succeeded, he governed justly and prevailed over the Uzbegs and Qazzāqs. He always kept on friendly terms with Humāyūn. M. Ḥaidar has called his history by his name. When he died, 'Abdu-l-Karīm [1] succeeded him. He reigned worthily for 30 years. His six brothers were Ṣūfī Sultan,[2] Maḥmūd, Qoresh, Abu S'aīd, 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm and 'Abdullah.[3] In accordance with their father's will, and from their goodness, they served 'Abdu-l-Karīm. A dispute arose between Qoresh's son Khudābanda and his uncle Muḥammad.[4] He went off to the Kīrghiz (Text, Dagavī) and by their help he conquered Ṭarfān. The Khān was apprehensive on this account and sent off Qoresh to the Ḥijāz. He, with his belongings and his seven sons, Shah Muḥammad, 'Ādil, Moẓaffar, Ābdullah, Sanjar, Aḥmad and Ghazanfar, came to Badakhshan, and from there went to Balkh. By 'Ābdullah's permission he went to Fortune's threshold (Akbar's court) and was exalted by the service[5] of the world's lord. His eighth son, Khudābanda, remained where he was. Goodness and discretion shone from his forehead. When Ābdu-l-Karīm died, and the government came to his brother Muḥammad, 'Abdullah sent a large army against the latter from Transoxiana. It was defeated, and returned. What

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[1] See T. Rashīdī, Introduction, p. 121. According to the Haft Iqlīm, Abdu-r-Rashīd had 13 sons. See also Ney Elias's Khojas of E. Turkistan, J.A.S.B. for 1897.

[2] See A. N. III. 150, 151. His brother Abu S'aīd was married to Ḥaram Begam's daughter. [3] Killed in Berar, A. N. III. 490.

[4] Evidently this is the Maḥmūd mentioned above. A variant gives Muhammad as the name.

[5] Qoresh became a commander of 700. B. 459.

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has been the end of this irrigation of the garden of words? Though a little diffusive, the rose garden of annals has been refreshed.[1]

On 13 Amardād, Divine month, 23 July 1589, H.M. travelled 3¼ *kos*, 12 poles, and arrived near Sopūr.[2] On the way he visited the garden of the Bāgh Ṣafā which M. Ḥaidar had made. He also climbed to the top of a little hill[3] from which much of Kashmīr could be seen, **557** and enjoyed exquisite pleasure. Next day, he travelled 4½ *kos*, 72 poles, and halted near Patan.[4] He[5] disembarked here and went

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[1] The last part of this digression adds to the information in the T. Rashīdī.

[2] Text Satpūr, but probably the place is Sopūr at the S. W. corner of the Wular lake. The I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Sopūr. It is also called Suyyapūra and may be the Suryapūr (recte Suyyapūra) mentioned in the T. A. quoted by Ross and Elias, p. 490. It is stated there that there was a palace of Zainu-l-'Ābidīn in Suryapur. A Satpūr is mentioned in J. II. 364. Perhaps this is Sopūr. Ḥaidar M.'s Bāgh Ṣafā was, as we learn from the T. A., in Andarkot which is the old Jayapura. Stein, p. 197. Akbar would pass this place on his way to Sopūr. The T. A. and Ferishta tell us that Ḥaidar M.'s building in the Bāgh Ṣafā was burnt by the rebellious Kashmīrīs. Apparently what Ḥaidar said when it was burnt was, "I did not bring this building from Kashghar, and so by God's help I shall be able to rebuild it." Andarkot seems also to be called Andarkūl, the one word meaning the Inner Fort, and the other, "Within the lake," and this is the position of Andarkot. See Mr. Growse's Architecture of Kashmīr, *C. Review*, January 1872, p. 29. He spells the name Antar-kot from *abhyantara kotta*.

[3] This must be the isolated hill. Aha Tung of Bates's Gazetteer, S.W. Manasbal lake, and close to Sambal. It rises about 1,000 ft. above the plain (actual height 6,290) and is visible from many distant parts of the valley. See Stein II. 422.

[4] This is on the Barahmūla-Srīnagar road, and is two days' journey from the latter. It is not on the Jhelam (Veth) and I do not understand how Akbar got near it by boat, unless he went by a canal. He was travelling in the rainy season. Mr. Growse says that Patan or the Pass stands at the head of a small canal and that this passage is only navigable in the height of the rains. Patan is now only a large village, but is remarkable for two temples. See Stein's papers 199-200. Growse and Lawrence 175. I presume that by the word *shahr* A. F. means Srīnagar, but possibly Patan is meant, for it seems strange that they should have been sent back with presents to Srīnagar when Akbar might have made his donations when he was passing through the city. Perhaps, however, they were sent to look after 'Azdu-d-daulah.

[5] There is a variant here, and per-

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on by land. On this day he sent the Maliku-sh-sh'ara S. Faiẓī, and Mīr Sharīf Amulī to the city with a large sum of money in order that they might distribute it to the emancipated ones who had chosen retirement and those who were silently needy, and to others who wished for help.

One of the occurrences was the coming of Y'aqūb K. Kashmīrī to the sublime court. He had suffered the retribution of his presumption and rebelliousness, and was spending his time in consternation among the defiles of Kishtwāra.[1] He had been greatly alarmed by the arrival of the great army, thinking that the landholders (of Kishtwāra) might seize him and deliver him up. Some of his bewilderment was removed when his brother came and announced to him the good news of pardon, and he betook himself to submissiveness. He saw no salvation for himself except by coming to pay his respects. But as he was greatly disturbed on account of his previous conduct, he presented a petition through M. Yūsuf K. "On account of the intoxication of youth, and intimacy with wicked men, what had occurred, had occurred. Now the whirlpool of repentance had taken possession of him. His prayer now was that H.M. would send him his special slipper so that he might place it on the crown of his head, and prostrate himself at the holy threshold." The gracious sovereign accepted his apology, and granted him his desire. The distressed one hastily came on receipt of this kindness. On 18 Amardād, the desire of his soul was gratified.

After three (days) hālts, H.M. resumed his march. He travelled 3¼ *kos*, 60 poles, and encamped near Naupāra.[2] In that country there are porters who carry immense burdens, and traverse hills, as if they were plains. These men transported much baggage. It was

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haps the meaning of it is that Akbar disembarked and made arrangements for journeying by land without actually doing so.

It was on the *wudur* or table-land near Patan that Abu-l-Māālī was defeated by Ghāzī Cak in the fifth year of Akbar's reign. A. N. II. 102.

[1] Kishtwār town is called Kastawār by the Kashmīrīs. (Bates).

[2] I have not found the place. There is a village called Nagpathar w. Patan, but it is too near the latter place. Perhaps it is the Nūrpūr between Barahmula and Patan mentioned in A. N. II. 102. Or it may be the Tapor of the maps, for in Persian writing n. and t. only differ by a dot.

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a wonderful sight. H.M. set out next day at dawn, and having travelled 2 *kos*, 20 poles, he encamped at Bārahmūla. This is the gate of Kashmīr. On one side there is a sky-touching hill, and on the other the Bihat tumultously rushes towards India. Between the two there is a narrow path. Since a long time, the rulers have made a gate[1] there, and the guards admit no one without a passport. On this day Zain K. Koka arrived from Paklī and did homage. H.M. sent him forward in order that he might make strong a bridge over the Indus. The army was divided into eight portions. Some special troops were told off to follow the royal stirrup. The other seven[2] were arranged according to the watch of each day, and all the zealous men were put in charge of them so that each division might have its round of service. On the 23rd H.M. left the Bihat, and encamped after travelling ¾ of a *kos*, plus 20 poles. On this day Mīr 'Ārif[3] Ardabīli did homage. He had a large share of intelligence, and was also distinguished for his austerities. Some years ago, he had, on account of the chatter of the envious, hurried off from Lahore to Kashmīr. 'Alī K. the ruler had treated him with respect, and made him his son-in-law. Envious people represented that he was aiming at sovereignty, and was plotting to cut off the ruler when the latter 558
should come to visit him. The Mīr on account of men's improper behavour, and his ill luck, fled at night to the wilds. He was caught on the road, brought in, and abused. Thence he went to Tibet. 'Alī Raī[4] the ruler there gave him his sister in marriage. When the ambassadors went off to Tibet, an order was given that they should bring the Mīr. As he had secretly a desire for discipleship, he eagerly set off, although the ruler did not grant him leave, and his friends and allies terrified him. He was received with princely favours. After one day H.M. travelled 3 *kos*, 20 bambus and halted near Khānpūr.[5] Here news was received that on the 24th Khwāja

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[1] Dr. Stein saw the remains of the Drāng or watch-tower in 1892. Here, apparently, was the stone gate through which Hiuen Tsiang passed.

[2] See B. 257.

[3] Badayūnī III. 59 has a long notice of him. He was a grandson of Ism'aīl Ṣafavī, and so was styled Ardabilī. It was Makhdumu-l-Mulk who drove him from Lahore.

[4] Zād in text, but the variant Rai seems preferable.

[5] This can hardly be the Kanisapura or Kanpur of Growse p. 28, for that is above Bārāhmūla. There

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Ṣandal[1] had died. As this famous pigeon-fancier had fallen ill, he had been sent on before. On the way he took the final journey.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Aẓdu-d-daulah. He had been left behind in the city on account of illness. Ḥakīm[2] 'Alī did not treat him properly, and H.M. sent Ḥakīm Ḥasan to cure him. The latter reached the august camp, and it was made known that 'Aẓdu-d-daula had turned away his heart from this inn of 3-5 days' duration. H.M. grieved at the departure of this memorial of former sages. He often said that the Mīr was his vakīl, philosopher, physician, and astronomer, and that no one could understand the amount of his grief for him. "Had he fallen into the hands of the Franks, and they had demanded all my treasures in exchange for him, I should gladly have entered upon such profitable traffic, and have bought that precious jewel cheap."[3] This bewildered one of the assembly of existence (A. F.) knows that he had completely plundered the caravan of learning's schools. The meeting with this spiritually great man worked a revolution in my ideas. Together with all this stock of knowledge, he was a rare jewel of truth and uprightness and practical skill. An order was given that his body should be removed from the *khānqā*[4] of Mīr Saiyid 'Alī Hamadānī and conveyed to the top of the Koh-i-Sulaimān, which is a delightful spot.

Next day he marched 4 *kos*, 60 poles, and alighted at the village of Kānpalā[5] (?). It snowed for most of the way up to this place.

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is a Kānpūr marked on Stein's map a little below Bārahmūla.

[1] See B. 302 where he is called Khwājah Çandal Cheleh. See also A. N. *infra*, p. 559, from which it appears that his tomb was west of Barahmūla and near Māhīpara.

[2] Ḥakīm 'Alī was a young man, and, according to Badayūnī III. 167, he prescribed *harīsa*, a thick pottage, with fatal effects. But in his history he says that Fatḥ Ullah insisted on eating the pottage in spite of Ḥakīm 'Alī's remonstrances. See B. 33 n.

[3] Is this a reminiscence of conversations with Acquaviva and an allusion to St. Matthew xiii. 46?

[4] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 34. A picture of his shrine and its surroundings forms the frontispiece to Lawrence's work. See also p. 292 *id.*, and Bates' Gazetteer 361. Saiyid 'Alī is the great saint of the valley, and is said to have been the chief agent in converting the inhabitants. See J. II. 355 and n. 4 and ed. 392 and n. 6. He belonged to the last quarter of the 14th century.

[5] Probably the Kānelwār of Bates, as there is the variant Kānela. Kānelwār is the *taḥsīl* station of Dacīnpāra.

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On each side there is a lofty mountain. The one on the right, in returning, was bare of trees; the other was full of cypresses and pines, though the distance between these two peaks was very small. At dawn he started again and marched 3¾ *kos*, 60 poles and halted near Pāhūnār[1] a dependency of Dajan Khārū.[2] In going from Bārahmūla up to the river Kishan Gang the country on the right hand is called Dajanpārā, and that on the left is called Khārū. Next day he traversed Kūārmast[3] which is the most difficult pass on this route, and halted at the village of Māhīpara.[4] He traversed 3¼ *kos*, 89 poles. **559** Sometimes he ascended from the depths up to the sky. In going through the pass H.M. drew rein for a while at the grave (*turbat*) of Khwāja Ṣandal and mourned by throwing down[5] food as is the rule of pigeon-fanciers. On this day people could not keep up with him, and so he was obliged to halt. Meanwhile Mīr Abū-l-qāsim Tamkīn[6]

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[1] I think this must be Bhaniyār on right bank of Harpatkai river at its junction with the Jhelam. It is east of Urī and is famous for its temple. But it is on the left bank of the Jhelam.

[2] Dajan دجن is a clerical error for Dacan and the compound word Dajankhārū appears to be a mistake for Dacan-khāwar, *i.e.* right and left. See J. II. 359, n. 2, who says: "On the Bihat river, below Bārahmūla, the subdivision of Dachin lies to the north, and that of Kāwar to the south of the stream." Upon the meaning of Dacan or Daksina see Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, p. 170, n.

[3] The Kokararmast of Elphinstone's map. I.O. MS. 236 has Mast-Kūār. Jahāngīr entered Kashmīr by the Pakhlī route in the 15th year of his reign, and gives an itinerary. He mentions Kūārmast or Kūārmat کوارمت Tūzuk 294, and describes it as the hardest of all the passes on the road, and also as the last on the way to Kashmīr. After crossing it he came to the village of Waca.* The next stage was the village of Baltūr. Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, Extra No. 2, pp. 82-87, should be consulted about the Pakhli or Jhelam route.

[4] It is Paipara in I.O. MS. 236.

[5] Such seems to be the meaning of the text which has بالقاء آش *ba ilqāi āsh*. But the reading is doubtful. I.O. MS. 236 has *ba adāī āsh-i-palk* and No. 23 has *ashk* "tears"; *palk* means the eyelids, and possibly the meaning is that Akbar shed tears. But *pulk* means kidneys, and perhaps *āsh pulk* may mean kidney-soup. All the MSS. seem to have *adai* and not *ilqāi*, and *adar* would agree better with weeping than *ilqāi*. *Ashkī* "the weeper" was the name of one of Akbar's famous pigeons. B. 299.

[6] So in text, but Namakīn is the true reading. It was a nickname given him because he presented

* Perhaps the final letter is a D and the place is the Datchi of the maps.

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came from Swād and did homage. He brought with him Kālū Afghan, who had fled and had been at the bottom of the disturbance of the Yūsufzai. When the victorious troops surrounded that hill country, and the position of the recalcitrants became difficult, every section of them took refuge with one of the officers. This evil-doer made the Mīr the means of his deliverance. H.M. sent this man who was worthy of death to the school of the prison. At dawn he resumed his march, and after travelling 4¼ *kos*, 26 poles through defiles he halted near Bulīās.[1] This is the end of the country of Kashmīr and the beginning of the territory of Mastang.[2] This name is applied to the country from Bulīās to the Kishen Gang. S. Ism'aīl, in whose sanctity the Yūsufzai tribe believe, and to whom they impute miracles, came and did homage. Perhaps the sins of the tribe might be forgiven by his intercession! On this day a large sum was made over to Mīr 'Ārif Ardabīlī in order that he might send it to the indigent in Tibet. Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ suffered from diarrhoea and was in great pain. H.M. cast the shadow of his graciousness over him, and comforted him. Next morning he again marched and travelled four *kos*, passing through the Būlīās pass and encamping near Naupara.[3] The road was almost unparalleled for difficulty, narrowness, and heights and hollows. On this day he went to the Ḥakīm's quarters and encouraged him. Next day he travelled 4 *kos*, 10 poles and encamped near Barka[4] (?). Sulṭān Ḥusaīn[5] Paklīwāl came forward with presents, and was received with favour. On 1 Shahriywar, Divine month, 11 August 1589, he crossed the Kishen Gang by a bridge, and after travelling 3¼ *kos*, 82 poles encamped near Sīkrī.[6]

Akbar with a plate and cup made out of rock-salt. B. 470.

[1] The Peliāsa of the maps. Stein 86 calls it Būlīāsa and identifies it with the ancient Bolyāsaka. It is six marches from Abbottabad. See also Tūzuk 292.

[2] Variant Pushang. There are both a Pushang and a Mastang east of Qandahar, J. II. 396, but neither can be the country here spoken of. I.O. MS. 236 appears to have Hainak here and Shahbang lower down. B.M. Add. MS. 27,247 has سهسک Sahasak?

[3] Perhaps the Naoshera of Stein's map, west of Būlīāsa and near Dopatta.

[4] I.O. MS. 236 Parka.

[5] B. 454 and 501. He was descended from Timūr's Qārlūqs. He is mentioned in the Tūzuk, p. 290. When Jahāngīr saw him (in 1619) he was 70 years old.

[6] I.O. MS. 236 Sank ī. Add. 27,247 B.M. MS. has Sīkrī.

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It is a fine river with clear and wholesome and very cold water. It rushes down from the foot of Tibet. The country from this stream to the Paklī river (the Sirān) is called Mastang.[1] Up to this point H.M. had followed the river Bihat. Next day a formidable pass, 3½ *kos* long, was traversed, and the encampment was made near the Nain Sukh[2] river. This was not inferior to the previous river in the sweetness and wholesomeness of its waters. Some thought it to be superior. Qāsim K. was sent on to look after the bridging of the Indus. After one day H.M. passed the defiles of Batrās.[3] He travelled 5 *kos*, 30 poles and encamped near Gahī, a dependency of Paklī. Here a plain became visible, and provisions after being very dear were now cheap. Sulṭān Ḥusain prayed that his house might be illuminated by the advent of H.M., and his request was graciously granted. Next day 4¼ *kos*, 80 poles were traversed, and a halt was made near Dādhāl.[4] Next day 3 *kos*, 90 poles were traversed, and the encampment was at Garhasa. Shahrukh, the landowner of Damtūr,[5] 560
came and did homage. As the Ḥakīm was in much pain, a halt was ordered. On the night of 7th Shahriyār, Divine month, 18th August, 1589, that adorner of the garden of acuteness, farsighted, awakened-hearted, and wise-brained one, expired. He stepped aside from this place of trouble. He retained his senses to the last, and the commotion of death did not terrify him. How shall I describe the grief which the holy heart felt at this calamity! Though the grief of great and small may be comprehended, how can the state of that appreciative one of the banquet of enlightenment be understood! There were combined in the deceased loyalty, tact, benevolence, eloquence, good looks, dignity, God-given gravity, innate kindness, and profound wisdom. In accordance with orders, Khwāja

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1 Shahbang in I.O. MS. 236.

2 Jahāngir, Tūzuk 291, says it was Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who called this river Naiu Sukh, "The delight of the eyes." It is also known as the Kunhār. See Panjab Gazetteer, Hazāra district, and Elliot VI. 372 and I.S. VIII. 365.

3 Sirās or Tirās in B.M. Add. 26,247. Name omitted in I.O. MS. 236. Perhaps it is the Batrassīgalī west of Garhi Ḥabībullah of the Hazāra Gazetteer, p. 138.

4 Perhaps Dodyal, 25 miles from Abbottabad.

5 B. 524 and Tūzuk 290. Dantūr or Dhantūr, the Dhamtaur of the map, lies on the right bank of the Dor near Naushahrah. It is some five miles east of Abbottabad.

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Shamsu-d-dīn and a number of others conveyed his body to Ḥasan[1] Abdāl and committed it to earth under a dome which the Khwāja had made. I, Abul Faẓl, the writer of the book of fortune, had thought that I had emerged from the thornbrake of restlessness and had chosen the pleasant abode of contentment and tranquillity. On that[2] day the veil was withdrawn, and I nearly fell into the turmoil of agitation. He (Abu-l-Fatḥ) acquired eternal bliss and yielded up a borrowed life at the feet of his master. I hope that all his servants, whether far or near, may surrender their brief lives in his presence. The king of poets, S. Faiẓī, wrote an elegy about Aẓdu-d-daulah and the Ḥakīm. I give some verses from it and so empty my heart.

(Here follow Faiẓī's verses, 200 lines. The five lines quoted by Badayūni, Lowe 382, are not among them. Apparently Faiẓī wrote two poems, one about Fatḥullah only, and one about him and Abū l-Fatḥ.)

564 Next day he travelled 4¾ *kos*,[3] 8 poles—the road being very

[1] See Elliot VI. 311 and note, which states that the tomb still exists.

[2] The passage is obscure, but I think A. F. means that the loss of his friend nearly deprived him of the power of self-restraint. It withdrew the veil over action or conduct, i.e. laid bare his inmost feelings. Cf. the translation at p. 660 of the Darbār Akbarī. It has helped me to understand the passage. Faiẓī's verses were evidently inserted at a subsequent recension of the Akbarnama for they do not occur in B.M. Add. 27,247. There we have instead a few lines from Niẓāmī. In that MS., the date of Abdul Fatḥ's death is given as 19 Shawāl, after two watches of the day had passed. The corresponding A.D. date would be 21st August, 1589. In MS. B.M. 27,247 the wording of A.F.'s reflections is somewhat different. The words there are: "*Ān rūz parda-i-kār az rūī-i-ao barkhāsta nazdīk būd ke ba khāristān-ṣūrat jazā khud kashān rafta.*" "On that day the veil was removed, and I was nearly falling out with external things." A. F.'s remark about Abul Fatḥ's not being really a subject of regret is paralleled by the concluding lines of Faiẓī's ode. This poem is finer than that on Kashmīr and shows real feeling. In the first book of A. F.'s letters, p. 43 of the Newal Kishore edition, there is a letter of Akbar to Ḥakīm Hamām, telling him of his brother's death. It is dated from the bank of the Indus, 28th Shawwāl 997 (30th August, 1589). It gives the date of the death as the day of Murdād 7th Shahrīyūr 34th year (night of Thursday 19th Shawwal 997).

[3] The variant 88 poles is supported by I.O. MS. 236. This omits the quarter *kos* and makes the stage 4½ *kos*, 88 poles.

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narrow and full of streams—and encamped at Dahakārī.[1] Next day he started at dawn and travelled 3¾ *kos*, 80 poles and halted between Khorā[2] and Mānikzhāla,[3] which is a seat of the Dilazāks. Next day he travelled 4¼ *kos* and halted near Sherkhān. Next morning he travelled 4 *kos* and halted near the Serai of Saiyid Pīr Sabz.[4] Here M. Yūsuf K. took leave and returned to Kashmīr. Next day he passed Bābā Ḥasan Abdāl and halted near the serai of Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī. On that day he travelled 4¼ *kos*, 50 poles. Next morning he crossed the river Tarābardī,[5] and passed the serai of Bahādur and halted. The march was 3¾ *kos*. On 14th Shahryūr, 24th August 1589, **565** he travelled 4½ *kos* and encamped by the river Indus near Atak-Benares. From Srīnagar to this place is 96 *kos*, 77 poles. Here Zain K. Koka, Qāsim K. and Shahbāz K. had the felicity of doing homage. Next day Prince Sultān Murād came with the ladies[6] and did homage. Rai Rai Singh and many others paid their respects. On the 16th Ṣādiq K. did homage. He had according to orders hastened to the Presence. He was sent off to chastise the Afghans, and he came to Swāt by the pass of Malkand. Shāh Beg K., Shāhim K., Jānish Bahādur, Aḥmad Beg, Takhta Beg, and other heroes joined him. By the power of planning and courage, the Afghans were reduced to obedience, and Swād became somewhat populated. At this time Mīr Murād, in the exercise of his duties as sazāwal,

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[1] Apparently it is Dastkārī in B.M. Add. MSS. 27,247. Perhaps it is the Dhamuk of Elliot VI. 308 n. 3.

[2] B.M. MS. 27,247 has Kahwār. But khar seems the proper word.

[3] Perhaps this is Mānikyāla, famous for its Buddhist tope. See I. G. IX. It seems that it was first described by Mountstuart Elphinistone in his book on Kabul. The text has *ke aurang nishīn ast*, "Which is a capital." But Mānikyāla apparently never was a capital, and the reading of the two I.O. MSS. agrees with the B.M. MS., viz. *Dilzāk nishīn*. The Cawnpore ed. has "which is a remain of antiquity"—*ke wa guzāsht peshīn ast* If the place be really Mānikyāla, Akbar must have gone a good deal out of his way, for Manikyāla lies considerably to the east.

[4] The text omits the words PīrSabz, but the variant gives these, and they occur in the I.O. MSS. Perhaps it is the Sawajpeer of the map, N. of Ḥasan Abdāl.

[5] Apparently the I.O. MSS. have Aḥmadī. Perhaps however the Haroh is meant. B.M. MS. 27,247 seems to have Hardo. For the Haroh see I. G.

[6] They had been at Rohtās, and B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 states that they came from there.

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brought Shahbāz K. to Atak Benares. Ṣādiq K. being apprehensive [1] that he would meet him, went off very quickly.

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[1] Ṣādiq K. and Shahbāz were on bad terms and so would avoid one another. But there is some confusion in the account and there are variations in the MSS. We are told here that Shahbāz was being brought by Mīr Murād to Attock. But a little above it is mentioned that Shahbāz had the happiness of doing homage at Aṭtock two days before Ṣādiq. At p. 547 we see that Shahbāz had been escorted to Swād by Mīr Murād. I.O. MS. 235 and the Cawnpore ed. make Shahbāz go off quickly in order to avoid Sādiq. The text and I.O. MS. 236 make Ṣādiq go off quickly in order to avoid Shahbāz. Perhaps the Shahbāz first mentioned was not Shahbāz Kambhir. There was a Shahbāz K. who was Collector of Rewārī, III. 557, who apparently was not the Kambhū.

Note.

Paklī or Pakhlī is not mentioned in the I.G. It is called a Sarkār in the Āīn and is described at J. II. 390. This account is copied by Jahāngīr, Tūzuk 290, who entered Kashmīr by this route in the 14th year of his reign, 1619-20. See Elliot VI. 367-73. According to Ḥaidar Malik, it was he who suggested this route to the emperor, but it must have been well known to the Moghuls, as Akbar used it twice. Baron Hügel's statement that the Pakhlī route was not properly opened out till the 18th century, Stein 83 n., does not seem to be correct. Paklī now forms part of the Hazāra district and is frequently mentioned in the Hazāra Gazetteer. It is watered by the Sirān river. It is also shown in the curious map of Kashmīr prepared by Captain Gentil and published in Vol. III of Langlés' translation of Forster's Travels, Paris 1802. Forster travelled by Bāramūlah when leaving Kashmīr in June-July 1783. He must have followed Akbar's route for most of the way, for he too came out at Attock, but he did not go through Paklī on account of the evil reputation of the inhabitants. He went by Jiddun, which appears to be the Gudoon of the map, and is to the south of Banū. Elphinstone II. 8 speaks of the Judoon tribe as holding Dhantour, a narrow valley along the Door-

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CHAPTER CI.

Expedition to Afghanistan (Zābulistān).

As H.M.'s holy design was to pacify that country and to cherish the old[1] proprietors, he on 19th Shahrīyār, 31st August 1589, crossed over by the bridge which had been constructed below Attock. He marched 28[2] bambus and halted near the Sarai of Khairābād. The elephant establishment, the park of Artillery, and the great camp were left in Attock. Those who were wearied with the journey, and those who loved the shade, and their homes, expected that after such troublesome journies H.M. would not go to Kabul, and that his only design was to hunt and recreate himself on the bank of the Indus. On this day Shahbāz K. obtained leave to go to Swād. After three (days) halts he marched 3 *kos*, 25 bambus and halted near Elias-garha. News came that Ḥusain Paklīwāl had fled. When the imperial officers made some representations about the large revenues of that territory (*Paklī*), the clown fell into evil thoughts and went off to his home on the same day that the royal standards crossed the Indus. On this account H.M. on the 23rd made over Paklī and its neighbourhood to Ḥusain Beg S. Ūmarī as his fief and sent him off there. By the might of fortune he prevailed over it, and that land-owner received his chastisement. On the 27th when the camp was near Gorkhatra, Shāh Beg came from Swād, and on the way had the bliss of having an audience. At his request H.M. visited Begrām which

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1 *Nau ākhtan babārī būmīān.* Bābari is properly bāīrī, and means old. It has nothing to do with Bābur or with the Bauboor tribe of Elphinstone II. 69. In B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 the motive given for visiting Kabul was to see the ancestral home.

2 B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has 1¼ *kos*, 28 poles, and this is probably correct. This MS. has the advantage of always giving the Hijrī date as well as the Persian month and day. Here it says that Akbar crossed over on the last day of Shawwāl (997) (31st August, 1589). It also says that the bridge was placed above Attock. The same MS., which is evidently from an earlier recension, gives the stages of the journey through the Khaibar.

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was in his fief. An order was given to the writer that he should go there, and give presents to the hermits. Thousands of needy persons
566 received their portions, and the treasure-house of prayers was filled. On 1st Mihr, 11th September, he traversed the Khaibar and halted at Daka. Qāsim had so improved the road, which camels and horses used to traverse with difficulty, that carts passed through easily. On the 4th Karam Ullah came from Mālwa, and did homage near Khwāja Yāqūt Sarai. At the stage of Safed Sang the idea of travelling rapidly presented itself. As the time of the autumnal[1] colouring of Kabul was approaching, he left the great camp under the charge of Prince Murād, to come on slowly, and at the close[2] of the 8th, he urged on his steed. At midday he rested near Bārīk Āb. On the way Ḥakīm Ḥamām came from Turān, and prostrated himself. In compassion for him H.M. said with his pearl-dropping tongue: "One brother has gone from the world for you, and for us, ten."

[3] *Verse.*

From the point of eyesight one person is less,
From the point of wisdom, more than thousands.

When his heart had been consoled by the Shāhinshāh's help, the Ḥakīm conveyed the praise and supplications of the ruler of Turān. He (Abdullah)[4] represented that the taking of Herat and the conquest of Khurasan were due to the blessed influence of his devotion to

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[1] This sentence appears in a simpler form in B.M. MS. Add. 27,247. There it is said that "As the autumn of Kabul—which is equal to the spring of other countries—was at hand," H.M. resolved to hasten on. Cf. J. II. 408 where A. F. speaks of the matchless beauty of the autumn in the Dāman-i-Koh.

[2] The B.M. MS. above mentioned says Akbar started at the close of the day and travelled all night and up to the middle of next day. The date given is 8th Mihr = Saturday 19th Zī-l-q'ada = 19th September. On this occasion he travelled 13½ *kos*, 40 bambus, and reached Bārik-Āb. Before he reached Jajdalak, Ḥakīm Ḥamām met him, having come on in advance of his companions on hearing of the death of his brother. They remained in Kabul.

[3] These lines are also quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe 383.

[4] 'Abdullah conquered Khurāsan in 1589. His message is somewhat differently worded in Add. 27,247. After meeting Ḥakīm Ḥamām, Akbar started again at midnight and travelled 10¼ kos, 46 bambus, and reached Kabul on the day of Ābān 10th Mihr = Monday 21st Zī-l-qāada.

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the world's lord. He was sending Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq, who was one of his confidants, with gifts and compliments. He and Mīr Ṣadr Jahān were following. On this day the villagers came in crowds to perform the *kornish* and gained their wish. When half the night had passed, he renewed his journey, and on the 10th [1] he illuminated Kabul by his advent. On the whole way, Turks and Tājīks came forward on both sides with presents and offerings. On this day too Mīr Ṣadr Jahān paid his respects. From Attock-Benares to Kabul is 92¾ *kos*, 41 poles, and they were traversed in 21 days and 18 marches. He took up his quarters in the citadel and enjoyed the gardens and the plain. He proclaimed benevolence to great and small, and every day, while he was in the city, a crowd partook of his bounty. On the 15th Prince Murād arrived with the family and household. At the end of the day he came down from the citadel and halted at the hall which had been erected near the Safed Sang. At dawn, as it was a feast day, he indulged in some splendour, and there was a daily market of giving. Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq had an audience, and presented the letter and the choice products of his country. Ḥakīm Ḥamām represented that on 16th Āẕar of the previous year a wonderful thing had happened in Turān. Up to the end of the evening there were such death-cries of birds that even the loveless hearts of hunters were pained. At dawn there were seen in every field near Bukhāra, ducks, swans, geese, 567
storks, etc, lying dead or wounded or with broken breasts and scattered feathers. Likewise on the banks of Lake Kūrāk many thousand animals were lying dead, and persons who came from the Oxus and its neighbourhood made similar reports. Crowds of men with carts, camels and horses, carried off loads of them to their houses, and for six months ate their flesh, and supplied lamps with their fat. The Turānīān ambassador represented that 'Abdullah K. had assembled able men and made enquiries. As there was no ice or snow, they were unable to give any explanation. Some said it appeared that an army of owls must have passed by. Others suggested that it was a hunting animal called a Ṣadāīq.[2] It was not improbable that such destruction of life had been caused by it. It had no equal

[1] The T. Akbarī has 22 Ẕī-l-q'aada (3rd October). A. F. has 10th Mihr (corresponding to 21st September).

[2] صدایق. Not in dictionary. I.O. MSS. have *badāīq* or padāīq. Apparently, a fabulous bird.

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among birds for strength. They also mentioned that one of the birds was wearied out with flying and was panting. A chief huntsman went up to it and bound it with a cuirass (*bandizarah*). When the bird had rested, it removed the bands and flew off, and disappeared from sight. After a while the cuirass fell to the ground on the plain.

On the 17th H.M. went to the Jahān Ārā garden, and he also had some sport in hunting. Next day, at dawn, he went to see the houses of the Aimāqs. Every one of them was gratified with money and goods.

On the 21st he marched from the Safed Sang plain, and halted at Khwāja Ḥasan's garden, which was distinguished for space and delightsomeness. M. Sanjar, M. Bāshī, Shādmān, and other Hazāra leaders, who seldom came to the city, visited the court and by the favours conferred on them emerged from their shyness.

One of the occurrences was the giving leave to Rajah Todar Mal to betake himself to the fields of freedom, and then his being recalled. On this day a petition came from him to the effect that old age and sickness had prevailed over him, and that apparently he was near his end. He prayed for permission to resign in order that he might go to the bank of the Ganges, and spend his last breaths in remembering God. H. M. in accordance with his request sent an order and expressed the hope that his spirit might obtain relief by this means. Afterwards admonitions were sent to the effect that no worship of God was equal to the soothing of the oppressed, and that it would be better for him to give up his idea (of retirement) and to spend his last breath in serving man, and to make that the provision for his final journey. On the 25th Qāzī 'Abdu-s-Sammī' came from Lahore and paid his respects. On 2nd Ābān H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and small and great obtained their desires. Next day he went to the Shāhr-ārā garden and from there he went to the cemetery (*guzargāh*) and visited the tomb of Firdūs Makānī. He also grieved over the tombs of M. Hindāl and M. Ḥakīm who sleep near at hand. He
568 ordered Qāsim K. to make a beautiful garden there. He rejoiced the inhabitants of that place by many gifts. On the 9th he enjoyed the variegated hues of autumn at Māmā Khātūn and spent some time in enjoyment at the garden of Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain.

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At night he reposed in the quarters of Khwāja Ḥasan. Next day he enjoyed hare [1] hunting, and then returned.

One occurrence was the arrival of Miriām Makānī. As her desire to behold H.M. made her uneasy, she set off for Kashmīr, and Gulbadan Begam and many other ladies accompanied her. Hearing that H.M. had gone to Kabul, they followed him there. In accordance with his excellent rule, he first sent Prince Daniel and some officers (to meet her) and afterwards Prince Murād, and finally the Prince Royal Sultan Salīm.

On the 13th he himself received her near Begrām (the Kabul Begrām), and on the same day conveyed them to special quarters. There was a choice feast.

One of the occurrences was the expedition of Burhān-ul-Mulk to the Deccan and his returning unsuccessful. When the Shāhinshāh's order reached Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka, he prepared to accompany Burhān with a chosen army. As the latter had evil thoughts in his head he declined this. He said that the Deccanīs would not join him on account of his having a large force, and that the presence of an army would make an easy matter difficult. Accordingly, he only took with him Caghatāī K., Canda K., and a few others with 1000 horse and 300 musketeers. He came to Birār by the route of Kālī Bhīt. He left Elichpūr on right and hastened on to Dānāpūr. Jahāngīr K. thānadār and some others came to him with fawning words, but their companions did not do so, and gave battle. There was a slight engagement. Suddenly, a bullet reached Caghatāī K. and he was killed. Canda was wounded and made prisoner. Burhān received the retribution of his evil thoughts, and returned unsuccessful to Mālwa.

One occurrence was the birth [2] of Sultan Parvīz. On 19th Ābān after 9½ hours he was born in the apartment of Prince Selīm by the daughter of Khwāja Ḥasan, the paternal uncle of Zain Kokaltāsh. There was great rejoicing.

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[1] *Shikār-i-tushqān ramā.* But the I.O. MSS. show that the true reading is tūshqāwal, for which see Vol. I. 496, n. 3 of translation of A.N. Rama is Zama in I.O. MS. 236, and probably this is right, for Zama was a village N. Kabul. See A.N. I. 597, n. 2 (translation).

[2] The birth took place in Kabul. Cf. Tūzuk J. 8. The mother's title was Ṣāḥib Jamāl (Mistress of Beauty).

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(*Verse.*)

569 The world's lord gave the above name to this bright star.
It is hoped that he will live and be exalted by being cherished
by the Shahīnshah.

On the 25th Mullā Ṭālib-Mihtar Yārī and M. Beg came back from Tibet and had an audience. They brought an envoy (*wakhshūr*) from there together with presents.

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CHAPTER CII.

Return of the August Standards of the Shāhinshāh from Kabul.

H.M. enjoyed himself in Kabul and gave pleasure to small and great. His idea was that the active young men should behold the spectacle of the falling of snow, and should tread the ice, and that the natives of India might enjoy this. But as his might had confused the people of Turān, and had awakened them from the sleep of repose, he had compassion on them and resolved to go to India. He marched on 4th [1] Āzār (November), and camped at Safed Sang. On the way it appeared that a base fellow had dishonoured a peasant's daughter and so he was capitally punished. Sharīf K., [2] the son of M. 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad the calligrapher (*Shīrīnqalm*), had been in the plot with him, and was also punished. This was a lesson to those who are apt to go astray. On this day Qāsim was appointed governor of Kabul. On the 10th he encamped near Begrām. It was reported to him that Raja Todar Mal had died on 28th Ābān (8th November, 1589). His life had passed in loyalty and pru-

[1] The T. A. Elliot, V. 458, states that Akbar arrived in the city of Kabul on 22 Zīl-q'aada 997 (3rd October, 1589) and that he stayed there two months. It adds that he left on 8 Muḥarram, but as this would make his stay only 1½ months, 8 is probably a mistake for 20, which appears in the Newal Kishore ed. 20th Muḥarram 998 corresponds to 19th November 1598. A.F. says Akbar left the city on 4th Āzar, which corresponds to 14th or 15th November, but on that day he only went to Safed Sang, in the environs. On the 10th Āzar or 21st November he went to Begrām.

[2] Sharīf was a great friend of Jahāngīr's. See B. 517 and Price's Jahāngīr's Memoirs, 18; also the Tūzuk, Rogers' translation, p. 14, etc. The story is more fully told in the Iqbālnāma, which says that on the march a man came and complained that a camp follower had dishonoured his daughter. An inquiry was held, and the man was executed. Sharīf, who was the cause of the crime, was beaten with the hand (?), and put in prison. He became Amīr-ul-Umarā under Jahāngīr.

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dence. When the order giving him leave arrived, he went towards Hardwār with a sound mind and a distressed body. The order of recall reached him at the pond he had made near Lahore. As he considered disobedience to H.M. displeasing to God, he returned, and died on the eleventh day (of Muḥarram) afterwards. He was the unique of the Age for uprightness, straightforwardness, courage, knowledge of affairs, and the administration of India. If he had not had bigotry, conventionalism, and spite (*kīnatozī*), and had not stuck [1] to his own opinions, he would have been one of the spiritually great. A wound was given to disinterested work (by his death), and the market of business lost its briskness. I grant that an honest man (*dīānatwar*) might be found, though he would be a fellow-nestling with the phœnix (*'anqā*), but by what charm or talisman could he acquire the influence (*i'timād*) which is so seldom given to mortals? [2]

On the 13th the great tent was erected on the camp. On the way there was ice on the ground, and H.M. trod upon it. Many
570 active young men followed him. As it appeared that there was little wood in front, H.M. ordered that high and low should gather sticks. All obeyed the order, and with excellent results.[3]

On this day [4] the Khan-Khānan (Bairām's son 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm) produced before the august Presence the Memoirs of Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) which he had rendered into Persian out of the Turkī, and received great praise.

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[1] *Bar gufta khud natanīda.*—Literally, "had not twisted things to his own speech."

[2] A. F.'s character of Todar Mal should be compared with B. 32 note, and 351, with the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā II. 123, and the Darbār Akbarī 519. The Maaṣir, p. 127 l.c., says Aurangzīb stated that he had heard from his father that Akbar admired Todar Mal's abilities, but objected to his self-confidence. Shah Jahan also stated that A.F. disliked Todar Mal, and tried to injure him. Badayūnī's amusing verses about Todar Mal's death have been well translated by Mr. Lowe, p. 383.

[3] It appears from Mrs. Rijnhart's book on Tibet that it is a practice with the Tibetans to pick up firewood on the march, and put it into their gowns.

[4] 13th Āzar would be about 24th November, 1589, or 25th Muharam, 998. For a discussion of the question of who translated Bābur's Memoirs see Asiatic Quarterly, July and October, 1900. The Darbār Akbarī 642 ridicules the idea that Abdu-r-Raḥīm personally translated the Memoirs.

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On the 15th, at Bārīk Āb, news came that Rajah Bhagwant Dās had died. H.M., from his being the sovereign of the social world, was somewhat grieved at this. The Rajah had been at the cremation of Rajah Todar Mal, and when he returned to his house, he vomited and had an attack of strangury. After five days he departed from this world on 3rd Āẕar (13th or 14th November, 1589). He was endowed with uprightness, weight of counsel, and courage. His son[1] Kuar Mān Singh received the title of Rajah and the rank of 5,000. It appears that H.M. had an intimation of the approaching ends of those two officers. When he went on expeditions he (as a rule) did not leave more than two high officers in the capital, and he had arranged that Rajah Bhagwant Dās and Rajah Todar Mal should be in the capital of Lahore. On the very day of the march, Qulīj K. was also sent off. On this day the mystery[2] was made plain.

One of the occurrences was the holding of a *qamargha* hunt in the plain of Arzana[3] (?). When the victorious standards reached Gandamak, the thought of the chase occurred to H.M. An order was given that the officers should arrange the stations. Next day he passed from the Bāgh Wafā and came to Kūshkul (?). By the route of Pātāq he passed by the desert-dwelling Arabs,[4] and to every one of them were money and goods distributed. From there he came to the village of Bihār, which was inhabited in the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and he ordered that it should be revived, and that a fort should be made there. He gave it the name of Shahbāz (variant Sahā). On this day Shāh Beg K. arrived from Swād and was graciously received. On the 19th, Nʿiamat K. died. He had the title of Mullā Mīr[5] and led a good life. On account of

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[1] That is, the adopted son. It appears from the Iqbālnāma that he was really Bhagwān's brother's son.

[2] This refers to p. 537 where we are told that Qulīj K. was put in charge of Lahore along with the two Rajahs. This was contrary to the usual practice of only leaving two officers in charge, and the change is attributed by A. F. to Akbar's premonition that they would die.

[3] There are several names of places in this paragraph which I cannot identify. Gandamak of course is well known.

[4] The ʿArab (عرب) is mentioned as a wild tribe in Afghanistan, J. II. 403.

[5] B. 542. He was a physician, and belonged to Herat.

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his intelligence he held the high office of Bakāwal Begī (superintendent of kitchen).

Also during this year Mādhū Singh was sent off in order that he might assist Qulīj K. in administrative and financial matters. Next day H.M. encamped near Walīd (?). On the way he enjoyed himself in the Bāgh Ṣafā garden. Next day he halted. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was raised to the office of *Dīwān*, and so had new honour conferred on him. All the officers were sent off in order that they might go to their stations and properly guard them. On one side was Nīmla,[1] and on the other side Daka,[2] which is
571 a distance of twelve *kos*. And the beasts were driven from the mountains to the plain of Arzana. When the enclosures (*jirgahā*) had been completed, H.M., along with the princes and some intimates, enjoyed the pleasure of hunting on the 27th (Āzar = 6th or 7th December). The sport was excellently carried out. On 1st Dai he reached Jalālābād. On the way he visited the Lamghānāt. He passed from the tūmān of Sandaur to Mas'aūdābād.

One of the occurrences was a supplication from Muḥammad Zamān. When 'Abdullah K. seized Kulāb, Shahrukh's son, who was so called, was made prisoner, and died in confinement. At this time a pretender (*dastānfaroshī*) gave himself out in Qarātagīn as Muḥammad Zamān.[3] He represented that Khwāja Kilān Khwāja, the son of Khwāja Jūībārī,[4] out of kindness to the exalted family, saved him from those who hunted after his life. Another youth had died

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[1] Marked on the maps as Neemla, east of Gandamak. There is, or was, a garden here. "From Kuju we passed through the garden of Neemla to Gundamuk. This royal garden was in good order, and we halted to admire it. Cypress trees alternate with the chinar or plane; all of them reaching to the height of 100 feet, and, as the Persian verse has it, "holding each other by the hand and rivalling each other in beauty." Burnes' Cabool, 1842, p. 135. A Nimlah is mentioned, B. 57, as a place from which rice was obtained.

[2] Apparently, the hunting-ground was north of the Kabul river. That river would form one side of the enclosure, and perhaps the Surkh Āb would be another.

[3] See Badayūnī, Lowe, 366 and B. 313, 380. The man was an impostor, and ended by murdering Qāsim K. See Maaṣiru-l-Umarā III. 65 and A. N. III. 576 and 652.

[4] The Jūībārī Khwājas according to M. Schefer form one of the two branches of the Khwājās. See Ney Elias' Khojas, J.A.S.B. for 1897, Supplement.

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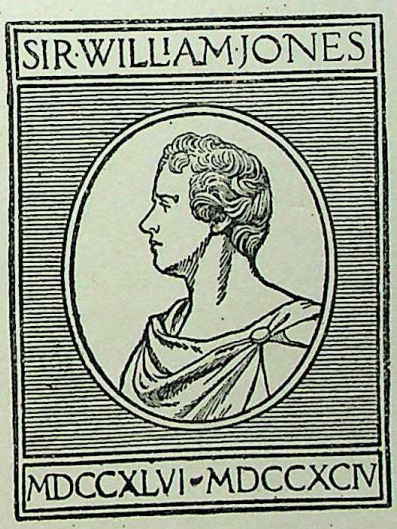

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in his place. In that hill-country a commotion arose, and Kūlāb and many other places became involved in it. Mahmūd Sulṭan got ready an army and came to do battle, but was wounded and put to flight. Allah Dād Beg and Nūram Beg were killed. On the 2nd his petition arrived, accompanied by the heads (of the abovenamed two persons). After humble and supplicating expressions it stated that when he had been delivered from the place of danger by the goodness of the Khwāja Kīlān Khwāja he had come to India, and had, after the manner of the liberated, brightened his forehead by prostration at the holy threshold. As he had sworn to the Khwāja that he would not reveal his identity during the latter's lifetime, he had not told his adventures to H.M., but had gone to the Ḥijāz. Now he had come home and was making war on the Ūzbegs, and was wielding the sword of the world's lord. If H.M. would help him, he could easily sit on his throne. Though the story did not appear to the Shāhinshāh to be true, he made the envoys hopeful and said, "I have made a treaty of concord with the ruler of Turān, and my greatness does not allow of my fighting him; it will be better for you to come to court." He then dismissed the envoys with favours, and sent some money and goods along with them, and was the means of his (M. Zamān) prosperity.

On the 9th he encamped near Allah Baqā. Qāẕī 'Alī, who had been put in prison at the instigation of Rajah Todar Mal, was released. Though he was unique[1] for honesty, yet he had failed on account of the high fortune of his enemies. When his helplessness was made clear, H.M. showed him favour. On the 12th he encamped at Bārīk Āb at the Khwāja Yāqūt Serai.

An occurrence was the bestowal of the Vakilship on the Khān-Khānān. As ability and disinterestedness shone on his forehead, he was, on the 13th, raised to this post and Jaunpūr was made his fief. Gujarat was taken from him and given to the Khān A'ẓīm,[2] from whom Mālwa was taken and given to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad. On 572
the 15th a daughter was born in Lahore to Prince Salīm by the

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[1] But see Badayūnī, Lowe, 364. The Iqbālnāma speaks of him under the 35th year and says he hailed from Mashhad. B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 calls him s. Mullā Quṭbū-d-dīn Jalgū.

[2] Badayūnī says he spitefully laid Mālwa waste when it was taken from him.

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daughter of Dariyā Malbhās.[1] H.M. gave her the name of Daulat Nisā.

One of the occurrences was that H.M. met with an accident and was hurt. On the 18th the camp was at Daka, and while hunting, a hyena came in sight. In that stony place H.M. rode after it. His horse stumbled[2] (?) and he fell from his saddle, and his face struck the stones. High and low received heart-breaking wounds. The lion-hearted one, by God's aid, summoned up strength, and bound up the wounds. The spectators were nearly dying, but H.M. comforted them by encouraging words. Ḥakīm 'Alī of Gīlān plastered the wounds with oil which he had got from Indian physicians, and on the same day there was an improvement. The grandees were of opinion that he should stay where he was for some days, but he wisely went on. He was carried in a litter. My elder brother S. Abu Faiẓī made the following verse on the calamity :—

(Here follow 22 lines of verse.)

It was remarked that nine days before this, Narain Miṣr[3] had died in Attock, and Bhīm Nāth in Jalālābad. These two physicians were celebrated throughout India. Casters of omens at court were delighted, regarding the fact as an evidence that H.M. would have
573 no more need of doctors. On the 25th he recovered, and sat in the hall of audience. He said that this accident produced a wonderful awakening, and that it occurred to him that if he was about to take the last journey, he was empty-handed. Every one's slumber is proportioned to his awakenedness. A great nature—which is the substance of spiritual and temporal supremacy—is not content save with comprehending the Creator, and thinks itself empty-handed, though in possession of the treasures of Verity. In this way the pain

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[1] There are various readings. See B. 477 n. 2. In Price's Jahangir, 20, the lady's father is called Darya Komm and described as a powerful Rajah at the foot of the Lahore mountains. The child only lived seven months.

[2] *Basir shud.* Perhaps became exhausted. There is the variant *tand shud*, i.e. galloped off *Basir shud* means "came to an end, died." Here it probably means "fell on his head," i.e. stumbled. This is shown by the expression in the Iqbālnāma "*Iskandarī khūrda*, i.e. tripped.

[3] B. 544. Text has Miṣr, but the word should be Mishar, and represents a Brahman family. Bhīm is Pīm in text.

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of seeking after God receives its consummation, and the affliction is succeeded by eternal health. On this day Qāsim K. received leave to go to Kabul, after receiving admirable counsels. Takhta Beg received the fief of Ghaznīn and was allowed leave.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Bunīr. The victorious soldiers went off to punish the Yūsafzais, but on account of the strength of the country they could not get there. At this time a petition of Shahbāz came from Swād. On 1st Bahman (11th January, 1590), when there was no intention of fighting, H.M. appeared at dawn in a dream and directed an engagement. Shahbāz obeyed and obtained a victory. The country came into possession, and many of the illfated were slain. 'Alī Muḥ. Alif delivered up his short life in good service.

On the 10th H.M. crossed the Indus by a bridge, and ordered the bakhshīs to cross over the soldiers, division by division (*caukī ba caukī*). Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī came with presents from Paklī, and received favours. On this day the writer of the book of fortune became somewhat deranged and fell into great grief. News came that in Lahore on the 5th (Bahman = 15th January, 1590) the mistress of the auspicious lineage and the lady of the family of chastity, to wit, his loving mother, had departed from the unstable world to the heavenly realm.

Verse.

When my mother has gone beneath the earth,
If I throw dust (*khāk*) on *my* head, what harm (*bāk*) is there?
I know that by this increase of tumult
Thou wilt not come whence thou hast gone.
But what shall I do, for I am impatient.
I deceive myself by a subterfuge.
You ought to have packed up the goods of life and accompanied her on that journey. Apparently owing to my imperfection such was not heaven's decree, and I had to remain bewildered in the stony tract of impatience.

Verse.

Hundreds of thousands of eyes were needed for my heart's anguish
That in solitude I might weep with each one of them.

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Where was the auspicious sentiment of styling as the "restoration of a deposit" the claim for the restitution of a present, and so not becoming mad at the act of God? yet I possessed, by the power of wisdom, a magazine of advices, and I used to practise the distribution of consolation! The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his favour over me, and these words issued from his pearl-laden tongue: "If (other) inhabitants of the world possessed the grace of permanency, and only one took the path of annihilation, there
574 would be no cure for intelligent friends in patience and resignation. But since no one remains long in this inn, why should one suffer the reproach of impatience." My heart was comforted by these cordial words,[1] and I undertook what was proper for the time.

On the 22nd he encamped at the Sarai of Zainu-d-dīn 'Alī, and spent two days in the pleasure of hunting. Next day he halted at Ḥasan Abdāl. He visited the grave of Abu-l-fatḥ and gave vent to his grief. On the 24th Khwājagī Muḥammed Ḥusain left from this station to go to Kabul. On 2nd Isfandārmuz, near Kahuriya news came of the death of Rajah Gopāl Jādūn. He had been appointed

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[1] A.F.'s father, and presumably his mother also, came to Lahore in May, 1586. She belonged to a Quraysh family and apparently was a daughter or other near relative of Mīr Rafīu-ud-dīn Ṣafavī of Īj. Cf. B. XVI and J. III. 446. A. F. does not give her name. Blochmann quotes Akbar's remark to A. F. and puts the original in a note, probably because he did not feel quite certain of the meaning. It is certainly an obscure sentence, the difficulty lying in the expression *jiz eké*. B. renders this "only once," which seems to give no meaning. His translation, which is evidently intended to be a free rendering, is: "If the people of the world lived for ever, and did not only once die, kind friends would not be required to direct their hearts to trust in God and resignation to His Will; but no one lives long in the caravanserai of the world, and hence the afflicted do well to accept consolation." I conceive the meaning to be: "If permanence were the general lot, and your mother's death an exception, then there would be no means of consoling you, but since all must die, why subject yourself to the reproach of impatience?" "The M'aaṣur merely quotes the words II. 610 and gives no explanation, but I am glad to see that the author of the Darbār Akbarī, p 470, takes the same view as I do of the *jiz eké*, rendering it "*ek ke sawā*," though he renders the next clause differently, making it to mean "even then the friends would have no remedy but resignation." Possibly *jiz eké* should be *jizagī* and the meaning be "if a portion did not die."

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to the charge of Ajmīr, and suddenly died in the city of Bīānā. On the 9th H.M. came to Rohtās,[1] and it was reported to him that Masnad i-'Ālī Fatḥ K. had died in Oudh. He was a very honest man. As it was the rainy season, Miriam-Makānī expressed the wish that H.M. would rest for some time in this fort. He replied that honour did not allow that he should be in comfort, and the world in trouble. On the 12th he enjoyed a *qamargha* hunt in the neighbourhood. On the 16th he crossed the Jhelam after making bridges in two[2] places near Rasūlpūr. On the 20th, while he was encamped near Hīlān, he met with an accident, and the world was plunged into grief. It was the turn of the elephant Malūl[3] Rai. On account of his bad disposition and of his being mast, H.M. mounted on a female elephant, and advanced[4] thereon. Before he had put his foot into the kalāwa (the rope which forms the mahout's stirrup) the furious animal ran at the female. The royal rider fell to the ground (threw himself off ?). Though the Divine Protector made the turbulent brute blind, and took him to the other side, yet the fall produced some insensibility in His Majesty.

Verse.

I went to the elephant to slay him with my sword.
He said, "Hear first my excellent excuse :
"I'm not the Earth-Ox that I can carry the world,
Nor the fourth heaven that I can draw the sun."

At the time none of the devoted followers was able to be present. There was a wonderful exhibition of destiny. How could harm accrue to one who believed justly and walked wisely ? There had been no impropriety that the thing could be considered as a retribution. Nor had he trod the path of negligence so that this might be taken as an awakening message. If the might of God be

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1 Text Rahnās.

2 The making of two bridges is referred to again at p. 575, line 5. Hīlān is a ferry on the Jhelam. See B. 127 and note, and also 360.

3 Perhaps Malūl Rūi, i.e. "Sulky," is not the elephant's name, but refers to his disposition.

4 *Bar farāz-i-ān barāmid.* Perhaps this means, Came on to the neck of the female elephant. It is supposed that no elephant, however *mast*, will attack a female.

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considered and the instances of former saints, this apparently difficult circumstance becomes easy. It will become still easier if we consider with farseeing eyes the ups and downs of affairs. In a short time, H.M. came to himself, and by the power of God he brought the steed of his fortune into the arena. Though he had received wounds in the previous fall (that at Daka), this was more serious.
575 Sedition-mongers spread improper reports, and many remote parganas were plundered.[1] When he came to his camp, he was in great pain. Physicians assembled, and held a consultation. He did not approve of any of their remedies, and said, "Apparently, it will be good to let blood." Skilful men opened the vein of his arm, and, immediately, he obtained relief. Out of wisdom he did not halt, but crossed the Cināb by the two bridges at the passage of Bānī Kābīn. Next morning he recovered, and went on by elephant. Next day he was attacked on the road by a pain in his abdomen, and for a time his servants were distressed. He soon got well. On the 25th near Amnābād, Qulīj K. and Mādhū Singh did homage. From the day that he crossed the Cināb, every day crowds of servants came and paid their respects. At this stage many had this bliss. On the 29th at two *kos* from Lahore he held an elephant review. To every one of them he gave something to eat. When the turn of one of them came, he said that it appeared that the driver was a slave.[2] He (the driver) did not admit the fact. The elephant refrained from eating. When an inquiry was made, and the driver admitted the fact, the beast resumed its eating.

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[1] The Rājputs made a disturbance. See Maaṣir II. 607, second last line, and A. N. III. 577.

[2] *Ghulām*. Possibly the meaning is that his name was *Ghulām*. The elephant was ashamed at his driver's telling a lie!

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CHAPTER CIII.

Beginning of the 35th year from the Accession, to wit, the year Bahman of the Third Cycle.

In that delightful plain, where he had the design of entering the city and was looking for the chosen hour, the drums of the New Year beat high, and a new joy filled the brain of the Age. Spring came with exultant face, and brought news of the happiness of the State. Though the officers were sent off to adorn the reception-hall in the city, yet that pleasant plain was also decked out.

(*Verse.*)

On the night of Wednesday, 14th Jamāda-al-awwal 998 (10th or 11th March 1590), after 10 hours and 57 minutes, the Lord of Lights cast his rays on the Sign Aries, and the eleventh year of the third cycle began. The world's lord gave a higher rank to justice and liberality, and the face of joy assumed new splendour. On 2nd Farwardīn he entered the city. From Kabul to Lahore he traversed 196 *kos*, 28 poles, in four months less by two days, and in 53 marches. The whole expedition lasted 10 months, 14 days. He 576
sat on his throne, and prosperity unveiled her countenance. A new day was added to the New Year's day, and a new Spring to the Spring. Every day, a grandee presided at a feast, and there was various joy. On the 10th M. Yūsuf came from Kashmīr, and paid his respects.

One of the occurrences was that Muḥammad Zamān gained a victory over 'Abdu-l-Mūmin Sulṭān, the son of the ruler of Turān. As he claimed to be the son of M. Shahrukh, and regarded himself as one of the loyal servants of the court, he soon gathered together a number of men. He defeated[1] many of the Uzbegs. 'Abdu-l-Mū-

[1] It seems to me that the text is wrongly pointed. According to it the meaning is that many Uzbegs joined M. Zamān to defeat 'Abdu-l-Mūmin.

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min marched out to fight with him, and sent on ahead 'Abbās Sultan, Dastam Be, and Ḥamīd Qarāwal and others. They crossed the Amū and made a stockade at Jargān Kūlāb. They thought that the strength of the defiles would be their protection. M. Zamān engaged this advance force and defeated it. In the pursuit, he got near 'Abdu-l-Mūmin, and he was nearly being caught. He escaped by the help of well-wishers.

At this time the peshkash (presents) of Rajah Mān Singh arrived. When he was sent from the court to the province of Bihar, he united ability with courage, and genius with strenuous action. By H.M.'s fortune he administered the province excellently. The refractory became obedient. Pūran Mal of Gīdhaur embarked upon presumption and self-will. The Rajah hastened to his dwelling, and obtained much plunder. Pūran Mal could not preserve the fort which he had regarded as his protection in the day of calamity. The turbulence of his intoxication ended in the lassitude of crop-sickness. He had resort to entreaties, and asked for protection. He produced[1] noted elephants and choice goods, and uttered thanks-givings. He gave his daughter in marriage to the Rajah's brother Candra Bhān. From there he proceeded to attack Rajah Singrām. He submitted and came forward in a proper manner, and presented elephants and rarities. The Rajah returned to Patna, and from there made an expedition against Anant[2] Cerūh (?). He obtained much plunder. At this time his son Jagat Singh did good service. He was keeping watch and ward in the town of Bihar. Suddenly Sulṭān Qulī Qalmāq and Kackena the wicked, who were among the ingrates of Bengal, stretched out the arm of strife. They went by Ghorāghāt and plundered Tājpūr and Purnea. From there they came to Darbhangā. Farrukh[3] K. failed in courage, and came to Patna. Jagat Singh's happy star made him offer battle, and Farrukh and the other fief-holders took courage and accompanied him. When they came within seven *kos* of Ḥājīpūr the enemy did not see
577 in themselves the strength to fight, and fled. Jagat Singh pursued

[1] As pointed out by B., Mān Singh's exploits are recorded by Stewart. See his "Hist. of Bengal," ed. 1813, pp. 180-91. Stewart speaks of Jagat Singh's going to Jessore, I know not on what authority. Apparently it is a mistake for Tājpūr.

[2] The Maaṣir II. 162 has Ranpat Cerūh.

[3] B. 480. He was s. Khān Kilān.

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them, and their collections fell into his hands. The Rajah sent the valuable parts of the plunder and 54 elephants to court. They were produced before H.M. on the 23rd (Farwardīn).

On the 26th [1] Padre Firmilīūn came to court from the port of Goa. Owing to H.M.'s appreciativeness, he received high honour.

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[1] 26th Farwardīn 998 corresponds to about 6th April, 1590. I believe the Padre in question to be Leon Grimon who was a sub-deacon of the Greek Church. Perhaps A. F. wrote قرملیون Qarmiliyūn and the Q has been changed into an F. The mention of the Padre's being employed to translate Greek books seems to point to his being a Greek, and we know from Du Jarric III. 147 that Grimon was of that nation. Du Jarric adds that he was skilled in Persian and Turkish. The passage has been translated in Elliot VI. 85. See also General Maclagan's paper on Jesuit Missions to Akbar, A.S.B.J. for 1896, p. 42. The mention of China goods may also point to Leo Grimon, for he seems to have come from China. He was long at Akbar's court, and married in Agra or Lahore. He accompanied Benedict Goes in February, 1603, as far as Kabul, if not to Yārkand. Maclagan quotes Yule as saying that Grimon returned from Kabul, but Du Jarric says he went as far as Yārkand. The question however of who Padre Firmilīūn was is not free from doubt. A.F. speaks in text of his coming from Goa, but it would appear from the Father Provincial's letter that Grimon did not come from Goa in the first instance. It speaks of Grimon's turning aside to the Mogul's court while returning to his own country and of Grimon's coming to Goa from the court. Moreover one would not expect a sub-deacon to be called a Padre, and Farmilīūn is not a very likely corruption of Leo Grimon. The name really resembles more that of Edward Leioton, Maclagan, p. 6. But then Leioton did not come to Lahore till 1591 and Padre Firmilīūn's visit was in April 1950. Moreover, Leioton was accompanied by another father, and we should expect him to be also named by A. F. Possibly, A. F. has mixed up the two men Leioton and Grimon. I am inclined to think that the visit in question was Grimon's second visit. He was Akbar's envoy to Goa, and may have returned from there early in 1590, and alone, or at least before Fathers Leioton and Du Vega arrived. Unfortunately neither Akbar's *parwāna*, or safe-conduct, to Grimon, nor his letter to the Fathers, contains the year of writing. The letter only says, "At the commencement of the moon of June." The safe-conduct speaks of the Khān-Khānān's having been directed to look after the safety of the Fathers. This must refer to the time when the Khān-Khānān was in charge of Gujarat, but we know that he, i.e. 'Abdu-r-Rahīm, the son of Bairām, was with Akbar near Kabul about the end of November, 1589, and that on the 13th Dai, i.e. 23rd December, 1589, he was made Prime-Minister.

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He possessed abundance of sense and knowledge. H.M. made over some quick-witted and intellectual persons to be instructed by him in order that the translation of Greek books might be carried out. Varieties of knowledge were acquired. Also a large number of Firinghīs and Armenians arrived and brought with them China cloths and other goods of that country. Some time was spent in admiring them.

One of the occurrences was the disturbance of Paklī. A proprietor named Hindāl crudely assumed the title of Sulṭān Naṣīr, and was joined by some wicked men. Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī's men did not behave courageously, and so Hindāl took possession of Paklī. H.M. on the 28th ordered Ḥusain to march with many Aimāqs of Badakhshān. In a short time he inflicted punishment (on Hindāl). On 1 Ardībihisht Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram was sent to Mewāt. When H.M. fell from the elephant, some Shaikawatī Rājpūts indulged in evil thoughts, and though their leaders were gathering bliss in H.M.'s service, they plundered Bīrāth,[1] while a party of them oppressed Rewārī. Shahbāz[2] K. the collector of that territory behaved in a cowardly manner, and went off to Kūl (Allyghar). Dīala[3] (?) rose up to plunder, near Mīrtha. On hearing this, Shāh Qulī was sent

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On that day the charge of Gujarat was transferred to 'Azīz Koka though the latter does not appear to have gone to Gujarat (see A. N. III. 593) till June 1590, and Rai Rai Singh, if he be the Captain Raizza, did not go to Bikanir till 1590. The Provincial's letter is loosely written. Writing in November, 1590, he says it is now nearly nine years since Akbar summoned to his court some Fathers, including Father Acquaviva. But Akbar's embassy reached Goa in 1579, and his letter must have been written earlier, so that in November 1590 more than eleven years had elapsed. Then too the Provincial apparently speaks of enclosing a copy of the letter to the Viceroy, whereas what we have, Maclagan 61, is a letter to the Fathers. I note here that n. 3, of Maclagan, p. 63, stating that Akbar returned to Lahore in October 1590, is incorrect. He returned from Kashmīr and Kabul early in 1590 and entered Lahore city on the day after New Year, viz. 2nd Farwardin 998 = 12th March, 1590. See Noer's Akbar, translation II. 220.

[1] In Alwār, the Bīrāt or Parāt of J. II, 191. The Iqbālnāma calls it Bīrāt and says it has a copper-mine.

[2] Presumably not Shahbāz K. Kambhū.

[3] The Iqbālnāma, apparently, calls him Dīpaya, and says he was related to Nāẓir Daulat.

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there to chastise the evil-doers. In a short time the thorn of sedition was uprooted, and the world pacified. On the 9th Ghaznīn K. received favour, and was given Jālaur. From the time that he showed recalcitrancy, the Khān-Khānān gave his home to another fiefholder. After some time he came to court, and always waited upon H.M. As repentance was read on his forehead, H.M. restored his old home to him.[1]

On the 20th the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and the needy were gratified. On 2nd Khurdād Zain K. Koka was exalted by being made the guardian of Prince Parvīz. That new fruit of the garden of dominion was sent to his house.[2]

On the 4th a great boon was granted by H.M., and numbers of men were comforted. On account of the extent of cultivation, and the goodness of the administration, prices fell very low, and many cultivators were unable to pay the government revenue. In the provinces of Allahābād, Agra, Oudh, Delhi, and the Sarkārs of Sahā- 578
ranpur and Budāon, one-eighth was remitted, and in Sarkārs Sirhind and Ḥiṣār one-tenth. In the Khāliṣa (exchequer or crown-lands) this came to 7 krors, 97 lakhs, 81,800 *dāms*. On the 5th a girl[3] was born to Prince Daniel by the daughter of Sulṭān Khwāja. It is to be hoped that she will become a great lady of the age, and that her advent may increase auspiciousness. On the 10th, Paklī was given to the old proprietor.[4] A long time ago, he had come with his family to court, and had felt ashamed of his former misconduct. At this time news came that Ḥusain[5] Beg had on account of ignorance entered the mountain defiles, and that the wicked Hindāl had prevailed against him. H.M. meditated sending another force under the

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[1] See B. 493 and 622, and A. N. III. 472. He had behaved badly when the Khān-Khānān was marching to Gujarāt. His son Pahār was executed by Jahangir for matricide. *Tūzuk* translation, I. 353, and also Errata, do., p. 453.

[2] The Iqbālnāma says the prince was made over to Zain K.'s mother who had been Akbar's nurse. Parvīz's mother was Zain K.'s cousin.

[3] The name of this daughter is not given. A sister was born in the 37th year and called S'aīda Bānū Begam. Altogether Daniel had four daughters, A. N. III. 837.

[4] This is Sulṭan Husain.

[5] This is Ḥusain Beg S. Umarī. He was afterwards cruelly put to death by Jahāngīr.

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charge of a qualified person. At this time Prince Selīm begged for Husain's[1] forgiveness and H.M. granted his request. He having gained his object, went home. On the 14th, Dhārū s. Rajah Todar Mal came from Jaunpūr and had an audience, and presented his father's servants. They were suitably rewarded.

On the 28th the envoy of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin Sultan was drowned. In crossing the Jehlam his boat sank in a whirlpool. Though the letter was not read, some persons represented that in the intoxication of youth he had demanded the Badakhshan Aimāqs who had gone to court. Apparently[2] the celestial managers were guiding that infatuated one. Also on this day Khwājagi Muḥ. Ḥusain and Khwāja 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad Kāshī came from Kabul, and had the joy of performing kornish.

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the wish of H. M. For some days there had been no rain, and the feeble-hearted were distressed. One of his intimates represented that if a request were made of the Almighty, it would be very proper. H. M. replied that the Creator well knew what was good for his servants, and added some

[1] The Sultan Husain of Pāklī.

[2] Akbar refers to this in his letter to 'Abdullah, *infra*, p. 706. A note to the Newal Kishore ed. of A. F.'s letters says that Akbar had the messenger drowned because the letter asked for Akbar's daughter in marriage. Neither A. F. nor the Iqbālnāma says this, but the latter while stating that 'Abdu-l-Mūmin demanded the surrender of the Aimāqs who had fled, with their families, to Akbar on account of 'Abdu-l-Mūmin's tyranny (Akbar had sent them to Paklī with Ḥusain S. Umar), adds that the letter contained other improper things, and that perhaps the drowning was in accordance with an intimation from Akbar and was just. I am not sure if the author means to suggest that Akbar had the messenger drowned, or that it was a miraculous intervention in accordance with the secret desire of Akbar. Probably it was an act of insolence for 'Abdu-l-Mūmin to write direct to Akbar, instead of through his father. See also *infra* 583, last paragraph. Yet Akbar received an embassy from Khudābanda the Governor of Khurāsān during Ṭahmāsp's lifetime. B. M. MS. 27. 257 gives an abstract of a letter of Akbar's to 'Abdullah in which he says that his court was the asylum of the world, and that he could not surrender any one who took shelter there. As for the proposal of marriage story, it is not likely that 'Abdu-l-Mūmin would make it in a letter in which he was asking for the return of fugitives. Probably the other improper things referred to in the Iqbālnāma were complaints of Akbar's supporting M. Zamān.

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words which bore[1] the character of knowledge. The other repeated his entreaties, and increased his wishes. H.M. accepted his prayer and on 3 Tīr engaged in prayer. In a short time there was a downpour, and the world was refreshed.

On the 8th (June 1590) the Khān A'zim M. Koka came to Aḥmadābād. At the end of last year Gujarāt had been taken from the Khān-Khānān and given to him. He, thinking that Mālwa might be better, delayed to go there and petitioned the court. When he came to his senses he went off there, and made proper arrangements.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the crooked Kashmīrīs. On the 16th, Ḥusain, Muḥammad, Abūzaīd Ghāzī, Lohan Cak, Ḥusain Dēv fled from the court with evil intentions. They went by Jammū to the hill-country and took refuge with 'Alī Rīnā. Before they had taken any other steps, the Kashmīr officers seized 579
them, and executed[2] them in the city (Srinagar). It was a source of instruction to foolish thinkers. At this time Qāẓī[3] 'Alī was made Nāẓir Biyūtāt. Though Ṣādiq was a skilful major-dorno (Mīr Samān), and Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn[4] Beg was diwān, yet as in every department there was much income and expenditure, the more help there was, the better for the work. On this account that skilful and honest man was appointed to this duty. As there was incompatibility between Qulīj and Ṣādiq K., an order was given that Qulīj K. should not interfere in the work of the Biyūtāt.

One of the occurrences was the fall of rain at the request of the Shāhinshāh. Astronomers had represented that on the 23rd[5] there

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[1] The text has a negative *barnatābid*, but this is surely wrong.

[2] Add. 27,247 says 16 Tīr = Sunday 4 Ramaẓān. This would be 27th June 1590. It adds that the execution took place in Srīnagar and by Akbar's orders, and that the heads were sent to court. There were four men executed.

[3] This is Qāẓī 'Alī Bagdādī, the settlement officer of Kashmīr.

[4] B. 508. He was father of Nūr Jahān and is better known as 'Itimādu-d-daula.

[5] 23 Amardād = 1st or 2nd August, 1590. The date however is doubtful. There is the variant 28th and I.O. MS. has *hashtam*, 8th. This looks more likely to be correct as shortly below we have the 13th mentioned. But *hashtam* is written very like *bīstam*, and perhaps this is the true date as L'Art de verifier les dates says there was an annular eclipse of the sun on 31st July, 1590. The account of the affair is differently worded in Add. 27,247. It is there said that some days previously Akbar

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would be a total eclipse of the sun. The skilled scientists of India said that if there were rain seven days before or after, no harm would occur from the eclipse. Though they tried, they were unsuccessful (in producing rain). They were ashamed and retired. When the time arrived, H.M. applied himself to supplications to the Incomparable Deity. In a moment (?) clouds gathered, and there was rain until that hour passed away. A world was amazed. H.M. said: "The Almighty has accepted the petition of this suppliant, and has cast a veil over the boastful astronomers. If their statement had been true, the darkness would have increased."

On the 13th Sharīf came from Mālwa, and did homage.

One occurrence was the marriage of 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān. Inasmuch as H.M. exalts the writer by varied favours, he wished that his son—who showed quickness and reverence—should be married to one of the good court-families. On the 28th he was united to the niece (brother's daughter) of S'aādat Yārkoka who was distinguished for her chastity. There was a joyous time. I hope that God will open the springs of bounty, and that there will be increase of seed[1] together with auspiciousness and prosperity. On the 30th Qāsim 'Alī came from Khairābad, and had an audience.

One[2] of the occurrences was the return of the victorious soldiers from Orissa after making a peace there. When the province of Bihār had been settled by the ability of Rajah Mān Singh, and the refactory had been reduced to obedience, he at the close of the previous year set before himself the conquest of Orissa by the route of Jhārkhand. He halted near Bhāgalpūr, and made proposals to S'aīd K., the Governor of Bengal, and asked him to accompany him.
580 He, on account of the near approach of the rains, referred the matter to another time. The Rajah, who understood his business, set out

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said it would be good if rain came at the time of the eclipse, and hid it. So A. F. was ordered to assemble the Brahmans and see if they could bring about the rain. They could do nothing. Half an hour before the eclipse, clouds gathered. Akbar remarked that perhaps this occurred in order to save the astronomers' credit as in spite of the clouds the sun was still bright. Apparently this alludes to the fact that the eclipse was not total, and the darkness not complete. This MS. does not give any date for the eclipse.

[1] 'Abdu-r-Raḥman was then 20. He had a son, Bishotan, by S'aādat Yār's niece.

[2] This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 85.

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in the beginning of this year by the route of Bardwān. Pahār K., Bābū-ī-Mankalī, Rai Patr Dās joined him from Bengal with the artillery. They encamped in Jahānābād.[1] The idea was that when the rains ceased, S'aīd, Makhṣūṣ, and the landholders would join. Qutlū, who was raising the head of presumption in Orissa, came to Dharpūr, 25 kos from the army, and prepared for battle. He sent Bahādur Kūrūh with a large force to Raipūr.[2] The Rajah sent an army under Jagat Singh, and the worthless Bahādur Kurūh took refuge in a fort, and had recourse to cajolery. By devilish tricks he lulled the inexperienced youth into carelessness, and then asked for help from Qutlū. On 10th Khurdād, while Jagat was slumbering from the effects of wine, the wicked Qutlū suddenly fell upon him with a large force and prevailed over him. Qutlū sent Jalāl and many brave men under the command of 'Umar, the brother's son of Mīrū, and son of Kāsū, and Khwāja 'Īsā Vakīl. Though the landholder Ḥamīr warned Jagat of Bahādur's craft and of the dispatch of an army to his assistance, he did not accept the news. After thousands of efforts he sent (was induced to send) some scouts. The enemy entered a forest, and having left their tents and baggage there they hastened on by hidden ways. The short-sighted men who had gone ahead represented that the enemy had encamped, and so increased Jagat's carelessness. At the end of the day the enemy arrived. Owing to the breaking of the thread of deliberation and arrangement, most of the men fled without fighting. A few stood their ground and fought. Bīka Rāhtor, Mohesh Dās, Narū Cāran bravely sacrificed their lives. Though the imperial army was defeated, yet 'Umar K., Mīrū, and the sons of Humayūn Qulī with some of their relations were killed. Ḥamīr brought away that infatuated young man and took him to his quarters at Bishanpūr.[3] A report arose that he was killed. The Rajah held a council, and considered how to remedy matters. Most gave it as their opinion that it was proper to return to Selīmābad, where the families of the soldiers were, and there to prepare for battle. Mān Sīngh replied that to retreat was to encourage the enemy and to give up the undertaking. He called

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[1] In Hūglī district, on the Dhālkishor.

[2] Perhaps the Raipūr of J. II. 112 in the Sarkār of Jalesar. It is described as having a strong fort.

[3] In the Bankura district.

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for equipments and resolved upon fighting. At this time the fortune of the Shahinshah declared itself. After ten days Qutlū died. He was ill, and the cup of his life soon ran over. Khwāja 'Īsā made his young son Naṣīr the chief, and the success of the Afghans somewhat declined. They had recourse to flatteries and cajolery, and sought for peace. The army accepted their overtures on account of distress of mind and the heavy rains. An agreement was made that the *khuṭba* and coinage should be in the name of the Shāhinshāh,
581 and that the Afghans would be obedient and serviceable. Also that Jagannāth, which is a famous temple, and its environs should be made crown-land, and that no harm would happen to the loyal zamīndārs. Out of opportunism and fraud they subscribed to all this (*khaṭ sipardand*). On 4 Shahrīyār Khwāja 'Īsā brought Qutlū's son to the Rajah, and presented 150 elephants and other choice articles. Mān Singh encouraged him and returned to Behar.

On the 23rd M. Yūsuf K. got leave to return to Kashmīr. H.M. went as far as the first stage and imparted various counsels to him.

On the 3rd Zain Koka was sent to the northern mountains. As the landholders there, on account of the strength of their country, and their littleness of understanding, were becoming recalcitrant, that good officer was sent off with a large force. On 20 Mihr Tardī K. came from his fief, and had an audience. On the 23rd Mir after 3 hours, 13 minutes, a daughter was born to Prince Selīm by the daughter of Kīshū[1] Rāhtor. H.M. called her Bihār Bānu. On the same night a daughter was born to the Prince by the Mota Rajah's daughter. H.M. gave her the name of Begam[2] Sultan.

One of the occurrences was the departure of Miriam Makānī (Akbar's mother) for Fatḥpūr[3] (Sīkrī). She had travelled rapidly and unencumbered (*jarīda*) from a desire to behold the Shāhīnshāh, and had thought that he would soon be returning (to Agra). When

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[1] See Price's *Jahangir*, 20. The child only lived two months. Her mother is there called Bībī Karnutty.

[2] Died in twelve months. Her mother was Jagat Gosain, *i.e.* Jodh Bāī.

[3] Akbar was then at Lahore. His mother had left Fatḥpūr some months previously, to see her son, and also in hopes of seeing Kashmīr. Gulbadan Begum was with her. But hearing that her son was marching to Kabul she went there and they met at Begrām (in Afghanistan). Akbarnāma III. 568. No doubt she accompanied him to Lahore.

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this idea was frustrated, she took leave on the 24th (Mihr = about 10 October, 1589) to look after her household affairs. On the 28th H.M. travelled the first stage out of respects to her, and having spent the night there he took leave next day. The prince-royal was directed to accompany her for several stages. On 2 Ābān 'Ārif the son of Sharīf K. was killed in Agra. His women were angry with him on account of his bad behaviour, and killed him while he was intoxicated: they received the retribution of their conduct. On the third the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. There was a proclamation of liberality, and small and great obtained their desires. On the 7th, Rai Rai Singh was sent off to Bikānīr, and Masiḥu-l-Mulk [1] came from Gujarat. On the 11th a son was born to Prince Murād by the daughter of the Khān A'ẓim, and received from H.M the name of 'Ālam Sultan. On 7th Āzar Mednī Rai arrived from Gujarāt. Among his presents were a deer and a leopard (*Yūz*). The deer had been left in a snare. The leopard made a spring, and was caught by the feet, while the deer was bewildered and caught.

In the feast of this month, sense-increasing wine was drunk, and **582** Mīr Ṣadr Jahān Muftī and Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥai the Mīr 'Adl also quaffed their cups. This verse was quoted by H.M.

Verse.[2]

In the era of the fault-forgiving king
The Qāẓī drained flagons, the Muftī quaffed cups.

On the 15th Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq the Turanian ambassador died. Untimely eating made him ill, and want of abstinence added to his sickness. He had a large share of knowledge and sense. On the 13th the Khān-Khānān had a third son. He had always wished for a son, and had been impatient in his seeking for one When he was in Gujarat, H.M. said one night to the writer: "When you write the firmān styling [3] him Khān-Khānān, say in it that the life-

[1] B. 543. He was Murād's physician.

[2] B. 468. The verse is from Ḥāfiẓ.

[3] I am not sure if the meaning is that the letter was written when he was made Khān-Khānān, or simply that when A. F. wrote to him he was to tell him so and so. Īrij must have been born long before 998 for

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giving Deity will soon give him three sons, and that he is to call them Īraj, Dārāb, and Qaran." In a short time the saying was fulfilled, and great and small had a new proof of H.M's. knowledge of hidden things. The Khān-Khanān gave a feast, and begged for the presence of H.M., who granted his request.

On this day news came that Sher Fulādī, an increaser of commotion in Gujarāt, had died, and that the sedition-mongers had retired to the straits of failure.

On the 14th, the daughter [1] of Mīrzā Sanjar entered the service of the Prince-Royal. Her father was the son of Khiẓr Hazāra. By H.M's. order she (or he?) was brought from her home, and her (or his) desire was accomplished.

One of the occurrences was the seizure of Y'aqūb and the death of Abiyā. These two brothers were plotting to escape, but they did not get an opportunity. The gracious sovereign did not approve of punishing those to whom quarter had been given. He sent them with Ḥasan Beg Gurd to Rajah Mān Singh, in order that they might be far from their home, and also that they might be reduced to some measure of quiescence (?). On the 18th [2] they were passing

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in the 40th year he was made a commander. Qāran is not mentioned by B. or in the Maaṣīr. The Khan-Khānān had four sons, but he survived them all.

[1] B. 477, note.

[2] The date given on B.M. MS. 27, 247 is 18 Ābān and Sunday 3 Muḥarram 999. This is equal to 22nd October, 1590. The same MS. calls Y'aqūb's brother Ibrāhīm and says the attempt at escape took place near Māhimpūr (or perhaps it is Yāhirpur and in the pargana of Niẓāmābād). This is a pargana in Jaunpūr J. II. 164 and is mentioned in Badayūnī, Lowe 85 as a place where Akbar was once weighed. The Iqbālnāma says that Hasan Beg recovered from his wounds and that he conveyed Y'aqūb in chains to Rajah Mān Singh. According to the author of a history of Kashmir B.M. MS. Add. 24,029 Yāqūb was eventually poisoned by Akbar who sent him a poisoned robe. See Rieu Catalogue I. 300. The story told in MS. 24,029 and referred to by Rieu is that Akbar was prejudiced against Y'aqūb by his courtiers so he sent him to Allahabad to assist in putting down a rebellious zamindar. At the same time he instructed his generals to cut off Y'aqūb's head as soon as he had finished the business of the zamindar. Y'aqūb behaved with great valour, crossed a river which Akbar's generals had been unable to cross from want of boats, challenged the landholder to

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through a town (in Etawa ?) near Bāburpūr. Ḥasan Beg had divided his men into three bands. One band was with the women and children, one was guarding Y'āqūb, who represented himself as ill and so was travelling in a litter, and a third was with himself. Some evil-minded tricksters raised an alarm, saying that robbers had attacked the baggage. Ḥasan Beg sent off his men in that direction. At this time Abiyā, who was in the plot, killed the torch-bearer with a sword, and wounded Ḥasan Beg. The latter struggled with him and threw him down, and despatched him. In the fight, Muḥammad, Y'aqūb's foster-brother wounded Ḥasan with a sword, and Ḥasan seized him also, and flung him down. Men now came up, and Y'aqūb and the other conspirators were seized.

At this time Rāwat[1] Dat (?) paikār, who was the headman **583**
(*dih kiyāī*) of Mau which belongs to the country of Baksar (?), was wounded by his deadly enemies on his back, and on the lobe of his ear. About this time his son-in-law (*khwesh*) Rām Dās had a child which bore two similar marks. People said that the deceased had taken form again, and pointed to several indications of this. An order was given to have the child brought. On the 26th that four-year old child was brought. By the brilliant acuteness of H.M. the foolishness of the story was demonstrated. He said that in metempsychosis the body must be changed. In this case the body had been wounded, not the soul. Apparently this wonder was the result of imagination. It was not improbable that the child's mother had thought that the deceased would come out of her womb.

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a duel, took him off his elephant, and brought him in a prisoner. The general reported Yāqūb's bravery, and as he felt unwilling to kill so brave a man, he referred to Akbar for further orders, thereupon Akbar sent a poisoned robe of honour which killed Y'aqūb as soon as he put it on. But Rafi'u-d-dīn the author admits that there is another version, according to which Y'aqūb died a natural death, and he concludes with a "God knows which is the truth." See MS. 126*b* etc.

[1] It is Dat دت in text, but there is the variant Rāwat Paikāra. I.O. MS. 235 has Bangāla, and the Iqbāl-nāma seems to have Bega. It also says that the village was in Bakar, but does not name it. It adds that the child said he was Rāwat. I.O. MS. has Mau, a village belonging to Baksar. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 seems to have Bhakkar, and to call the village Mūarkana. It says Qāsim 'Alī brought the child. The Khulāṣat-tawārīkh has Baksar.

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During pregnancy she had been thinking of the wounds. She had taken a style and made the same marks (on herself) and then stories had been made about it. He said that one day before his own birth Miriam-Makānī was making marks with a needle (qn. tattooing ?) on her foot. Jahānbānī (Humāyūn) asked what she was doing. She said that she wished that some memento might appear on the foot of her child. When he was born, similar marks appeared; and he uncovered his lower leg, and showed them to those who had the privilege of being present.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at Court of Qāin Kokaltēsh. It has been mentioned[1] that this approved servant had been sent to the Northern Hills. He came out near Pathān[2] and proceeded towards Kahlūr,[3] on the bank of the Satlej. All the inhabitants submitted and tendered presents, Raja Badhī Cand from Nagarkot, Paras Rām from Koh-i-Jammū, Raja Bāsū from Man,[4] Raja Anrūda from Jeswāl,[5] Raja Tīla[6] from Kāhlūr, Raja Jagdes Cand from Gwālyār,[7] Raja Sispāl from Dahpāl,[8] Raī Sānsar Cand from Sībah,[9] Rai Partāb from Mānkot, Rai Bhūnar from Jasrota,[10] Rai Balbhadra from Lakanpūr,[11] Rai Daulat from Sharkot[12] Bharta, Rai Krishn from Fort Bhīla, Rai Narayan the proprietor of Sukat[13] Mandī, Rai Krishn Īlādiya,[14] Rai Udiya Dhamrī-

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1 See above, p. 581.

2 Text Nepāl, but the variant Bathān seems nearly right. The place meant seems to be Pathānkot. It is Pathān on I. O. MS. 236 and in the M'aaṣir II. 367.

3 A Simla hill state. J. II. 325.

4 In the Bārī Doāb Sarkār, J. II. 319.

5 Apparently the text is corrupt. Jeswāl appears from the MSS. to be a Raja's title and not the name of a country. The Iqbālnāma has Rajah Sirinjānwal.

6 Apparently this should be Bhīka.

7 A Gwālyār in the Bārī Doāb. J. II. 319.

8 Dahwāl in the M'āasir Umari.

9 Sīha in text. J. II. 317.

10 Jasrota is an extinct principality in Kāshmīr. I. G. VII. 147. It lies on the south of the province of Jammū, and on r. bank tributary of Rāvī.

11 B. 345 has Lakhinpūr, but perhaps Lakhnūr, J. II. 321, is meant.

12 Sharkat in Bijnaur, I. G. XII. 380 ?

13 Haskanat in text. It is the Sakhat-Mandaewī of J. II. 317. See I. G. under Sukat and Mandī. They are hill-states.

14 Mulawariya (?) in I.G. 236. No. 235 has Talwāriah, from Talwārah in the Bārī Doāb. The M'aaṣir II

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wāl.[1] Though their cavalry was (only) 10,000, their infantry was more than 100,000. On 7 Dai he did homage, attended by all the landowners, and each of them received various favours. They presented 18 elephants, 115 horses, 205 hunting animals, consisting of hawks, falcons, etc. and also Yāks (*qaṭās*) and other varieties of that country.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the Turanian ambassador. From the time that the ruler of that country recognized the glorious and eternal dominion, he tendered friendship and supplication, and on every occasion displayed new flattery, and spoke of concord. He was anxious on account of Aḥamad 'Ali Atālīq's not having returned, and at this time he was still more troubled on account of the improper conduct of his son in demanding the Aimāqs of Badash-shān. He had censured that hot-headed one and shown his disgusts with him. He made apology the forefront of his application and brought forward his former proposals. He sent Maulāvī Ḥusain, who was one of his old servants, to court with valuable presents. On the 15th he obtained an audience, and uttered 584
sweets words.

Also in this year Shihābu-d-dīn[2] Aḥmad died in Ujjain. He had done much good service in the empire, and was one of the most distinguished men of the Age in the matter of developing the cultivation of the country. In order to sympathise with his relicts the lord of the world made Khwāja[3] Muḥibb 'Alī K. *dīwān* of Mālwa, and left Shihāb's fiefs to his servants.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Shahbāz K. to the school of the prison. Oh the 17th Dai (27th December 1590) he came without orders from Swād and fell into the toils of censure. It also came out that he had out of avarice given up Kālpī which

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367 has Balāwrih. See Balāwarah. J. II. 320.

[1] Bhannī in text. It is Dhamrī in I.O. MSS.

The Iqbālnama also gives a list of the Rajahs. Some of the names are very doubtful.

[2] He repaired and reopened Fīrūz Shāh's Canal. See B. 332 and S. Aḥmad's Asār Sanādīd, p. 3 of Part III, and I. G. S. V. Jumma Canal, XIV. 234. See also Badayūnī, Lowe 386. His wife Bāba Agha or Māmā Aghā was related to Mirīām Mahani and died in 1005 A.H., 1597. See A. N. III. 716.

[3] B. 516. He was a Khawāfī.

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was in his fief. The displeasure of the holy heart increased, and spiteful and tyrannical people (*qābūcīān*) brought to notice other crooked proceedings of his, and did so as if they were speaking the truth and were acting in a disinterested manner. The sovereign put him into prison[1] and sent an acute person to ascertain the truth. On this day Ḥakīm Ain-ul-mulk came to do homage. His fiefs were in India and Mālwa. As he came without order, he was not admitted to an audience. As it became known that the Khān A'aẓim M. Koka had taken away his *Jāgīr*, and that he had come to complain about it, he was summoned to the presence. On the 20th a special pigeon took a flight. A hawk made an attack on it and was nearly capturing it. When H.M. saw this, he said, "Strike and seize." Suddenly a troop of crows gathered from the plain and surrounded the hawk, and he withdrew his claws from the pigeon and fell into consternation. A cry arose from the spectators. Glory to the prince that seeks nothing but the will of God. The heavens revolve at his wish. What wonder then that a few birds acknowledge him!

One occurrence was the sending a force to take Qandahar. Jinnat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn) had made it over to Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the ruler of Persia, and hence H.M. had not thought of taking it. Now that the star of the Persians' fortune was not as brilliant as formerly, and that Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. and Rustūm Ḥusain M., the sons of Sultan Moẓaffar, had, from the intoxication of youth, revolted against the ruler of Persia, and that their deeds did not conform to their words about obedience to the Shāhinshāh, it occurred to H.M. that he should send an army to that quarter. Help would

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[1] He was kept in prison for three years, not being released till the end of 1001, August 1593. Elliot V. 467. The Iqbālnāma says his fault was partly his unruly tongue. Jahāngīr describes him as foulmouthed. The sentence about his having *given up* Kālpī seems obscure. The Persian is *bāz guzāsht*. Perhaps it means "he went to Kālpī." But probably it means that he had given up, or transferred, Kālpī to somebody else, for at p. 585 we find that Kālpī was in the fief of Qāsīm 'Alī. There is a somewhat different reading in I.O. MS. 236, and perhaps the meaning is that Kālpī was taken from him on account of his avarice. But I do not think this is the meaning. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has also a different reading. Apparently, what it says is that Shahbāz gave away Kālpī.

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thus be given to the ruler of Persia. If the Mīrzās should proceed to the court they would be caressed, and another country would be given to them, and that cultivated territory would be put under the guardianship (*pāsbānī*) of a discreet and just officer, and the Usbegs would be restrained from thinking of seizing it. This assistance[1] (to Persia) would have a kindly appearance.

On the 24th (Dai 4th January, 1590) the Khān-khānan took leave. Shāh Beg K.,[2] Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Bakhtiyār Beg, Gūrdhan, Rāwal, Bhīm, Dalpat, Jānish Bahādur, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, Balbhadhar Rāthor, Sher K., Qarā 585
Beg, Farīdūn Barlāṣ Sarmadī, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, Ḥasan 'Alī, 'Arab, Khwāja Hisāmu-d-dīn, Saiyid Darvesh, Qāsim Koka, Khākī Gallabān, Nūr Muḥammad, Khwāja Khiẓri, 'Abdu-l-ghanī, Ulugh Beg, Sāl Alangī, Khākī Beg, Saiyid Mīr 'Alī, Mīrzā Beg, Sālār Qulī, M. Muḥammad, Saiyid Banda 'Alī, Ibrāhīm Beg, Murshid Qulī, Jolak Shamsher 'Arab, Muḥammad Zamān, Bāqī Cārdāngī, 'Abdul-l-laṭīf, Bahādur Malik, 'Izzat 'Alī Kabulī, Allah Bardī Tūlakcī, Ilyās Tūpcī, Muḥammad Qulī, Tingrī Bardī, Farrakh Beg, Qul Muḥammad and many other brave and capable men accompanied him. Khwāja Muqīm was made bakhshī, and an order was given that they should march via Baluchistan. If they[3] submitted, that fertile country was to be restored to them, and they were to be brought along with the army, otherwise they were to be punished, and were to be made over to just administrators. Also, the ruler of Tatta (Scinde) had not paid his respects. An able army should be sent to him, to advise him. If he came in person, or should send an army, it would

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[1] A variant contains the clause that the assistance would benefit the Persians.

[2] The list is a very long one, and Niẓāmu-d-din, Elliot V. 459, judiciously remarks that the names of the officers are too numerous to record. The Bakhshi was his father. It seems from the T. A. and Badayūnī and from Faiẓī's chronogram that Tatta was the main object of the expedition. M'aṣūm Bhakkarī is the well-known author. B.M. M.S. 27,247 gives the Muḥammadan date of the expedition as 17 Rabi-al-awwal 999, corresponding to 3rd or 4th January, 1590.

[3] Apparently the Biluchīs are meant. The Khān-khānān never got to Qandahar. See *infra*, p. 601. According to B.M. Add. 27,247, it was the Biluchīs who were to join the army.

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be better, otherwise he was to be temporised with and should be punished on the return.

On 1st Bahman, H.M. got into a boat and visited the Khan-khānan at the first stage, which was a league off. He gave him valuable advice.

On this day also Sultan Parviz had a sister born.

On the 6th, Ism'aīl Qulī came from Gujarat. On the 9th, Qāsim 'Alī was allowed to go to Kālpī, which was his fief. On the 22nd, H. M. had toothache, and was relieved by the application of leeches. On the 3rd, Isfardarmaz H.M. crossed the Rāvī, and enjoyed hunting for eight days and wandered about in the pleasant plains.

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CHAPTER CIV.

Beginning of the Thirty-sixth Divine Year, to wit, the year Isfandārmaz of the Third Cycle.

On Thursday, 24th Jumāda-al-awwal 999, 10th or 11th March 1591, after the lapse of 4 hours, 16 minutes, the Light-increaser of heights and depths filled Aries with Light. The court artificers decked out the halls, and gave spiritual beauty to externals. The material, as well as the intellectual, world became fresh and verdant.

Verse.[1]

O joyous bride, blame not fortune.
Make ready the bower of beauty, for the bridegroom hath come.
I scent the fragrance of joy in the world's state.
Joy has flowered, and the morning breeze rejoiceth.

Every day there was a fresh feast, and a new market day of thanksgiving to God. On the 6th (Farwardīn) the rank of Zain K. Koka was increased, and he attained the lofty position of 4,000 and the right to drums. On the 9th H.M. entered a boat along with many veiled ladies and proceeded to Mīrzā Kāmrān's garden and enjoyed the spectacle of the variegated spring. On the 17th the presents of the Khān Ā'zim were produced. He had sent some choice elephants and other rarities from Gujarat, and in this way he brought himself to remembrance. On the day of culmination (*sharf*, i.e. the 19th) when there was a great feast, the Tatta ambassadors obtained an audience. They presented a petition and presents. The purport of the representation was that it was from somnolence of intellect that there had happened what had happened, and that if the tidings of forgiveness could reach (the ruler of Tatta), former 586

[1] These lines are from Ḥāfiẓ, but the quotation is not exact. They are the 4th and 5th stanzas of ode 104 in Bicknell.

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stumblings would be rectified. The excuse-accepting sovereign made the envoys hopeful, and a comforting rescript was issued. On 9[1] Ardibīhisht the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a season of liberality and largesse.

One[2] of the occurrences was the recovery of the writer of the book of fortune (A. F.). On 4 Bahman of the preceding year (14 January 1591) his illness had increased, and the physicians conjectured that there was a stone in the bladder. They applied remedies, but the pain increased from time to time, consequently skilful persons lost hope. This news produced some joy in me, for, from the days of discretion I had no love for life. The currency of hypocrisy and the worship of the creature made me heart-sore. But as I was inclined[3] to perform military service, my disposition deviated from the commands of wisdom and became sad. This mixture of joy and sorrow always held possession of my heart, and I cherished the hope that I might tell some tales by the tongue of the sword, and convince high and low of the appreciativeness of the world's lord, and by the words of action reduce to silence the narrow-minded ones who strutted about in the insolence of courage, and cocked the little turban of boasting. Whenever H.M. cast the shadow of his kindness over the invalid (i.e. whenever he visited him), he conveyed to him the tidings of recovery. The others only nominally encouraged me. Two days before the new year the wise Ḥakīm[4] Misrī arrived from the Deccan, and was exalted by performing the

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[1] This corresponds to 19 April 1591 and 5 Rajab 999 which was the anniversary of Akbar's birthday. The B.M. MS. adds that Akbar was now fifty years of age, and that the writer hopes he will live for 150 years.

[2] This passage does not occur in the Cawnpore edition, and only occurs in a mutilated form in I.O. MS. 235. It occurs in full in MS. No. 236. The B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 ascribes A.F.'s cure to the benign influence of Akbar. The illness began on 4 Bahman, the day of Shahriyūr of the preceding year.

[3] The reading is a little doubtful. The text has *ba āīn-i-sipāh* while I.O. 236 has *basipāh*.

[4] B. 491 and Badayūnī III. 165. Even he has a good word for this physician. His death is described *infra*, p. 783. See also Darbār Akbarī 713. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 adds line 13 from bottom of page 395*a*, the statement that the Ḥakīm had been imprisoned on his way from the Deccan by Amīn K Ghorī

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prostration. At that very moment the kind sovereign sent him to see this one (A. F.) who was prepared for the last journey. His cheerful countenance caused new delight. His skill perceived the inefficiency of the former doctors. He diagnosed the malady and set himself to cure it. In a short time there were signs of improvement and my health continually mended. On the 15th I recovered and performed the *kornish*, and high and low were once more impressed by H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries. The Divine strength helped me greatly in this sickness. For many years I had been perplexed to comprehend the rational soul, and every proof that former (writers) had brought forward had been criticised by me. It was natural to expect that wisdom would come with equability of the tem- **587** perament, but this is not what happened to me. The thing became clear to me while I was ill, and I reposed in the illuminated spot of intelligence.

One[1] of the occurrences was the success of Burhān al-Mulk. When on the first occasion he returned unsuccessful, as has already been partially described, he spent his days on his fiefs in Mālwa. At this time, when the Khān 'Āzim went to Gujarat and Shihāb K. died, he went to Rajah 'Alī K. the ruler of Khāndes. He in accordance with the holy commands of the Shāhinshāh strenuously assisted him, and agreed with 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr that when the latter should march to Aḥmadnagar, he would also send an army from his side (Khāndes). With this idea he sent off some soldiers to remain

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of Jūnagarh. At p. 393*a* the same MS. gives a statement of Ḥakīm Miṣrī and others of the revenues of the various rulers of the Deccan. It is stated there that the Deccani *dām* is equal to eight *tankas* of Hindustan. The revenue of Khāndesh is given as 2½ krors = 40 krors of *dāms*; that of Aḥmadnagar as 9 krors of tankas equal to one *arb* 44 krors of *dāms*; Bijāpur's revenue is 12 krors of tankas = one *arb* 92 krors of *dāms*; that of Golconda is 3½ krors of tankas = 56 krors of *dāms*.

[1] This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 87.

[2] B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 states that a report came from Mālwa, from Jamālu-d-din Ḥusain Anjū, on 26 Rabī'-ul-awwal, that Shihābu-d-dīn had died in Ujjain on the day of Dai ba Mihr of the 11th Divine month equal to 8 Rabī'-ul-awwal (January 1590). It says Muḥibb 'Alī Khwāfi was appointed in his room. The same place records that an elephant called Behūl Nigār had killed another elephant.

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in waiting on his borders. Jamāl K.—who was the Aḥmadnagar general—in apprehension that the two forces would join—displayed activity. He took[1] with him his (i.e. Burhān's) son Ismāīl and hastened to fight the Bījāpūrīāns before Burhān-al-Mulk should join them. After a short conflict he was successful. When Burhān-al-Mulk came to Barār, Amjad-al-Mulk, 'Aẕmat-al-Mulk, Saif-al-Mulk, Shuj'aat K., Jahāngīr K., Ṣadr K., 'Azīz-al-Mulk and other leaders joined him. Without a battle he became secure about that country (Barār). On the very day that Jamāl K. was exulting in confidence he (Jamāl) got this news, and hastily marched without proper plan or preparation. He passed through the defile of Fardāpūr,[2] and on the 17th a battle was fought near there. Out of farsightedness Rajah 'Alī K. kept Burhān-al-Mulk and the Barār officers apart from one another, and himself engaged in the fight. There was a hot contest, and in it a bullet reached Jamāl K. and killed him. The army of the Deccan dispersed, and a great victory was gained. In a short time Ism'aīl was brought in as a prisoner and was put into confinement. Then the ruler of Khāndes returned after leav-

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[1] *bardāshta.* This sometimes means "to defeat," as at III. 98, line 11, and it has been so translated by Dowson, Elliot VI. 87. But the context shows that the meaning is that Jamāl took Ismāīl with him. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 also shows that this is the meaning here, for it says that Jamāl made Ism'aīl an instrument of strife-mongering. The account of Burhān's expedition is in this MS. different from Bib. Ind. text, and is more detailed. It says that Jamāl defeated 'Ādil K. at Dhārasūr in Bījāpūr.

[2] Fardāpūr is a village near the Ajanta caves, and is used as a starting point by visitors to them. Ferishta does not mention Fardāpūr in his account of Burhān-al-Mulk. He says Jamāl tried to march through the Ghāt Rohangīr Pass, and that when he found it closed, he went by a more difficult route. He dates the battle 13 Rajab 999 (27 April 1591) which corresponds to A. F.'s 17 Ardībihisht. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 calls the place Farīdābād, and gives the date of Jamāl's defeat as the day of Sarosh 17 Ardībihisht (Tuesday, 13 Rajab). The expression of Rajah 'Ali keeping Burhān and the Berar officers apart from one another, is explained by this MS. which says that Rajah 'Alī got hold of a letter of the Berar officers which said that they would desert Burhan on the day of battle. It also says that after the battle Ṣuhail the eunuch conveyed Ismāīl to a fort, and that Burhān entered Aḥmadnagar on 20 Sh'abān or 3 Khurdād (3rd June 1591).

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ing some men (with Burhān) and Burhan-al-Mulk quickly went to Aḥmadnagar and became victorious over the whole country.

One[1] of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of Shāh Abbās the ruler of Persia. From right-thinking and enlightenment H.M. opens his court to all conditions of men. The entangled thereby obtain deliverance. Difference of faith does not play tricks and no dust of difference is raised by their being either strangers or friends. High and low seek for his friendship, and every one attains his desires. At the time when the sovereignty of Persia came to his father Sulṭan Muḥammad Khudābanda, selfish strife-mongers stirred up dissension in Herat and incited him to assume the supremacy. They made his inexperienced youth the means of obtaining their own ends. The sovereign of Persia came to Khurāsān, but owing to his blindness, the presumption of the ministers (*dastūr*), and the duplicity of the soldiers, he was obliged to **588** return without effecting anything. He (Abbās) sent Murshid Tabrīzī to court and asked for assistance. The just Shāhinshāh did not regard him as worthy of an answer. He remarked how could he assist one who contended with his visible god (his father). At this time he represented anew his own purity and the activity of the wicked and selfish, and begged for encouragement. On 6 Khurdād, 16th May 1591, Yādgār Sultan[2] Shāmlū, who was old in years but of fresh wisdom[3] and was one of the ancient servants (*bāburīān*) of the family, was exalted by doing homage. He presented a supplication (*nīyazīshnāma*) and choice presents. The excuse-accepting

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[1] This is made a new chapter in I.O. MS. 236 and is so also in a variant noted in the Bib. Ind. ed.

[2] Text Rūmlū, but at pp. 656 and 705 he is called Shāmlū, and that this is correct is shown by B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 and by the Iqbālnāma. Perhaps this is the ambassador to whom Akbar refers as about to arrive, in his letter to 'Abdullah, p. 499.

[3] Text *kahn sāl-i-nau khirad*. The word *nau* is curious, ut I think it means that the ambassador though old had a fresh and vigorous understanding. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has *mard kahn, khirad dost* "an old man who loved wisdom." The same MS. gives the Hijra date of the ambassador's reception 3 Sh'abān, 17 May 1591. The long digression about the Ṣafwī dynasty is not given in this MS. Here it may be remarked with reference to the note to Mr Oliver's paper J.A.S.B. for 1887, p. 37, that though the dynasty took its name from Ṣafī-u-dīn, yet their followers are often called Ṣūfis in MSS.

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sovereign was gracious to the envoy, and held a council about furthering his designs. Some were of opinion that he should send one of his sons with an army and take Khurāsān from the Uzbegs, and in an excellent way obtain the renown of a helper. As the ruler of Tūrān had sent select men one after another and made strong the agreements of unity, this proposition was not accepted. H.M. said it was proper in the first instance to try advice. Perhaps there would be no contest.

I shall here give some[1] account of the Ṣafavī dynasty, and so refresh the garden of my words. He (Abbās) is eight removes from S. Ṣafī Ardabīlī, and the latter is twenty removes from Imām Mūsā[2] Kāẓim. Shāh 'Abbās is son of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, s. Shāh Ṭahmāsp, s. Shāh Ism'aīl, s. Sulṭān Haidar, s. Sulṭān Junaid, s. S. Ṣadru-d-dīn Mūsā, s. S. Ṣafī-u-dīn Abū Isaḥaq, s. S. Ṣadru-d-dīn Ibrāhīm, s. S. Khwāja 'Alī, s. S. Amīnu-d-dīn Jabrail, s. S. Ṣāliḥ, s. S. Quṭbu-d-dīn, s. Ṣalīḥu-d-dīn Rashīd, s. Muḥammad Ḥāfiẓ, s. 'Īwaz, s. Fīrūz Shāh Zarrīn Kalāh, s. Sharf Shāh, s. Muḥammad, s. Ḥasan, s. Muḥammad, s. Ibrāhīm, s. J'afr, s. Ismāīl, s. Muḥammad, s. Aḥmad Ghazzālī Abū Muḥammad, s. Abū-l-qāsim Ḥamza, s. Imām Mūsā Kāẓim. Fīrūz Shāh lived in Zangān[3] near Sulṭaniya Ardabīl. He spent his days in comfort and with a good name. 'Īwaz made his home in Isfaranjān Ardabīl. Quṭbu-d-dīn established himself in Ardabīl. Piety had a fresh glory from the brow of S. Ṣafī. He strove with himself and became victorious. In order to learn sciences he went to Shīrāz and made the acquaintance of S. S'aadī and other good men. Some pure-minded ones indicated that he might attain the end of his seeking by getting the help of S. Zāhid in Gīlān. He had lighted the lamp of knowledge from S. Jamālu-d-dīn Gīlānī. The fountain-head of the latter was S. Junaid B'agdādī. Of necessity he went thither. He made his acquaintance in the village of Halkgirān.[4]

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[1] There is a full account of the early history of the Ṣafavī family in the Habību-s-Siyar, 4th part of 3rd vol. See also the 'Ālam Ārāī.

[2] See D'Herbelot s. v. Moussa Bin Giafar Ṣādik. He died at Bagdad on 183 A.H. or 799 A.D., and is the father of the Imām Rezā whose shrine is at Mashhad.

[3] The Habību-s-Siyar has Zangīn.

[4] The word appears to be Hiliyagirān in the MSS. It is perhaps the Kelheran of Olearius's Travels (Davies's translation), p. 244, which is

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The Shaikh made over his daughter[1] to this spiritual son, and increased the glory of his own family. When Ṣāḥibqurānī (Timūr) returned after conquering Rūm (Turkey) he interviewed S. Ṣadru-d- 589
dīn Mūsā in Ardabīl and begged inspiration from him. He asked him what he desired, and the Shaikh requested the liberation of the Turkish prisoners. He obtained this, and many persons belonging to the Ustajlū, Taklū,[2] Rustāq, Rūmlū, Ẕū-al-qadr, Afshār, Qājār, Ughlū and other tribes were released. Many of them out of gratitude took the burden of devotion on the shoulder of their heads and chose Ṣūfism[3] (*ṣūfīgarī*). The desire of splendour brought out S. Junaīd from the corner of freedom, and the concourse of followers gave him courage. Jahān Shāh of the Black Sheep, the ruler of the two 'Irāqs and Āẕarbaijān became apprehensive on hearing of this, and drove out the Shaikh from his kingdom. He went to Aleppo and from thence to Dīārbekr (Mesopotamia). Uẕan Ḥasan of the White Sheep, the ruler of that country, treated him with respect and married him to his sister Khadīja Begī Āghā. Sulṭān Ḥaidar was the offspring of this union. When he (Junaid) was killed in battle with the Shāh of Shīrwān, his son was brought up on Ardibīl under the protection of dervishes and sought after supremacy. He placed the red cap of twelve pleats on the head of his followers. When Uẕan Ḥasan got the victory over Jahān Shāh, he gave his daughter Ḥalīma[4] Begī Āghā, also called 'Alam Shāh Khātūn, in marriage to Sulṭan Haidar. Three sons were born of this union, viz. Sulṭan 'Alī Mīrzā, Ibrahīm M., and Ism'aīl M. The last proceeded to revenge himself on the Shīrwān Shāh. Farakh Afshar who had become the Shāh of Shīṛwan fought with him and was defeated. There was another battle and in it Sulṭān Ḥaidar was killed. Y'aqūb

described as a league and a half from Ardabīl and as the site of the tomb of S. Safī's father; Olearius 374 calls Zāhid S. Sahadī.

[1] The Ḥabību-s-Siyar says her name was Fāṭima.

[2] The proper spelling seems to be Nikalū. The Rustāq are not mentioned in Malcolm. The text has Qarācār, but Qājār is right.

[3] S. Sufī's name has nothing to do with Ṣūfism, but apparently A. F. connects the two words. Perhaps the Ṣafavī dynasty sought to do this.

[4] Olearius calls her Martha and says she was the daughter of Despina the daughter of John King of Trebizond.

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Beg imprisoned his three sons in Iṣṭakhar (Persepolis). Amīr Qarā 'Uṣmān governed Diārbekr in the time of Ṣaḥibqirānī and Shāhrukh M. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Uzan Ḥasan. He fought with Jahān Shāh the son of Qarā Yūsuf, and killed him. He had two sons Sulṭān Khalil and M. Y'aqūb. The first succeeded. But as he did not recognise who were his friends, his soldiers left him and joined his brother. In fighting with him (Y'aqūb) he was killed. When Y'aqūb Beg died, the government went to Rustam Beg the son of Maqṣūd Beg son of Uzan Ḥasan. He released Ḥaidar's three sons. Many days had not passed when he got frightened at the number and devotion of their followers. He formed other ideas. The brothers went in distress to Ardabīl. An army followed them and Sulṭān 'Alī M. was killed in battle. The two other brothers fled to Gīlān, and obtained the help of Kārgiyā 'Alī the ruler of that country. In Muḥarram 905, August 1499, Ism'aīl came to Īrān, and the Sūfīān gathered round him. He proceeded to take vengeance on Farrakh Afshār. The latter was killed in battle. He took possession of that country and proceeded towards
590 Āzarbaijān. There he was successful. In 907, 1502, at the age of 15, he had the *khuṭba* read in Tabrīz in his own name. Instead of the cap of Ḥaidar he introduced the tāj (tiara?) of twelve *tarks* (gores). He had five sons—Ṭahmāsp M., Altāsh M., Sām M., Rustam M., Behrām M. He fought with Sulṭān Murād the son of Y'aqūb Beg near Hamadīn, and was victorious. He took possession of 'Irāq, Fārs, and Kirmān. He prevailed over 'Alau-d-daula Zu-al qadr, and increased his territories by Bagdad and part of Irāq 'Arab. He also got possession of Khozistān. He killed Shāh Beg K. near Merv, and Khurāsān up to the Oxus became his. He reigned 24 years, and left the world at the age of 38. On Monday, 19 Rajab, 930, 24 May 1524, he died, and his son Shāh Ṭahmāsp succeeded at the age of twelve.[1] The word *Ẓill* denotes that year (930). He fought a battle with 'Abdullah K. in Zorābād-i-Jām[2] and was victorious.

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[1] Should be 10. Ṭahmasp was born on 22 February 1514, and succeeded his father on 24 May 1524, but according to the lunar calendar he was eleven, viz. from 919-30.

[2] Text has Rozābād, but I.O. MS. 236 has Zorābād. The battle was fought on 10 Moḥarram 935 = 27 August 1528. See Mr. Oliver's paper, J.A.S.B. for 1887, p. 41.

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Sulṭan Sulaimān the ruler of Turkey made an expedition against Īrān. The Shāh did not consider it proper to fight a pitched battle, but he attacked Sulṭān Sulimān's country and protected his own from injury by the Turkish soldiery. Garjistān (Georgia) and Gīlān fell into his hands. He imprisoned Khān[1] Aḥmad in the fort of Qahaqa. As his second son Ism'aīl M. was perverse and shameless, he summoned him from Herat and imprisoned him. For many years he ruled in Qazwīn with skill and moderation. Many good deeds adorned his reign (lit. adorned the face of his fortune) except that he in 966, 1559, sheltered Sulṭān Bayāzīd the son of Sulṭān Sulaimān with his four sons and 12,000 followers, and (then) owing to the instigation of flatterers, who were house-destroyers, stained his hand with the sacred (*garāmī*) blood of his guests. If the might of the Sulṭān of Turkey had constrained[2] him to this, he should not have taken silver and gold for it. He reigned for fifty-four years. On 4 Khurdād[3] of the 21st Divine year 15 May 1576, at the end of the night, he died of fistula (*nāsūr*). Some say that he was poisoned by the intrigues (*koshish*) of Sulṭān Ḥaidār. The putting to death of Sūfi Ḥakīm Abū Naṣr the son of the Ṣadru[4] *sharīya* in the palace

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[1] He was the ruler of Gīlān. See above, p. 144.

[2] Ṭahmāsp's conduct in this matter is described in Malcolm's History of Persia, ed. 1829, I, p. 332. It is there stated that Bayāzīd was at first kindly received, but that he and his servants behaved badly, and so Ṭahmāsp gave him up to his father Sulaimān. It seems certain that Ṭahmāsp behaved badly, and his own Memoirs, and the account in the 'Ālam Ārāī, do not clear him. The story that Bāyazīd tried to poison Ṭahmasp is ridiculous.

[3] 15 Ṣafr 984. 'Ālam Ārāī, p. 94.

[4] The text seems corrupt. The variant Ṣūfīyān is supported by the I.O. MSS. Instead of *dar maḥfil-i-shāhī* these MSS. have *dar mātam shāhī* "during the royal mourning." Apparently, the meaning is that the story about Ḥaidar's having brought about his father's death is corroborated by the fact that the Ṣūfīs, i.e. the followers or devotees of the dynasty, put to death the physician during the public mourning—presumably because they thought he had, at Ḥaidar's suggestion, poisoned his master. The title of the physician's father Ṣadr-i-sharīya' signifies chancellor or chief ecclesiastical judge. Olearius, p. 367, says the ecclesiastical judges are called Shahru. The text of the next clause is corrupt. As there given it seems to say that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm poisoned Ṭahmāsp. The real meaning is that some people said that Sultan Ibrāhim (a son of Ṭamāsp's brother Bahram) got up the story about the physician on

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supports this view, but some say that Ibrāhīm M. out of enmity with the physician brought this about. When the illness (of Ṭahmāsp) increased, Sulṭān Ḥaidar, at the instigation of flatterers,[1] took into his head thoughts of greatness. As he was his honoured father's sole *vakīl* (minister) the thought of supremacy ruined his understanding. At this time the Shāh got better. Though he did not call Ḥaidar to account, yet the latter did not remain in the rank of Vakīl. When Ṭahmāsp died, Parī Khān Khānim his daughter sent for the second son Ism'aīl M. and by stratagem had Sulṭān Ḥaidar brought inside the female apartments. The leaders of the Rūmlū
591 (Khalfa-i-Rūmlū) Shamkhāl Circassian, Shīb K. Walī Sulṭān, the Taklū officers and other well-wishers of Ism'aīl M. were on guard. They closed the entrance and exit of the *daulatkhāna* (palace) and resolved[2] upon an attack on Sulṭān Ḥaidar. Meanwhile Parī Khān Khānim from within set about contriving his death. Meanwhile Sulṭān Maṣṭafa M., Zāl Beg, Ḥusain Beg, Pīr K. and other officers of the Istajlū clan to the number of about 10,000 assembled in order to bring out Sulṭān Ḥaidar. Shamkhāl[3] took the initiative and went inside and put him to death, and flung his head outside. The tumult ceased. Ism'aīl M. became king and had the *khuṭba* recited near Qum. The intoxication of the world led that madman to disregard of propriety and to bloodshed. He indulged his disposition for 1½ years, 14 days and died on 3 Āẕar of the 23rd Divine year, 13 November 1577. During his short reign he stretched out his hands to slay his brothers, and other relatives, and the grandees. Out of six[4] brothers he put to death Sulaimān M., Sulṭān Maḥmūd

account of a private quarrel he had with him. The variant to the text clears the matter a little, but the *az dushmanī-i-ān ba tang amida* there should apparently be *az dushmanī-i-ān pizishk* "out of enmity with that physician." This is the reading of I.O. MS. 235.

[1] Cf. Olearius, who says Ḥaidar, who was only 17, put the crown on his head, and presented himself before his father who was then near his death.

[2] This seems the meaning of the phrase *yāzish namīrdand*.

[3] His maternal uncle. He was a Circassian or Georgian. See Price's Jahangir, p. 72. The Maṣṭafa M. who tried to release Ḥaidar was his brother. Sham Khāl was put to death. 'Ālam Ārāī, 162.

[4] So in text, but the preposition *az* does not occur in the I.O. MSS. and is probably wrong. Ṭahmāsp apparently left more than six sons. According to Olearius he had eleven.

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M., Imām Qulī M., and Sulṭān Aḥmad. He also blinded Sulṭān 'Alī M., and killed Sulṭān Ibrāhīm M. and Badī'u-z Zamān the sons of Bahrām, and[1] Sulṭān Ḥasan M., the eldest son of Sulṭān Muḥammād Khudābanda. He exerted himself to promote the tenets of the Sunnīs, but did not succeed. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda his elder brother sate on the throne in the 23rd Divine year, and the world blossomed out. The bloody Shah (Ism'aīl) had sent persons to kill him, and this was near being effected, when the report came that he (Ism'aīl) was dead. Unexpectedly he (Khudābanda) came to power. The administration of justice devolved upon Fakhru-n-nisā[2] Begam, daughter of Mīr 'Abdallah the ruler of Māzhindarān, who was his (Khudābanda's) wife. She exerted herself to reunite the disputants (lit. to knit together the broken-hearted), and when the Turkish soldiers proceeded towards Shirwān, and the Persians were defeated and returned, she left the Shāh in Qazwīn and went off to that quarter. After brilliant contests she obtained possession of her own (ancestral) territories. When she returned, the Qizilbāshīs became irritated and put that great lady to death. The beginning of their prosperity rested upon loyalty (*ikhlāṣ*). Now when they have gone so much astray, I do not know what will be the end of such somnolent ones. The Turkish commotion again rose high, but the Shāh (Khudāband) put an excellent ending to it by the good service of M. Sulaimān the Vizier.

At this time the officers of Khurāsān made 'Abbās M. an instrument of strife and had the boldness to attack Mashhad. Though

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The 'Ālam Ārāī, p. 95, says Ṭahmāsp left nine sons and eight daughters, p. 102. What A. F. means, I think, is that Ism'aīl killed six of his brothers. The text only mentions four or almost five, but then it omits one—Sulṭān Maṣtafa, who was killed by Ism'aīl and who is mentioned in both the I.O. MSS. and in Price's Jahāngīr, 72. I.O. MSS. 235 mentions six.

[1] 'Ālam Ārāī, p. 96. He was 18 when his grandfather died.

[2] She is mentioned in the 'Ālām Ārāī, p. 160. She was a capable woman and probably the real contest was between her and her sister-in-law Parī Khānim. The 'Ālam Ārāī notices her death, p. 179, etc. She apparently instigated her husband to put Pari Khanim to death. In the 'Ālam Ārāī, 180, she is called Khairu-n-nisā. Both she and her mother were put to death by the discontented officers, do. 182.

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Murtaẓa Qulī was defeated in battle, yet he displayed activity in defending the city. The Shah (Khudābanda) led an army in that direction and invested Turbat, which is on the way to Herat and was held by Murshid Qulī K.[1] On account of the duplicity of the
592 disloyal he made a peace after six months and returned to 'Irāq. At this time news came that 'Abbās M. was meditating the giving of battle, but that he was indulging in the slumber of security on account of the withdrawal of the Shah. The latter left his baggage and, owl-like, made a night attack on his ('Abbās') camp. Many leaders were killed, and some were made prisoners. Much booty was obtained. The Mīrzā shut himself up with some men in Herat, and was besieged there. Owing to the folly of intriguers within and without (Herat), men proceeded to the height of shamelessness, and forcibly took M. Sulaimān[2] out of the palace and killed him. The Shāh was obliged to make an insincere peace (a wolf's truce) and to return. He led his army into Aẕarbaijān in order to dispose of the Turkish commotion. Ḥamza M. (his son) became the general. The disloyal Turks[3] (i.e. the Turks in the Persian service) behaved badly also to the Mīrzā (Ḥamza) and prevented the success of the campaign. They separated from him and came to Qazwīn, and raised up Ṭahmāsp[4] the young son of the Shāh. Ḥamza left his quarters and showed activity in attacking them. He was victorious and then returned to his former enterprise. Meanwhile Murshid Qulī succeeded by stratagem in taking Mashhad. 'Abbās M. under the guidance of 'Alī Qulī proceeded to give battle, but was defeated and went to Herat. Murshid Qulī became the Atālīq of the Mīrzā ('Abbās). At this time Ḥamza M. was killed by the son of a barber.[5] The officers made Abū Ṭālib M. the young son of the Shāh their leader (peshwā). The report of the coming of 'Abdullah K. to take Herat became general. Murshid Qulī K. took 'Abbās M. to

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[1] His biography is given in Maaṣir-ul-Umra, III. 423.

[2] Khudābanda's Vizier. For account of his death, see 'Ālam Ārāī, 210.

[3] Perhaps Turkān is a mistake for Turkoman.

[4] 'Ālam Ārāī, 241.

[5] Text *dalāl*, a broker, but the variant dallāk, a barber, seems right. Olearius 347 mentions the barber story, but assigns it to Ism'aīl. He says Ḥamza was killed by some men who were disguised as women, and he represents this as occurring after Khudābanda's death.

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'Irāq, and the Qizilbāsh deserted daily and joined him. At last Shāh Sulṭān[1] Maḥmūd and Abū Ṭālib also joined. Both were placed in retirement. In the 32nd Divine year, 1587, the khuṭba was recited in his ('Abbās's) name. He out of suspicion put many to death. Though he could not succeed in taking Āẕarbaijān and gave up Khurāsān for a while, yet when the ruler of Tūrān[2] died, he got hold of Khurāsān. On account of the tumult of youth he shed blood without consideration, and disgraced some persons, but he subsided somewhat at the remonstrance of the world's lord. It is to be hoped that a good day will come.

Also, in this year Mihtar Ibrāhīm brought from Qandahar the petition of Moẓaffar Ḥusaīn M. He conveyed presents and supplications. The excuse-accepting Shāhinshāh showed kindness to the envoy.

On the 18th the elephants[3] which Rajah Mān Singh had obtained at the time of the Orissa Peace arrived at Court and H.M. took pleasure in beholding them.

An occurrence was the arrival of Miriam Makānī from Agra. When news of her approach reached H.M., he sent his sons, one after the other, to greet her.

On 21 Khūrdād (31 May 1591) H.M. embarked in a boat, and went to the tent of that great lady and did her reverence. Next morning they enjoyed themselves in river-palaces (boats) and came to the city.

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[1] So in text, but Muḥammad seems the correct spelling, and occurs in the MSS. The person meant is 'Ābbās's father Khudābanda.

[2] 'Abdullah did not die till 1597, 6 February = 2 Rajab 1006.

[3] *Pīlānī* is, I think, used elsewhere in the A. N. to mean elephants. It may, however, mean a single, large elephant. It appears from a report by Sarmadi Bakhshi, p. 414*a* of B.M. Add. 27,247, that 106 elephants were obtained in Orissa. It is also said that the Afghans were to send 300.

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CHAPTER CV.

Victory of the K. Ā'ẓim M. Koka and the disgrace of Moẓaffar Gujrātī.

When Gujarat was taken from the Khān-Khānān and assigned to the Kokaltāsh, and when there was delay in his going there, and the august standards were spread out in the Panjab, the evil-minded of that country rent the scarf of respect and withdrew their heads from obedience. The Jām,[1] who was the head of the set, gathered together wicked men, and brought out his treasures and made Moẓaffar Gujaratī the general. He also summoned to his aid Daulat K., the son of Amīn K. Ghorī, the ruler of Jūnagarh and Sorath, and Khengār,[2] the ruler of Kach (Cutch). The Koka arrived there before the rebels could effect much. For a time he did not pay much attention to the matter, and he thought that the affair would be easily disposed of. At last the intoxication of the wicked increased, and the K. Ā'ẓim withdrew his hand from all other things and proceeded to remedy matters. The brothers of Qulīj K. and the sons of Ism'aīl Qulī K., who were holders of large fiefs, made unfitting excuses and did not accompany him. Apparently their non-arrival was a Divine aid, for the fewer presumptuous ones there are in an expedition the better is the work done. The cowardice of one man will upset a whole troop, and unsuitable words will confuse a world. He made war, backed by the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhinshāh, against numerous enemies and the folly of well-wishers who did not understand the position, and proceeded to chastise the short-sighted opportunists. Near Bairamgāon,[3] Fatḥ K., son of Amīn K. Ghorī; Candar Sen, the Zamindar of Halūd, Karn Purmāl, the Kalāntar (chief) of Morbī, and many presumptuous ones joined the

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[1] (Satr Sāl).

[2] See Bayley's Gujarat 55 and note. He is called there the ruler of Girnān. The Iqbālnāma calls him Rajah Khengār. See J. II. 249, n. 2.

[3] The Veirumgaon of Bayley's map. W. Aḥmadabād.

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victorious army. Naurang K., Saiyid Qāsim, Khwāja Sulaimān, and other brave men were sent forward by the K. Ā'ẓim. They[1] halted in Morbī, 25 *kos* from the enemies' country, and indulged in foolish talk. I comprehend that they did not think of service, but why did the nobleness of eternal fortune remain behind a veil? From distorted vision they brought forward proposals of peace. They did not succeed, and turned their faces to abjectness (perhaps, to a truce). The wicked and presumptuous (rebels) did not accept the proposals and conceived the idea of fighting. The Kokaltāsh from his awakened fortune and bright star set himself to remedy matters, and though the soldiers were less than 10,000, and there were more than 30,000 of the enemy, he prepared for battle. He arranged his forces in seven bodies.[2] In the centre were Khānam,[3] Khwāja[4] Abū-l-qāsim Diwān, Ḥakīm Moẓaffar Ardistānī, Qizil[5] Abdāl and other heroes with 2000 men. On the right wing was Naurang K. **594** with 1500 men; on the left wing were Khwāja Rafī', Muḥammad Ḥusain, S. Qāẓī Ḥusain, Saiyid Abū-isaḥaq, Candar Sen with 1800 men. The vanguard consisted of Saiyid Qāsim,[6] Saiyid Bayāzīd, Saiyid Bahādur, Saiyid 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, Saiyid Salīm, Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn, Saiyid Muṣṭafa with 1400 men. The *altamsh* consisted of 1600 men.[7] The Kokaltāsh, Kāmrān Beg, Muhammad Toqbāī, Khwāja Bābā, and Qādir Qulī Koka formed the reserve with 400 experienced men who loved their honour; Gūjar K. with 600 men formed the reserve of the right wing, and Khwājam Bardī with an

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[1] This obscure passage becomes clearer in the Iqbālnāma. It was this advance force which indulged in foolish negotiations.

[2] Text *karohī* "*kos*," but the true reading is *gurohī*. See the T. A. which has seven bodies (*fauj*).

[3] This is M. Koka's son. B. 328.

[4] B. 485. He was brother of Akbar's teacher.

[5] Tex *qaral*. The MSS. have Qizil, and this seems right, as Qizil occurs at p. 767.

[6] MS. No. 235 MS. Sayyid Qāsim Bārha.

[7] So in text, but the MSS. have the name Anwar instead of the word *hazār* (1000), and the account in the Iqbālnāma shows that Anwar is right. Anwar is for M. Anwar, the son of the Kokaltāsh: see Blochmann 328 and 475. 1600 seems too large a figure for the *altamsh* and is reduced in MSS. to 600 or 300. Anwar is no doubt the M. Nour of Price's Jahāngīr, 42, who was put to death for a murder. In B.M. MS. Add. 27,247, the name is written Nūr.

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equal number formed the reserve of the left wing. On the other side were, in the centre, Moẓaffar with 4000 of the Lonakāthī tribe and of others; in the right wing was Daulat K. with 4500 men; in the left wing, the Jām with 8000 men; in the vanguard were Ājā, the son and heir of the Jām, his paternal uncle Manīh, and other brethren, and Jasā with his relatives, together with 4500 men. It was decided that they would cross the Sai[1] (?) river and give battle on 30 Tīr, 10th July 1591, and test their respective courage. When they crossed the river, there was such thunder and rain that for two days and nights the opposing forces could not meet. The enemy held the high ground, and the imperialists were in difficulty, on account of the lowness of the land, the abundance of water, and the scarcity of provisions. Twice they (the enemy[2]) tried a night-attack, but were unsuccessful.

When their hardships became intolerable, they of necessity proceeded towards Nawānagar, to the dwelling-place of the Jām, in order that they might distract the enemy, and get supplies. They marched four *kos*, and came to an inhabited village, where they got provisions and much plunder. The enemy were compelled to move, and took post three *kos* off on the other side of a stream. Many went off to look after their homes. On 4th Amardād (14th July, 1591) the forces came forward to fight, and there was a hot engagement. The valiant men of the left wing passed[3] by the vanguard. Daulat K. (Amīn Ghorī's son) fought strenuously. Khwāja[4] S. threw himself upon the foe, and Khwāja Rafī' on account of ties of friendship stood by with him, along with some others. They (the enemy) seized his reins and killed him. Fifteen[5] brave men from among his relatives died

[1] *Sīyah āb* "Blackwater." Perhaps the Ran of Cutch is meant, but most probably it is the name of a river. The K. A'ẓim was marching along the south side of the Ran. Perhaps the Siyah āb is a name of the Sabarmatī.

[2] The B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 distinctly states that it was the enemy who attacked.

[3] That is, they got ahead of the *altamsh*.

[4] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that this is Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusain who afterwards died of his wounds.

[5] The fifteen who also fell were apparently related to Khwāja Rafī? For S. Kabīr see B. 519, note. His father Mukammal Khān of Gujarat translated a work on Astronomy for Akbar. B. 105.

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gallantly. S. Kabīr, son of Mukammal K., also fell bravely. The reserve of his force (the left wing) did not behave well, and many fled. Some came behind the centre. Muḥammad Ḥusain S., wounded, was among the men (of the left wing). He soon died. Some in the mid-centre and the *altamsh* drew their rein. The enemy exulted in their success, and pursued and fell upon the baggage. Meanwhile the brave men of the *altamsh* supported Daulat K., and some who had fled, returned and took part in the fight. The enemy's right wing which was pressing on slackened their speed somewhat. In the beginning of the contest the enemy's van contended with the imperialists, and there were strenuous efforts.

Verse.

You'd say all the hearts[1] of the swords swelled,
The earth groaned beneath the horses; 595
The brain of the clouds became filled with the sound of the drum;
The cup of the sword was filled with red wine.

The work of arrow and sword was over, and they contended with knife and dagger. Mīr Sharfu-d-dīn[2] bravely yielded up his life. The army was nearly meeting with a disaster. The brave men of the *altamsh* defeated the enemy's right wing. The hostile Rajpūts acted according to their custom and got off[3] their horses and stood to be slain. Meanwhile the Kokaltāsh arrived, and the face of victory was displayed. Mihrāwan with his brother and two sons and Jasā with 500 Rajputs yielded up their lives in one place. Ẕarīf al-Mulk, the *vakil* of Daulat K., was captured. The Jām and Moẓaffar fled without fighting. Daulat K. was wounded and went off to Jūnagarh. 2000 of the enemy's warriors were killed; 100 of the imperialists were killed, and 500 wounded; 700 horses were lost. The artillery, the elephants, etc. of the enemy were captured. The general returned thanks to God. All, small and great, were encouraged. On the 28th[4] the news of victory was conveyed to

[1] The middle part of a sword is called its heart (*dil*).

[2] Brother's son of Abū Turāb.

[3] Cf. J. III. 8, end of 1st para. The Iqbālnāma adds "girt up their trowsers (*fautahā*) and stood like Alexander's rampart." Cf. Elliot I. App. 535.

[4] 28th Amardād = 8th August, 1591. The battle is described by Niẓamud-dīn, Elliot V. 459, and by Badayūnī, Lowe 385. It is not cor-

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H. M. and there was Divine praise. The Kokaltāsh had written that he had become hopeless on account of the dismay of great and small, but the world's lord had appeared to him in a dream and had encouraged him so that *the water that had dispersed had returned to its channel.* If such glorious apparitions were recited, one by one, the ears of the superficial could not contain them.

At this time Qāẓī Nūr Ullah and Qāẓī 'Alī were sent to Kashmīr. Enemies trumped up stories against Ṭoṭa,[1] who was one of M. Yūsuf

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rect to say that it had no results, for it was followed by the surrender of Jūnagarh, etc. See Elliot V. 461 and the Maaṣir U. I. 683. The date of the victory is said to be 6th Shawāl 999 = about 18th July, 1591. The T. A. and Badayūnī make it 998, but Faiẓī's chronogram and A. F.'s statement show that it should be 999. According to I.O. MS. 235, M. Koka's force amounted to 8000 men, and the enemy's to 17,000. I.O. MS. 236 has 8900 for M. Koka's force and 21,000 for the enemy's. The Cawnpore edition has 8900 for M. Koka's force, and 17,000 for the enemy's. I think that we may take 8900 to be the number of M. Kokā's men and 21,000 as that of the foe. The latter number agrees with Niẓāmu-d-dīn's statement that the enemy had about 20,000 horse. The reduction from 30,000 to 21,000 is not inconsistent with A. F.'s first statement, for he says that many of the rebels left when M. Koka made the forward movement towards their homes. Though the authorities speak of M. Koka's arranging his force in seven bodies, A. F. mentions eight. Horn's Das Heer und Kriegs wesen der Gross Moghuls, Leyden, 1894, pp. 65 etc., and also 113, has some interesting remarks on this battle. The MS. Add. 27,247 says M. Koka held a review (*shān*) and that he found the number of his men was 9000. The total of the figures given in the MS. for the enemy seems to be 17,000. It says the day first fixed for the battle was the Īzān (also called Anīrān), that is, the 30th day of the month (of Tīr) and which corresponded to Monday the 'Īd of the Ramẓān=13th July, 1591. It gives 600 as the number of the *altmash*, and calls the Jām's son Aca. The actual day of the battle it gives as 4th Amardad or 6th Shawāl (18th July). Instead of Sīah āb, black river, it seems to have آسیه آب āsiya āb, i.e. mill-stream.

[1] Text Bartuṭa, and there is the variant Hartūṭa, but it appears from B.M. MS. 27,247 that the man's name was Ṭoṭa and that he was a Khatrī, and that *bar* is the preposition. Qāẓī Nūr Ullah is apparently the author of the Majalisa-l-Mūmīnān who was afterwards flogged to death by Jahāngīr's orders on account of his Shiism. See Rieu Cat. I. 337a, and Badayūnī III. 137, who praises Nūr Ullah in spite of his being a Shia! It has been stated above, p. 549, that Akbar on his visit to Kashmīr raised the revenue from 20 to 22 lakhs. The paragraph is rather obscure. I

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K.'s confidential servants, and represented that his skirt was stained with embezzlement. The Mīrzā, without making inquiry, put him to the torture, and he, after being ill used, escaped and came to court as a suppliant for justice. He represented that the revenue of Kashmīr had been fixed at 22 lakhs of *Kharwārs*, and that M. Yūsuf had got the fief at the rate of sixteen *dāms* for each Kharwār. At present the number of Kharwārs (received by Yūsuf) was 50 per cent more than this, and each *Kharwār* was worth 28 *dāms*. All these facts could be ascertained by inquiry. On the 16th (Amardād =27th July, 1591) these two able and unavaricious officers were sent to inquire into matters.

On the 18th (Amardād=29th July, 1591) 'Urfī of Shiraz died. He had opened[1] a door of the house of eloquence. If he had not had self-love, and had regulated his life properly, and if Time had given him some leisure, his work would have risen high. About this time (the time of his death) he composed this quatrain.

Verse.[2]

Urfī! it is the last breath, and still thou art intoxicated
After all, of what value are the goods thou hast packed?
To morrow the Friend with the ready money of paradise in his palm
Will ask for thy wares, and thou wilt have an empty hand. **596**

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think the words *u Daryāft-i-hamwāra bar gasht* must be a phrase meaning that everything would be ascertained by a local investigation. It seems as if the author of the Iqbālnāma so understood them, for he says that the clerk (Ṭoṭa) said that the truth would be ascertained if an Amīn were sent. Qāẓī Nūr Ullah retreated in time, but Qāẓī 'Alī was killed by the Kashmīris. The subject is referred to by Blochmann at p. 346, but apparently he has taken his account from the Maaṣir III. 315 and not directly from the A. N.

[1] Possibly the rendering should be "A pearl of eloquence has dropped." But it appears from B. 571 that 'Urfī spoke of his standing before a door, etc. Possibly there is a pun in the remark about self-love, and dar khud may mean both "in himself" and "his own door."

[2] Cf. B. 571, "Not a grain, etc." The translation is Mr. Lowe's, 387. B. 569 says 'Urfī died in Lahore in Shawwāl 999. Badayūnī has a notice of 'Urfī III. 285. See also Khāfī K. I. 200 where two witticisms of 'Urfī at Faiẓī's expense are recorded. His real name according to B. was Khwaja Sayyadī, though

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On the 30th (Amardād) Bībī Rūpa[1] covered her face from the troublous spot of the earth (i.e. died). H.M. was grieved, but from profundity of view he became resigned, and craved forgiveness (for her). She was one of the choice nurses. She always spent her time with propriety, and out of her right-thinking she obtained long life. On this day the Aḥadīs came to court after performing good service. Before this, some Rajputs had killed Karam Beg, the son of Sher[2] Beg, and gone off rapidly. Ḥamza[3] 'Arab had a *jāgīr* in Bhimbhar. Umrā, the brother of Rai Rai Singh, became disobedient and practised violence. He received suitable punishment from the fief-holder. Kesū Dās, his (Rai Rai Singh's) brother's son, lay in wait to take revenge. One night he killed Karam Beg, thinking that he was Ḥamzā's son, and then fled with some companions. When the thing was known, swift men went off in all directions. S. Adam and S. 'Azōya-llah Aḥadī went off in search via Multān. Between Dībālpūr[4] and Qanūlā (?) they came up with the fugitives near the town of Naushahra. Some Rājputs of Rai Rai Singh's and some servants of the Khān[5] Khānān also joined them. Kesū Dās and five others were killed and three men were brought in as prisoners. The Aḥadīs were graciously received.

On this night after three *pahars* 1½ *gharīs* 'Abdu-r-raḥmān,[6] the son of the writer of the noble volume, had a son. There was great rejoicing and the world's lord gave him the name of Bishotan. It is hoped that his distinction will increase, and that he will soon get fitting employment. Also at this time S. Ibrāhīm[7] died. He had a large share of practical wisdom, and the province of Agra was managed by his cleverness. He died on 4th Shahriyār, 14th August, 1591, and H.M. begged forgiveness for him. His surviving relatives

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Beale says it was Jamālu-d-dīn. His poetry appears to have been translated by Maulvi 'Abdu-s-Salām. See Rieu, Cat. 667*a*, for an account of 'Urfī.

[1] See translation I. 131. She was one of Akbar's wet-nurses.

[2] Sher Beg Yasāwaltāshī B. 515.

[3] Perhaps No. 277 of B. 497. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 calls Karam Sultān Beg.

[4] Should be Dīpālpūr. It is the Dīpālpūr Lakhī of J. II. 332 and Qanūla appears to be the Qabūlah there mentioned.

[5] The Khān-Khānān had Multan as his fief.

[6] See B. xxxv and for Bishotan id. xxxvi.

[7] B. 402, and Badayūnī, Lowe 387. He was very wealthy. Add. 28,247 gives the Hijra date as 7 Zī-l-Q'ada.

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received favours. By the royal command Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram proceeded from Mewāt to that quarter (Agra) and in a short space of time they (the inhabitants) discoursed [1] of his administration of justice and good deeds.

One of the occurrences was the sending of ambassadors to the south. When Burhān-al-Mulk prevailed over Aḥmadnagar he should have increased his devotion and gratitude, and been an example of obedience to the other rulers in that quarter. The wine of success robbed him of his senses, and he forgot the varied favours he had received from the Shāhinshāh. In his evil fortune he set himself to oppress the weak, and considered that his profit consisted in the injury of others. The world's lord, on account of graciousness and benevolence, resolved that he should in the first instance send an able person to Rajah 'Alī K.—to whom Burhān was submissive—and to convey, in accordance with his suggestions, counsels to the somnolent one (Burhān) and the other rulers of that quarter. If they listened and apologised, he would withhold his hand from retribution. Otherwise a victorious army would be appointed, and chastise- 597
ment be inflicted. On the 14th the Mulku-sh-sh'uarā [2] S. Abū-l-faiẓ Faiẓī was sent to Rajah 'Alī K. and Burhān-al-Mulk. Amīnu-d-din was sent along with him. Mīr Muḥammad Riẓavī was sent to 'Ādil K., and Mir Manīr to Quṭbu-l-Mulk. Many messages of instruction were sent.

One of the occurrences was the proceeding of the officers to Jūnagarh. When M. Koka gained his victory, he hastened next morning to Nawānagar, and gathered immense booty. The Jām and Moẓaffar fled to the highlands of Barra (Bardā, also called Jaitwār). The Kokaltāsh remained where he was to punish the evil-doers, and sent Naurang K., Sayid Qāsim, and Khwāja Sulaimān to take Jūna-

[1] The meaning is obscurely expressed in the text, and I have been obliged to paraphrase A. F.'s expressions. A. F. speaks in another place of the people of Agra being very difficult to manage. Ibrāhīm Cistī accumulated an immense fortune during his governorship, and the most of it went into the government coffers. The expression *bar guẕrānd* seems identical with the words *bar guẕārand* on the next page, line eleven.

[2] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 389-90, and Elliot V. 460. B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 gives copies of the *firmāns* (see that MS., pp. 398*b* and 400) to Rajah 'Alī and Burhān. Apparently these also occur in the Inshā, Book I.

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garh. His thought was that when his mind was at rest about that country he would follow them. Those sent encountered great hardships in consequence of the desolation of the territory and the high price of provisions. When by endurance they approached the place, Daulat K., the son of Amīn K., died of his wounds, and there was some talk of surrendering the fort. The garrison said, "The governor of the fort is dead, and the victorious army has arrived. The proper thing is to conclude a treaty, and make over the keys." The answer sent was that they should send a confidential man in order that their wishes might be carried out. At this time news came that a set of Kāthīs had fallen upon the baggage. Of necessity the troops had to go to that spot. Just then, Moẓaffar came there, and the garrison resumed their haughtiness. The Khān 'Aẓim was indignant, and resolved upon taking the fort. Moẓaffar came out and it was reported that he had hastened off to Aḥmadābād. The Kokaltāsh sent an army after him under the command of Kharram (his son) and intended that he himself should invest the fort. Meanwhile it appeared that the Jām was in the neighbourhood and proceeding to his home. M. Koka hastened thither. The Jām turned back and had recourse to supplications. Meanwhile the disturbance of Naẓar[1] Be and his sons arose. M. Koka was obliged to accept the Jām's apologies and to return. In Dandūqa Mīr Abū Turāb arrived from court and brought a rescript, and choice horses and robes of honour for the servants. The officers on hearing of the glorious news offered up thanks. Just then the news of the quelling of the Mālwa rebels gave a fresh brightness to the countenance of joy. The Kokaltash's idea was to return to the capture of the fort, but he was hindered by the hanging back of his companions.

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[1] These were Uzbegs who had left 'Abdullah K. See B. 455 and 519. Their fate is recorded below, p. 600. Add. 27,247 mentions three sons, Qambarī, Shādī and Pīrū (?). They and their father had gone to the Deccan and joined Burhānu-l-Mulk without obtaining leave from Akbar.

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CHAPTER CVI.

Departure of Prince Sulṭān Murād to take charge of the province of Mālwa.

The best worship by a sovereign is the choosing of right thinking men and the appointing them to look after the weak, especially 598
when the former adorn high birth by good qualities. Such is the conduct of our sovereign lord. He is always testing friends and strangers, and exalting the humble. He looks after the neighbouring rulers. If they sympathise with mortals by administering justice, etc., no harm comes to them, and he encourages them. Otherwise entreaties do not prevent him from inflicting retribution. But he begins by giving advice, and holds forth both hopes and fears. When the rulers of the Deccan took to behaving ill, he sent able men to advise them. He also exalted Prince Sulṭān Murād, who was adorned with fitting qualities, and gave him a standard, a kettledrum, an umbrella and a tog̱h (banner), and appointed Mālwa as his fief. On the night of 4th Mihr, 14th[1] September, 1591, after the lapse of two hours, he was sent off there after receiving weighty counsels. H.M.'s idea was that if the rulers of the South were not impressed by the good advices, punishment should be prepared for them. I record here some of the weighty advices which he hung on the ears of that honoured son, and thereby communicate the materials of wisdom.

"The first step is to enquire into what is God's Will, in order that right actions may be performed. After that, outward purification is to be pursued. Food and clothing are not to be made ends. Profundity of view is to be exercised. Tyrannous actions are to be

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[1] Elliot V. 460 gives 23 Ẕī-l-ḥajja as the date, but the Newal K. ed. gives 8th and Badayūnī, Lowe, 391, has 12th. The 8th would correspond to 18th September, 1591. The Iqbālnāma says Murād was also made a commander of 8,000. B.M. MS. 27,247 gives 9th Ẕī-l-ḥajja as the date when Murād was sent.

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abstained from. The rules of moderation and of fitting season are not to be departed from. Every member (of the body) is to be kept to its proper office. Much speaking and laughing are to be avoided Sleep is not to exceed one-third part of the day and night (nychthemeron). There must be an endeavour to improve the army, and the country, to provide for the safety of the roads, and the obedience of the refractory; and thieves and robbers must be put down. Then attention is to be paid to internal improvement. Lust and wrath must be subjected to the commands of Wisdom, for the Creator has placed two[1] sentinels in the palace of the body. The one sees that proper things are done; the other that evil things are abstained from. The children of men out of somnolent intellect have given these two a loose rein, and have made what should be the adornment of life the supplier of death. Do not neglect the knowledge of what is right, and support the power of the ruler (Reason). Preserve the equability of the four humours, and keep far from excess and defect which constitute evil. Use justice and discretion in this daily market of hypocrisy and double-facedness. The worship of the choosers of bypaths who have severed the links of association is one thing, and that of those who are bound in the improvement of the world is another. Though[2] the idea of both is development, yet the former never departs from awakedness, while insouciance is suitable to the latter. Study the actions of every one, and be not disturbed by seeing improprieties. Let not love or hate, or threats or encouragements, transgress bounds. A frown will effect with many, what in other men requires a sword and dagger. Let not difference of religion interfere with policy, and be not violent in inflicting retribution. Adorn the confidential council with men who know their work. If apologies be made, accept them. Be not stiff in your own opinions.
599 Do not consider any one suitable for this employment (the giving of advice) except a far-seeing, right-thinking and disinterested person. Do not make ease[3] your rule, and do not reject help in the

[1] Referring, apparently, to the two recording angels who attend every man. One records his good actions, and the other his evil deeds. See Hughes' Dict. of Islam, article, Angels.

[2] The passage is obscure, but apparently the meaning is that the devotee is always engaged in worship, while the layman is necessarily subject to interruptions.

[3] The text here differs from the

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day of (your) distress. Do not be dismayed by much ill-success. Choose the observance of your promises above all advantage to your self, and live so that the crowds of foreigners be not distressed. Especially see to it that merchants have a good opinion of you for their report carries far. Expect[1] from every one service in proportion to his ability. Be not deceived in your inquiries by glozing words. Love is produced by one of four things. 1st. The idea of worldly advantage. This is slow to come and soon goes. 2nd. Spiritual advantage. This is the opposite of the first. 3rd. Goodness of disposition. This lasts throughout life. Its permanency or its non-existence depends upon wisdom.[2] 4th. Loyalty (*Ikhlāṣ*). One must by the route of this fourfold stream look narrowly into the condition of followers, and regulate his actions according to such knowledge. You must study instructive books, and apply your knowledge to practice. Secure the affection of contented hermits and of the matted-haired and barefooted. Be not uplifted by beholding those who have been robbed of splendour. Apply yourself to sympathising with the soldier, and give him his pay in due season. Demand from every one suitable horses, arms and tents for him. Reward good service. Do not lose sight of an old servant. Fail not to encourage the husbandman. For every employment secures truthful and active-minded men, so that they may do good work without desire of money,[3] or of greatness

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MSS., but they too are not very intelligible.

[1] That is, do not expect more from an ordinary man than he can do.

[2] This sentence is obscure and there are different readings in the MSS. Perhaps, instead of *khirad* "wisdom" we should read *khūd*, and the reference may be to the oriental proverb that every thing returns to its original. The word *bachīra* "at the end" occurs in the Lucknow ed. and in a MS. of my own.

[3] The text has *bāda*, wine, but some MSS. have *pāra*, money. The words in text are *be khāwish-i-bāda-i-buzurgī farokhtan*, "without the desire of selling the wine of greatness" (?). Apparently, what is meant is that they are not to be accessible to bribes. Badayūnī, Lowe, 391-92, has a sarcastic account of Prince Murād's administration of Mālwa. The Prince was then under twenty-one years of age. No doubt he was preferred to his elder brother on account of the latter's drunken habits. The MS. Add. 27,247 gives a very long Wājibu-l-'Arẕ or Petition of the prince to his father, asking for instructions in the performance of his duties. To each item of his queries is appended Akbar's order thereon. Each of these is headed

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or praise. Do not withhold your own supervision from them. Exalt the right-thinking, and admonish and punish the foolish. Be not satisfied in the administration of justice with oaths and witnesses. Make various inquiries and study the book of the forehead (the physiognomy). Do not introduce new customs which yield little advantage and much evil. Make over the Passes to brave and experienced men and neglect not the security of the roads. In prosperity remember adversity, and prepare remedies for everything. Choose a good companion, and be not offended at his truthful speech. Obey wisdom and refrain from ebullitions of temper." He gave him many delightful counsels. It is to be hoped that fortune will favour him, and that something of what has been said will lead to action. Ismāil
600 Qulī K. . . . . (here follow 7 lines of names) and many others accompanied that nursling of fortune. The fief-holders of Mālwa were also appointed to choice service. From among them Ism'aīl Qulī K. was made Vakīl and Mukhtār Beg, Bakhshī. Next day the writer of the noble volume was sent to expound some of the admonitions, and represent that there was spiritual union (with Akbar) though there was physical separation. I was also to ascertain and report the wishes of the prince, and to endeavour to carry them out. There was a confidential meeting. The pearl of the kingly diadem (Murād) uttered pleasing words, and the sovereign was delighted on hearing them, and said "I hope that prosperity will not produce somnolence and that the society of the good will act as a guard.

ḥukm shud. In the same MS. A.F. describes how after Akbar had given directions to the prince, A.F. was sent next day to give verbal instructions, and to receive his applications for orders. Murād asks a great many questions. He begins by saying that he dreads the separation from his father, and says he would have liked to remain near him as his ewer-bearer. He fears he may be attacked by enemies in his absence and that he may be accused of hypocrisy. He asks how he is to act with regard to *kornish*, how he is to check drunkenness among his followers, how he is to regulate his time of sleep, etc. He begs that two persons, whom he names, may be allowed to accompany him. Akbar replies that one of them will be sent, but that the wife of the other man objects to his going, and that until she can be persuaded to let him go, he cannot be sent. Murād asks about amusements, and about days of fasting (*sūjīāna*). He also asks for books, and is told that the translation of the Mahābhārat will be sent him. Also that the sacred names of God will be sent him to help him in his devotions.

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On the 21st H.M. went out to hunt, and some ladies accompanied him. He went as far as the Cenāb, and he enjoyed himself. Though hunting was the object, yet many oppressed persons obtained justice; and many refractory persons were chastised. On the 25th near Shāham 'Alī he received the news of the disaffection of Naẕar Be and of his death. He and his sons had received high rank and been given a *jāgīr*, in Handīa. As the wine of self-will does not agree with narrow capacities, they soon became oppressors. When Burhān-al-Mulk went to the Deccan . . Naẕar Be's sons accompanied him without orders. He himself, thinking that Gujarāt was empty, went off there. On hearing this, M. Koka made peace with the Jām and returned. When that crooked-minded one (Naẕar) saw that fortune was not in his favour, he represented that he had come in order to see how things were going on. When the Kokaltāsh heard this, he did not expose[1] him, but politely dismissed him. He did not go to his jāgīr, but went to the Deccan. When he came to Khāndesh, Rajah 'Alī K. gave him a warm welcome for a time, but had the prudence to send him back unsuccessful. Near Sāwal[2] the Kūlīān (a tribe) blocked his path, and in the fight he was killed. At this time his sons left Burhānu-l-Mulk, and stirred up strife in Mālwa. Khwāja Muḥibb 'Alī Dīwān gathered together Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain and other fief-holders of the province, and set forth to remedy matters. The wicked men dispersed thereupon, and near Bījagarh[3] fought with the landholders and were defeated. Qambar[4] Be was wounded, and died. Shādī Be and some followers came to Nadarbār (Naẕarbār). The agents of Qulīj K. bound him and brought him to court. H.M. was kind to him and sent him to Bengal.

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1 *ban rū nī āwaṙd*, "did not bring him to book (?)." Perhaps it means, did not attend to him. Add. 27,247 has *nekohish āmid*, "he was censured."

2 Perhaps, Sāvda in Khāndes, the Sāodā of J. II. 225.

3 Not identified.

4 Text has Qambar Be, Raḥim Be *hardū*. But Raḥim is a mistake for zakhmi as Add. 27,247 and the Iqbālnāma show. Naẕar Be had a third son, called Bāqī at III. 487. Add. 27,247 says Qambar took shelter with Tewārī, a dependent of Moẕaffar Gujaratī, after he was wounded. This is interesting, for it supports the statement of I.O. MS. 235, p. 684*a*, last line, that the wounded man took refuge with the zemindar of Rājpīpla, for his name was Tewārī. See J. II. 251. I.O. MS. 236 also speaks of Qambar Be's taking refuge with

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On 1 [1] Ābān the festival of the solar weighment was celebrated. In Bādalgarha H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and the world rejoiced. All got their desires. An order was given to Zain K. Koka, who was the fiefholder of the place, to convert the site of the weighment into a garden. H.M. gave it the name of Zainābād. At this time it occurred to H.M. to found a large city on the
601 bank of the Cenāb, and that thus an old idea would be carried into effect. Skilful men pointed out several sites. On the 6th (Ābān) Ḥakim Miṣrī, Ḥakīm 'Alī, Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusaīn and Mīr Ṭāhir were sent to examine both banks of the river. They selected two spots. One was on the other side, between Pargūwāl and Ḥājwāl, and was a dependency of Bahlūlpūr.[2] The other was on this side, and near the town of Sūdhara. An order was given that the Greek and Indian astrologers should ascertain a propitious time. As they fixed one that was somewhat remote, the work was not undertaken.

On this day Mīr Sharīf 'Amulī was sent off to Bengal and Bihar and was entrusted with four[3] great offices (*manṣab*), viz. those of Āmīn, Ṣadr, and Qāẓī. Sharīf Sarmadī [4] was made Bakhshī.

Tewārī, and adds that he died at his place.

[1] 6 Muḥarram 1000, according to Add. 27,240.

[2] Bhilalpūr or Bahlolpūr of I.G., VI. 205, in the Ludiana district. The names of the two villages which were dependencies of Bahlūlpūr are different in Add. 27,247. The wording too of the passage is different. The names in the B.M. MS. seem to be Barkowal and Jaguwāl. The other site was in the village of Kahūra near Shūdra. Akbar was then in the village of Shāh 'Ālam, and while there he discussed and reprobrated some trick perpetrated by Alexander against Porus. This subject is referred to in the "Sayings of Akbar," given in the Ayīn, J. III. 392 and note.

[3] The text, following apparently the Lucknow edition, says he was made a commander of 4000. But this, as B. has pointed out, 452, n. 1, must be a mistake. I.O. MS. 235 gives one of the four offices as Khalīfagī, "apostleship." Evidently the text is wrong, for it only mentions three offices. Add. 27,247 has a very curious statement. It says that the highest office was to give advice to the Prince Royal (Jahāngīr) who had gone wrong through drink.

[4] He too is one of Badayūnī's heretics. B. 391 N. and 607. Sarmadī wrote a long and interesting account of Mān Singh's conquest of Jagannāth (Pooree), which is preserved in B.M. MS. 27,247.

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On 28th (Ābān) the standards were upreared at Lahore, and crowds rejoiced to see H.M. One day, while hunting, a fawn was seen. By the royal command a bitch[1] (named) Teztak (the swift) was let loose. The fawn was nearly caught when the mother devised a stratagem. She pretended to be lame, and came near the bitch; the latter thought her an easy prey, and went after her. The fawn escaped, and when the mother had conveyed her to the herd and was at ease about her, she left off her lameness, and went away swiftly. H.M. said he had seen such a remarkable thing in a *qamrgāh* hunt in Bazarah,[2] but that the mother had not escaped.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of the Arghūnīāns.[3] It has been mentioned that a choice army was appointed under the command of the Khān-Khānān to take Qandahār. As Multan and Bhakkar were in his fief he left the near road by Ghaznīn and Bangash and took a long route in order to look after his *jāgīrs*. Meanwhile mercenary people who did not understand what should be done represented the large spoil of Tatta and the little spoil of Qandahār. The commander took[4] leave to conquer Sind. Near

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[1] *Qanjaq* or *qānjaq*, a canine bitch.

[2] Badrak in text, but Bāzārah or Bazārak (a little bazaar) in Afghanistan seems meant. See *ante*, translation I. 526.

[3] They derive their name from the grandson of Hulāgū. Elliot I, 303. At p. 428 l.c., it is stated that the dynasty ended with Shāh Husain, but see B. 361, 362. The Tarkhāns represented the older branch.

[4] Presumably this means that the Khān-Khānān obtained Akbar's consent to the change of plan. A.F. does not give the date of the Khān-Khānān's arrival at Bhakkar. M'aṣūm, Elliot I. 247, says he himself arrived there on 14 Ṣafr 999 (2 December 1590), and that Khān-Khānān came there at the same time. On account of the hot winds, and the violence of the river, he stayed there some time, and then sent M'aṣūm to Sehwān, and himself followed afterwards. The naval battle was not fought till about eleven months after the K. K.'s arrival at Bhakkar.

There are some words in the B.M. M.S. Add. 27,247 which are omitted in the text. It appears that Akbar, or at least A.F., disapproved of the change of plan, for the remark is that Qandahar could have been easily reached by way of Ghaznī and Bangash, and that the alteration of plan made an easy task difficult. There is a paragraph about Qandahar in the annals of the 35th year, page 584 of Bib. Ind. ed. It corresponds to a passage in Add. 27,247, but the wording is different. According to the latter, Qandahar had always belonged to India, but Humāyūn had resigned it to the ruler of

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Multān the Balūcīs waited on him and made promises. Near Bhakkar he drew up his forces. At this time the ambassadors of M. Jānī Beg came to the Khān-Khānān and represented, "The conquest of Qandahar is the object of the army. It would have been fitting that (our master) should join on this, but as the disturbance of strife-mongers prevents this, he is sending an army to serve." The envoys were put into confinement and the troops advanced somewhat faster. Just then news came that fire had broken out in the fort of Sehwān and consumed the provisions. On hearing this the troops went on rapidly by land and water. Those who went by water passed under the fort of Sehwān and took Lakhī.[1] It is like Garhī in Bengal and Bārahmūla in Kashmīr. No harm came from the cannon and muskets of the garrison, and the gate of the country fell into their
602 hands. The Khān-Khānān approached the fort (i.e. Sehwān), and set himself to take it. Some call this country Siwistān. This fort of the ruler is situated on the bank of the Indus on the top of a ridge. The glacis (*khākrez*) is 40 yards, and the wall seven yards (high). Near it there is a lake[2] eight *kos* in length, and six in breadth.

Persia. Now that the star of the Persians was setting (*dar ufūl ast*), it occurred to H.M. that it would help Persia if he took Qandahar, and so saved it from the Uzbegs! Also the Mīrzās (nephews of Ṭahmāsp) had grown deaf of heart, and were not acting properly. Akbar proposed to take Qandahar from them, and to bring them to India. The Khān-Khānān therefore was sent off with a large force on 24 Mihr—the day of Dīn, corresponding to 17 Rabī'-ul-awwal (999) = January 1590; but from self-interested motives, and a desire to gather the spoils of Sind, he did not go by Baluchistan. M. Jānī Beg's offence was that he had not paid his respects to Akbar at Lahore.

[1] See B. 335 and note Hughes' Gazetteer of Scinde, p. 686, says, "Between the towns of Lakī and Sehwān the mountain has a nearly precipitous face about 600 feet high towards the Indus, between which and the precipice there was at one time a road, though in some places so narrow that only a single camel could pass at a time. The defile was swept away in 1839." Part of the Khān-Khānān's forces went by water, and part by land. Apparently, he himself went by land. The taking of the Lakī Pass secured the route to Tatta. The Sehwan Fort stands on an artificial mound, and, according to legend, was built by Alexander the Great. It is known as the "Kāfur Qila?" See also about Lakī and the taking of it by the K. K., Elliot I. 285. Lukh means a defile in Balūchi. (Pottinger).

[2] The Manchhār lake, I.G., XVII.

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Three branches of the river join it. It is a place of refuge for the garrison. Some men live on islands in it and some in boats. Qarā Beg and some men embarked on boats (*ghrāb*) and went towards it. As they came suddenly, they collected much plunder. The land-owners asked for quarter. On hearing this, M. Jānī Beg prepared to give battle. At the pass of Naṣīrpūr[1]—a place which lies on one side, the river,[2]—and on the other, streams, he constructed a fort. He strengthened it by war-boats and a park of artillery. The army was doubtful about advancing. At this time Rāwal Bhīm, the ruler of Jaisalmīr, and Dalpat s. Rai Singh, represented: "Our intention was to have come by Bhakkar. Having lost[3] our way we are coming by way of Umarkot." From apprehension that the enemy would prevail over this force, (the K. K.) left the work of taking the fort and of making the road, and set off by land and water. Maqṣūd Āqā and some men were left at the ferries so that the garrison might be alarmed, and the route be in some measure safe. On 18 Ābān he arrived within six *kos* of the enemy, and out of precaution put up four walls. On the 21st,[4] Khusrū the Circassian prepared his boats and came out to fight. Although they were moving up stream, they were forced downwards by the strength of the current. The fight went on from evening till dawn. Owing to a report that M. Jānī was coming by land, Farīdūn Barlās and others on that dark night left the river. In the morning there was a hot cannonade, and a great battle. The enemy could not come to close quarters owing to the shallowness of the water. Those who had left the river (i.e. the imperialists) came by the other bank and took to shooting with arrows (bullets ?). The brave soldiers went down the stream in war-boats. For a time they fought with bullets, but soon they contended with spears and daggers.

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122 and J. II. 338, where it is called Manchūr. See also Hughes' Gazetteer.

[1] The Nasarpūr of the I.G., XVIII. 398, in the Hāla division of the Ḥaidarābād district, J. II. 341.

[2] Variant and also I.O. MSS. *buzurg daryā* "great river."

[3] Text *az gumrāhī* "from losing our way." But the I.O. MSS. have az kam ābī "deficiency of water," and this seems right. Apparently the reference is to the want of drinking water on the route by Bhakkar.

[4] 21 Ābān = 31 Oct. 1591. The Tārīkh Akbarī, Elliot V. 461, has 26 Muharram 1000 = about 3 November, as date of battle.

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Verse.

Flashed the diamond-like swords.
The steely spears were made bloody.
You'd say a smoke arose from the earth.
Out of it there shone the fire of battle.

The enemy withdrew their hands from the work and fled, and there was a great victory. Bardāna—(var. Parwāna) a noted man—was killed, and M. Qulī was wounded and captured. Four *ghrābs* full of men and stores (*khwāsta*) were captured. In one of them was the ambassador[1] of Ormuz. The rule is that the governor of Ormuz leaves one (ambassador) at Tatta, in order that there may be a feeling of security[2] among the merchants. M. Jānī had brought him with him in order to proclaim that so many tribes had come to help him.
603 He also brought some servants of his own, dressed up in their clothes. 200 of the enemy fell into the waves of destruction, and more than 1000 were wounded. Owing to the Divine protection, few of the victorious troops were hurt. Active men brought up their *ghrābs* and wounded Khusrū, and he was nearly made prisoner. Suddenly[3] a gun burst and the boat was broken to pieces, and some were killed. The far-seeing and experienced urged that they should proceed by land and water to the dwelling-place of M. Jānī. As the morning of success had blown in the evening of despair, most did not approve of this, and so they made difficult a task that had become easy. On 13 Āẕar H.M. was enquiring about the condition of Tatta, and said, "Search well, for some one is coming from that quarter. Suddenly a swift camel-rider (*bukhtī-suwār*) brought the news of victory.[4] New thanksgiving was offered up.

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[1] Text *wakhshūr*, ambassador. But the variant qaiṭūr قیطور is supported by the I.O. MSS., while the Iqbālnāma twice has ṭaifūr, and calls the officer the gomastah, or agent, of the governor of Ormus. The Cawnpore ed. has manẕūr. A MS. of my own has فیطور *faiṭūr*, and this is evidently the true reading for the word intended is the Portuguese feitor, equal to factor, and which occurs in a quotation in Hobson-Jobson.

[2] Apparently the meaning is that the governor of Ormuz (perhaps a Portuguese) left a representation at Tatta as a sort of hostage so that the Tatta merchants might feel safe in going to Ormuz.

[3] M'aṣūm says the powder magazine in the imperialists' boat caught fire.

[4] M'aṣūm Bhakkarī's account of the battle will be found in Elliot I. 248, etc.

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On the 26th (Āẕar) Āṣaf K. was sent to the Cinab and the Bihat. As information was received that the landholders of that quarter were oppressing the weak, this good officer was sent to punish them. In various places *Faujdārs* were appointed. Ẕīa-l-mulk was appointed to Mūng, Allah Bakhsh Maral to Rasūlpūr, Ḥāfiẓ Walī (to the tract) from Jandāla to Lahore. In a short time many met with their deserts, and some were brought bound to court. The persons above named were left in their place.

One of the occurrences was that the ruler of Tibet sent his daughter to court. From the time that Kashmīr had been included in the empire, the ruler of that country (Tibet) had continually made supplications. It occurred to 'Alī Rai the ruler of Little Tibet that his daughter might enter into the gynaeceum of the Prince Royal. H.M. approved of this, and on 22 Dai she[1] was conveyed along with presents of the country. He obtained his wish. At this time a glorious son came into being, and there was a feast of joy. Inasmuch as the Incomparable Creator waters the garden of eternal dominion, auspicious sons were bestowed, one after the other, and the garden of fortune was kept verdant. Accordingly this noble record tells thereof. A fresh instance was when on the 26th (Dai) after four hours and 24 minutes, during the sign of Libra, the daughter of the Mota Rajah gave birth to a son in the harem of Prince Sulṭān Selīm (in Lahore). He received the name of Sulṭān Kharram.[2]

One of the occurrences was the appointing of an army to Qandahar. When the Khan-Khānān chose the conquest of Tatta, Prince Sulṭān Daniel was sent off to that quarter (Qandahar) with a large army. H.M. ordered that if the Mīrzās chose service, he should accept them and make them hopeful of royal favours. Otherwise he was to conquer the country and make it over to some able and just officer.

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1 Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 388.

2 This is Shah Jahān. He was born on 30 Rabī'-al-awwal 1000 on 5 January 1592 at Lahore, B. 311. His mother's name was Balmatī (Beale). Jahāngīr, Price 20, calls her Jagat Gosāine. MS. Add. 27,247 writes the name of the child as Sultan Khūram خورم. A space is left in the MS. for the horoscope, but it is blank. There is one in the 'Amāl Ṣāliḥ. It states that the child was made over to the care of Rukhiya Begam, Akbar's first wife, and who was childless. She was his cousin, being the daughter of M. Hindāl.

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604 Several of the imperial servants made suggestions for his (Daniel's) turning back, and from his acceptance of humble representations he (Akbar) assented. On 4 Bahman Khidmat Rai [1] (?) died of dysentery. He belonged to a tribe which was unequalled in India for wickedness. They are also called Māwī and Candāl. H.M. favoured him and made him chief of his tribe, and guided him towards honesty. He opened somewhat the windows of his heart, and many from conversation with him turned away from evil courses. At the present day, the guards in every house come from them. As he had the title of Khidmat Rai, every one of the tribe is called Khidmatiya.[2] On the 6th, choice mountain productions, which had been sent by Bahādur Singh, the Rajah of Khistwāra, were shown to H.M. The envoys received favours. On the 20th the nursling of fortune Sulṭān Khusrū was put to school. First, he was shown how to pray to God and then taught the letter *Alif*. An order was given to the writer of the noble volume to teach him something every day, and then to leave the completion of the teaching to his younger brother [3] Abū-l-khair, who bore the mark of uniqueness for goodness and acquisition of wisdom. May the Almighty make the blessing of external teaching the material of real knowledge, and preserve him from the injury caused by current sciences—which are a place of stumbling to mortals.

One of the occurrences was the plundering of the home of Rajah Madhukar. When Prince Sulṭān Murād was sent to Mālwa the chiefs and the landowners everywhere came forward and paid their respects, and returned after receiving favours. News came to Agra the capital that this landowner (Madhukar), out of presumptuousness, did not intend to pay his respects. An admonitory letter was sent to him, and near Narwar he sent his grandson, and made excuses for not coming himself. A second warning was sent to him,

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[1] There follows the word نکدری Nakdarī (?) which I do not understand and which is wanting in some MSS. Perhaps it is *kaidī* "vomiting," which occurs as a variant. It can hardly be Nikodarī.

[2] See B. 252. The text has Bawī for Māvī, but a variant gives Māwī. See Elliot Supp. Gloss. I, 99. The Māvī are a branch of the Gūjar tribe. They claim to be descended from a Chauhān. They are apparently also connected with the Dhāuks.

[3] See J. III. 448. He was born on 18th February 1560.

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and threats and hopes were held out to him. He awoke from the heavy sleep of carelessness and proceeded to tender his service. When he arrived within four *kos*, he expressed a wish that Ism'aīl Qulī K. and Jagannāth should take him into their charge. This was agreed to. Ism'aīl Qulī quickly came, but Jagannāth delayed somewhat. The landowner out of fear went back, and hastened off to the defiles. The Prince became somewhat angry with the slovenly executants of orders (*khāmkārān*) and ordered that they should go after him and bring him back. Otherwise they were to punish him. Out of want of wisdom they refused to do this, and he, without regard to his rank, personally went on this errand. Madhukar had recourse to blandishments and sent his sons Rām Sāh[1] and Ranjit. The attack on his home was delayed. Near the fort of Karkara[2] the son of Hamīr Sen asked for quarter, and this was granted. At the instigation of inexperienced men he (Murād) broke the agreement 605
and set himself to take the fort. He who had been admitted to quarter fled, and the prince took the fort. 400 Rajputs died manfully at their homes. When Rām Sāh beheld this breach of agreement he fled at midnight. Jagannāth who was his custodian felt ashamed and had no answer to make. The Prince took up again his first resolution, and the frightened one (Madhukar) withdrew. His home was plundered, and the imperialists encamped there. H.M. did not approve, and issued an order, asking why had there been a deviation from appreciativeness and the recognition of rank, and why had he without orders attacked the landowner. He also severely censured the prince's companions. They should now feel ashamed and proceed to redress matters, and the prince must return quickly to Mālwa. If he did[3] not submit to orders, a large army would be sent (against him). The prince left Saiyid Rājū and a party there and came to Mālwa. When the landowner heard of this, he had recourse to supplications. Ṣādiq K. conveyed his[4] excuses to H.M. They were accepted. On the 27th, Bāz Bahādur was

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1 B. 487. He is also called Rām Cand.

2 In Sarkār Bayānwān, J. II. 189. See B. 356. The I.O. MSS. call Hamīr Ḥamīr. Perhaps he is the Ḥamīr of pp. 490, 91.

3 The person referred to here is Madhukar and not the prince.

4 *pozish*, but I.O. MSS. seem to have *pūrash* "his son, but apparently Rām Sāh did not come to court till later. See p. 628.

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sent to convey him to the prince in order to make his submission.

At this time a new arrangement was introduced. The world-adorning sovereign in his enlightenment divided, on 2 Isfandārmaẕ, 12 February 1592, the crown-lands (khāliṣāt) into four portions, and made over each of them to an able man. The provinces of the Panjab, Multan, Kabul and Kashmīr were made over to Khwāja Shamsu-l-dīn, the provinces of Ajmīr, Gujarat and Mālwa to Khwāja Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī, the province of Delhi to Rai Patar Dās, the provinces of Agra the capital, Allahabad, Bengal and Behar to Rai Rām Dās. Though Qulīj K. received [1] the reports, yet this act of foresight was done on account of the extent of the country. H.M. also attended to the matter of the currency, and the old diseases of silver and gold (coinage) were remedied, as has been described in the last volume.

On the 12th Balarām was killed. He was the brother's son of Rajah Bhagwant Dās. As the turbulence of youth led him into the commission of improprieties, he fell out of favour and was dismissed to Behar to the charge of Rajah Mān Singh. In Benares he mounted an elephant while in a state of intoxication, and then wanted to get down again at an unfitting place. Miṣrī Khanyagar (musician) was acting as driver, and as he had some sense he refused to let Balarām dismount. The latter abused him, and Miṣrī killed him with his dagger and then let himself down and went off.

One of the occurrences was the capture of 'Umarkot. When Dalpat and Rāwal Bhīm passed by it with a choice army on their way to Tatta, this birthplace of the world's lord fell into their hands without a struggle. The Rai [2] of the place accompanied them in

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[1] *Wā mīrasīd.* I am not sure of the meaning. Qulīj K. was Dīwān or Finance Minister after Todar Mal's death. The reference to the Āīn seems to be to B. 35, where we are told that on 26 Bahman in the 36th year Akbar adopted 'Az du daulah's method about the currency. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, p. 393. Probably what is meant by Qulīj K.'s receiving reports is that he still remained at the head of affairs, and that reports were made to him, but that the work was lightened by the appointment of additional officers.

[2] It appears from the Beglārnāma that his name was Rānā Megrāj. See Elliot I. 297. It does not appear that Akbar ever visited 'Umarkot.

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performance of service. There was a wonderful piece of fortune in the circumstance that some of the land-owners had filled up the wells and had poisoned them. Consequently the soldiers were in that sandy land distressed for want of water. They remembered the holy personality and prayed to God, and then sate down and waited in expectation. Suddenly rain fell, though it was out of season, and the 606
dried-up tanks ran over with water.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Rai Rai Singh to Tattah. When the victorious troops succeeded in the river-fight, and when owing to the folly of shortsighted persons there was delay in advancing, the enemy who had been disconcerted made a stand. After much discussion, the fort which M. Jānī had constructed, was invested on 9 Āẕar. There was hot fighting, and every day the brave men on each side distinguished themselves. One day, Sikandar Beg, who was among the noted men on the imperialists' side, was wounded in the leg by a bullet, and after some time he died. The enemy were confident on account of the strength of their position, number of men, abundance of provisions, and the help of the peasantry, and were watching for the rains. Then everything would be under water, and the foreign army would be dispersed without an engagement. Among the imperialists, provisions became very dear, and consternation seized upon the weak-hearted. The Khān-Khānān reported the circumstances and asked for help. On the 21st Rai Rai Singh was sent off. Khāki Gallabān, Khwāja Ḥisāmu-d-dīn and other brave men went by the river-route. Provisions, guns, gunpowder (*dārū*), etc. were dispatched.

One of the occurrences was the death of Gūrdhan (Gordhan of B.), the son of Rajah Askaran. Rajah Prithīrāj was the head of the Kachhwāha clan. He had eighteen[1] sons of whom ten were by one mother. When ḥe died, Pūran Mal his eldest son was raised to the Rajahship. He was killed in M.[2] Hindāl's battle. Sūjā hīs son was young, and they raised his (Pūranmal's) brother Ratan Sai to the headship. He from the turbulence of youth, and bad companionship, insulted men. Some instigated Askaran his step-brother to attack his life in hopes of the chiefship, and with the help of wicked

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1 Tod says 17, and that 12 of them grew up.

2 Apparently referring to the victory Hindāl obtained over the Mirzas. See translation I. 322.

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men, the idea became fact. For some time things happened according to his wish. In a short time his uncle[1] Bārahmal obtained the power. His (Sūjā's?) sons were always lying in wait for Askaran. Karan, in revenge for his ancestor (*nīyāg*), chose to become Askaran's servant and on the 23rd, when he got an opportunity, he killed the Raja's son in the father's presence, and then made an attack on the latter. A pillar saved him from harm, and active men killed Karan. The sympathetic sovereign cast the shadow of his graciousness on his mansion, and by his cordial commiseration healed somewhat the wound of those who had been deprived of a child.

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[1] According to B. 458, Askaran was a brother of Rajah Behārī Mal. See also his article in the Calcutta Review for April 1871, which gives a genealogical tree. Though Askaran is stated in the T.A. to have been an officer of the rank of the 3000, his name is not mentioned in A. F.'s list. Tod calls Askaran the son of Bhīm and says Askaran killed his father because his father had killed his own father Prithīrāj! Behārī Mal was a son of Prithīrāj and younger brother of Pūran Mal. See the Māaṣir-al-'umrā II. III. The author of that work puts most of the Hindus under the letter R. on account of their being Rajahs. There is some confusion in A. F.'s narrative, caused by his affected brevity; possibly also, the text is corrupt, Blochmann in the article above referred to calls Ratn Sai Ratn Singh. Apparently, Karn, who was Sūjā's son, killed Askaran's son in revenge for his granduncle's murder. Sūjā, or Soja, grew up and in the 6th year, A.N. II. 155, we find him leagued with M. Sharafu-d-dīn in oppressing Bihārī Mal. As B. remarks, the disturbances consequent on Pūran Mal's death ended with the appointment or usurpation of Bihārī Mal. He adds that Askaran was adopted to the guddee of Narwar, and so his branch (*gotrī*) became extinct.

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CHAPTER CVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 37TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR FARWARDĪN OF THE 4TH CYCLE. 607

On Friday, 5 Jamāda-al-akharī 1000 Ḥijra, 11 March 1592, after the passing of 10 hours, 5 minutes, the glorious Sun illumined Aries, and filled the world with varied delight. Beauty acquired fresh splendour, and the Age received new ornament.

Verse.

The awnings were raised up to heaven.
The blemishes of the skies were veiled.
On every wall there were skilful paintings.
Heaven was astonished as if they were demon-wrought.[1]

The third cycle ended and the fourth began. Together with strength of heart, and the glory of dawn, a window of enlightenment opened partially and brightness took possession of my darkened mind. A fresh desire to continue my narrative seized me, and my strength increased.

Verse.

Again, my fortune became lightsome;
The delight of speech possessed my soul.
When fortune supplies the opening key
A jewel emerges from the dark stone.

From New Year's day to the culmination (*sharf*) there were continued feasts, and liberality exceeded desire. A prosperous time ensued for the desert-wanderer, and a new veil was placed over spiritual beauty. The cup[2] of worldly success and of joy arrived, but

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1 The lines are extravagant and not easily intelligible. I presume that a play is intended on the two meanings of *dewār*. In the third line it means a wall and in the fourth demon-like. Add. 27,247 has *naqsh pargār*, and the Bib. Ind. has this as a variant.

2 The sentence is obscure. *Bajahatmandī* in text is a mistake for

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the Shāhinshāh's fortune made this the material of increased wisdom. That day was hostile to reason and taught disturbance, and was a robber of purity. This day is a day of increase of wisdom, and bears rectitude in its breast.

At this time news came that Jalāla had returned unsuccessful from Tūrān, and that he was stirring up strife in the defiles of Tīrāh, and that the tribes of the Afrīdī and Ūrakzaī had broken their allegiance, and had given a position to that turbulent one. An order was given that Qāsim K. should collect the Afghan (Zābulī) army and should proceed to chastise those hot-headed ones. On New Year's day Aṣaf K., Sāīd K., Gakkar, and some others, were sent off from court, and an order was given that the fief-holders of Sind and Peshawar should be collected, and should join the Tīrāh force. In a short time the hill-country was surrounded, and the Afghans had recourse to supplications and cajolery. They represented that Jalāla had not got a footing, and that he had gone back unsuccessful. Qāsīm K. returned to Kabul without fully inquiring into the matter and without submitting a report to court. Aṣaf K. and the other officers remained there and waited for orders. H.M. did not approve of Qāsīm K.'s haste, and issued an order that he should return and exert himself in making inquiries.

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bakhtmandī. Evidently, there is an allusion to Jamshed's cup, and to the difference in the fortunes of the two monarchs who introduced the solar year. The passage is wanting in the Cawnpore edition, and also in B.M. Add. 27,247.

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CHAPTER CVIII.

THE VICTORY OF THE IMPERIAL SERVANTS, AND THE DEFEAT OF M. JĀNĪ BEG BY THE FORTUNE OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH. 608

When the Khān-Khānān invested the fort, provisions became very dear on account of its being a foreign country, and of the closing of the roads, and the position of the soldiers became somewhat difficult. They were compelled to abandon the siege on 27 Dai of the previous year. All unnecessary[1] stores were put into boats and sent to Sehwān. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, and others were sent with them as guards. Most of the soldiers marched towards Tatta in order that by plundering they might get ampler supplies, and also spread consternation among the enemy, and get hold of the country. The Khān-Khānān took up his quarters in Jūn,[2] which is a central place. Shāh Beg K., Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Qāsim Koka, Murtaẓā Qulī, Dād Māl, Dūda Beg and others were sent to Agham[3] in order that they might take that cultivated country and watch over M. Jānī. Dhārū Bahādur,[4] Khān Qūrdār and others were sent towards Badīn.[5] M. Farīdūn Birlās, Jānish Bahādur, 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, Sarmadī, Ghāzī K. Bilūc went off towards Tatta. Every band went to a certain tract, and had repose. The enemy were somewhat disturbed on account of their families, and many of the landowners submitted. Every detachment did good service, but the troops who were sent to Tatta could not get there as the wicked people set fire to the city. M. Farīdūn and Rāwal

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[1] *Besh az nāgazīr.* "Above the indispensable." The Iqbālnāma and Chalmers show that this refers to stores.

[2] See translation I. 380, n. 1.

[3] باکهم *ba kuham.* The Iqbalnāma has *barkahan.* But Agham or Akhum is correct. It is known as the place where Shāh Beg died. See Malet 86 and Elliot I. App. 502 and 362. It was 30 m. S.E. Haidarābād.

[4] This is Todar Mal's son. He was shortly afterwards killed.

[5] Madbin مدبن in text, but Badīn seems to be the true reading. See Elliot I. 250. There is a Bādīn S.E. Haidarābād.

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Bhīm[1] and some others were sent to 'Umarkot, and made fitting inquiry into the previous slackness of service (of the Rānā ?). M. Jānī Beg came out of his fort and hastened to Sehwān, thinking that he might lay hands on the boats that had been sent there. On hearing of this, the Khān-Khānān sent Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī, Dhāru Bahādur K., Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Daulat K. Lodī, S'aīd K. Kararānī, and some able men, to that quarter and followed them in person. At the time when the men in the boats were disconcerted, the troops sent arrived and remedied matters. Many thought that they should strengthen Lukhī (Lukh means pass in Bilūchī) and wait for reinforcements. At the words of brave men they prepared for battle. The army was drawn up. In the centre were Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Sher K., Kalān K., Daulat K. Lodī, S'aīd K. Kararānī, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī. In the right wing were Mīr Māṣūm Bhakkarī, and a number of brave men. On the left wing were Saiyid Bahau-d-dīn and other brave men. In the vanguard were Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, Shamsher 'Arab, Ibrāhīm Beg, Jūlak Beg, Murshid Qulī, Shāh Qulī Turkamān. They bravely, and under the guidance of fortune, passed Lukhī and encamped six *kos* from the enemy. On the 21st (Farwardīn) they advanced four *kos* with the intention
609 of giving battle. Before the battle began they were rejoiced by the news of victory. For some days the wind had been blowing from the other side. At this time it blew from this (the imperial) side and gave the news of victory. The battle soon began. First, the enemy's van under the command of Khusrū prevailed over the force opposed to it and also scattered the right wing. Shamsher 'Arab fought bravely in the vanguard; his friends carried him off wounded. Dhārū and others displayed courage. He was wounded in the forehead with a spear and fell from his horse. Soon he played away the coin of life. The enemy's right wing under the command of Malik Muḥammad drove off their opponents, and a number pushed aside Nāhar K. and came as far as the camp, and proceeded to plunder. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn fell upon the enemy's van which was existing in its success. He placed a stream between him and them (?) and stood to fight. On account of the wind and dust they could

[1] It appears from I.O. MS. 236 that a conjunction has here dropped out of the text.

[2] Cf. Bhagwant Dās's remark to Akbar, *ante* p. 50.

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not see one another. In that place of commotion the imperial centre encountered the enemy's right wing, and after a severe contest defeated it. But on account of the darkness the brave men of this force got separated. Bahādur K., Daulat K. and some others stood firm on the battlefield, and were a spectacle (?). Suddenly Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn, Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakkarī, and Khwāja Mūqīm joined them, and there was a great contest. Similarly the enemy got scattered and did not know where the others were. M. Jānī was on the battlefield with 400 men and in a confused state. The victorious army went quickly there. The Mīrzā, thinking that the centre was now coming, became still more confused. Meanwhile an elephant from that (the enemy's) side became furious and disorganised his own men. There was a slight contest, and the enemy, owing to the Divine aid, took to flight. 300 were killed, and 100 of the victorious troops. Though the Mīrzā turned several times and fought, but of what avail was it to struggle against daily-increasing fortune, although the enemy was more than 5000 and the victorious troops only 1200? Victory declared itself, and the wondrous working of celestial aid was impressed on all. The commander was at a distance and there was no great officer there, and there was much confusion in the beginning of the battle! Dilpat had a choice force, but from cowardice he did not come forward. During this rejoicing, news came of the plundering of the camp. Some active men went quickly there, and the plunderers threw down their booty and fled. The camp became peaceful. On hearing of this good news, the Khān-Khānān proceeded to the fort which M. Jānī had made for his protection, and destroyed it.[1]

On 22 Farwardīn the world's lord embarked on a boat and proceeded to the garden of M. Kāmrān. He enjoyed the spectacle of the spring. Next morning a happy-starred daughter was born in the harem of the Prince-Royal by the sister[2] of Abiyā Kashmīrī. At this time news came that Qaresh Sulṭan[3] had died in Ḥājīpūr 610

1 A.F.'s account may be compared with M'aṣūm Bhakkarī's, Elliot I. 250, and the T. A. Elliot V. 463. This account says Daulat Lodi marched 80 *kos* in two days.

2 Presumably this is the daughter of the prince of Kashmīr referred to in Price's Jahāngīr 20. Abiyā is perhaps Yūsūf Shah's son.

3 Or Quraish Sulṭān, B. 459. He was a son of 'Abdu-r-rashid of Kashghar. See *ante*, p. 553.

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of diarrhœa. The graciousness of the Shāhinshah removed the survivors from the dark days of sorrow. On the 25th the writer of the book of fortune was exalted to a *manṣab* of 2000. He was raised to this high dignity without having performed any distinguished service. I hope that I may return some thanks by the tongue of action, and that the appreciativeness of my lord may become manifest. On the 29th the lunar weighing took place, and far and near obtained their desires.

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CHAPTER CIX.

Conquest of Orissa by the daily-increasing Fortune of the Shāhinshāh.

There have always been independent rulers in this country. Among them there was formerly Partāb Deo. His son Narsingh Deo[1] out of wickedness rose up against his father, and lulled him into carelessness by the repeating of charms. When he got an opportunity, he poisoned him and acquired eternal death. About that time Mūkund[2] Deo had come from Telingāna, and entered into the service of the Rajah. He was indignant on beholding this wickedness, and resolved upon vengeance. He represented that his wife was coming to pay a visit[3] (to the Rajah) and filled litters (*dolīs*) with arms and sent them off. He also put presents and goods into the hands of skilful and courageous men, and entered the fort. Inasmuch as a parricide does not last long, the latter was soon disposed of, and the sovereignty went to another. It was not the custom that the Rajah should use the accumulations of his predecessors. This one (Mukund) broke the locks of seventy old treasuries and seized upon the deposits of so many of the departed. Though he opened the hand of liberality, yet he turned away from obedience to wisdom, and indulged in self-gratification. At the time when Sikandar Uzbeg turned away from eternal fortune, and went to Sulaimān Kararānī, the latter sent his son Bayāzīd on an expedition against that country (Orissa) by way of Jhārkhand, and dispatched Sikandar along with him.

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1 Called Bir Singh, in the M'aaṣir and in some MSS.

2 Cf. II. 255, where it is stated that he was also called Parmanand Rai. Mukund succeeded in 1550, and was defeated by Kālā Pahār in 1568. Beames' Notes, J.A.S.B. for 1883, p. 233.

3 I.O. MS. 235 says the pretext was that Mukund's wife was going to visit the Rajah's wife, and it speaks of Mukund's sending 200 men in charge of the presents. Chalmers also speaks of 200 men, and so do the Iqbālnāma, and the M'aaṣir II. 163.

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The Rajah, yielding to self-indulgence, sent two chosen officers Jihata Rai[1] and Durgā Panj, with a well-equipped force, to make war. Those ingrates corrupted the officers of the army by gold and turned to attack their own master by the help of the slaves of gold. Hot engagements ensued, and the Rajah surrendered himself to failure and submitted to Bayāzīd. With his aid, a severe conflict took[2] place, and the Rajah and Jihata Rai manfully yielded up their lives. The government fell into the hands of Durgā Punj. Sulaimān by stratagem got possession of his person and put him to death, and became supreme over the country. Though in the time of Mun'im K. Khān-Khānān and Khānjahān, much of this country was added to the empire, yet from divided thought, and the ignorance of officers, Qutlū Loḥānī prevailed over it. Owing to his foxiness no harm ensued to him. When he died, Rajah Mān Singh ignorantly
611 made peace. Though H.M.'s far-seeing mind disapproved of it, yet it was they who broke the treaty.

When the time of retribution arrives for an evil-doer, he exerts himself for his own destruction. So long as Khwāja 'Īsā, Qutlū's *Vakīl*, lived, the thread of treaty was not let slip. When he died, the wicked Afghans laid hold of the temple of the worship of Jagannāth, and opened the hand of plunder against the country of Ḥamīr,[3] who had for a long time been obedient (to Akbar). Rajah Mān Singh, who repented of the peace he had made, resolved to conquer the country, and obtained leave from the court. He chose the soldiers of Behar and Bengal for this enterprise. On 23 Ābān of the previous year, the Rajah set off by the route of the river. Tolak K., Farkh K., Ghāzī K. Maidānī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Rai Bhoj, Sangrām Singh, Akkar Pancānan, Catar Sen, Bhūpat Singh, Barkhūrdār, and other warriors went by land. Mādhū, Lakhī Rai Koka, Pūran Mal Kaidhūrih, Rūp Narain Sīsodiah and some land-

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[1] These names are very doubtful and vary with MSS. Cf. the translation of the passage in Elliot VI. 88. Cf. also the M'aaṣir II. 163.

[2] The Iqbālnāma explains that this severe conflict was between the Rajah, supported by Bāyazīd, and his own officers and army. Presumably the Rajah and Jihata were on opposite sides. The Iqbālnāma apparently has Jīt Rai.

[3] This is the Ḥamīr of Bishenpūr in Bankurah who sheltered Jagat, the son of Mān Singh, after his defeat. See *ante*, p. 580.

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holders went off by the route of Jhārkand under the charge of Yūsuf K., the ruler of Kashmīr. When the victorious troops came to Bengal, S'aīd K. the governor of that country was ill. The Rajah moved onwards, and when S'aīd K. got well, he joined with Makhṣūṣ K., Pahār[1] K., Ṭāhir K., Bābūī Manklī, Khwāja Bāqar Anṣārī, Makhdūmzāda the son of Tarson K., M. Muḥammad Dīwāna, and other fief-holders of that country, together with 6000 men and 500 horse. Much of that country came into possession. The wicked Afghans broached the subject of a peace. Inasmuch as to try experiments when one has had experience does not accord with foresight, they did not give ear to this, but reproached them for their breach of treaties. But the view of the Bengal officers was for peace. The wicked and black-thoughted Afghans surrounded themselves with a stream at the forest of Malnāpūr[2] (?), which is in the middle of Orissa, and took their stand to fight. On account of the talk about peace and war, there was no proper drawing-up of forces. The Bengal army settled down at some distance, but among them, Makhṣūṣ K., Pahār[3] K., Ṭāhir K. and Bābūī Manklī advanced their camp somewhat. The Bihar soldiers prepared for battle. Rajah Mān Singh was in the centre; on the right wing were Rai Bhoj, Rajah Sangrām, Bāqir K.; on the left wing were Tolak K., and Farrakh K.; in the vanguard were Darjan Singh, Sujān Singh, Sabal Singh, Nūram Koka, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Barkhūrdār, Shibabu-d-dīn Kūr, the sons of Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Moẓaffar Ījī, Khwājagī 'Inayāt Ullah. Every day some active men on each side fought and the presumptuous foe fled in disgrace. On 31 Farwardīn the Rajah sent off his vanguard, to take an eminence (*sarkob*)[4] which **612** was near the enemy, and to proceed to build a fort. If the enemy meant to fight, they should engage him, and he (the Rajah) would join them. The enemy were astonished at this, and drew up their forces and crossed the river. In the centre were Naṣīb K., and Jamāl K.,

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[1] Corrected in Errata from Bahādur. See B. 405. But according to Jahāngīr, Price 34, Pahār K. was a Hindu and the uncle of Mān Singh. Probably they were different men.

[2] The I.O. MSS. seem to have Bīnāpūr. Elliot VI. 89 has Midnapūr! Beames, J.A.S.B. for 1883, p. 236, says the battle was fought on N. bank Subanrekha.

[3] Bahādur in text, but see Errata.

[4] The author of the Iqbālnāma seems to have read sar-i-kulī, head of a tank, for he has *sar-i-tālābī*.

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(who were) the sons of Qutlū, Dilāwar K., Allahdād K., Ḥabīb K., with 3000 horse and 25 elephants. On the right wing were Jalāl K., Khāṣa Khel, Tātār K. Ghāzī, Mubārak K., Khwāja Wais with 2000 horse and 25 elephants. On the left wing were Bahādur Kūrūh, Sher K. Lohānī, Ḥabīb K. with 3400 horse and 25 elephants. In the vanguard were Khwāja Sulaimān, 'Uṣmān, 'Īsā K. Aulīyāī, Banī Sulṭān Sūr with 1200 horse and 80 elephants. In a short time the two forces met, and shields and daggers were abundant (lit. had a day-market).

Verse.

Eager heroes sunk in coats of mail,
Like fire hidden in iron vessels.
Sons of India clad in steel,
Like black clouds, raged and burned.

Some strove with guns and other firearms, and some grappled with one another and gave a new form to courage. The victorious soldiers struck off heads[1] with their shining swords, as maces and clubs were not of service. Cannon-balls at the commencement killed the elephant Mīyān Loharī[2] which was the chief of the enemy's elephants, together with other elephants. The latter then brought forward the elephant Kunhar[3]—which was very famous—and the brave soldiers displayed masterpieces of valour. Mīr Jamshed Badakhshī fought and bravely gave up his life. The elephant caused some confusion, but the archers came up on every side with arrows. The driver was killed, and some men dismounted and lamed the elephant and seized it. Meanwhile Bahādur Kūrūh prevailed over Farrakh K. Rai Bhoj and Rajah Sangrām hastened to his assistance. Jagat Singh and some brave men joined Durjan Singh, and drove off the foe. At this time, the enemy's right wing contended with the soldiers of Bengal. Bābūī Manklī fought, but had to give ground. Pahār[4] K. came behind him and fought nobly. Twice he fell to the ground. The second time a young man offered him his own horse. He replied, You have not yet had the fruit of

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1 Text *sipare* "shields," but the MSS. and context show that *sire* "heads" is the true reading.

2 The Iqbālnāma has Luharī.

3 Kahtar in MSS.

4 See *ante*, p. 611. Pahār was a servant of Humāyūn. See B. 405.

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your life. Mount your horse, and rejoice. It is better for me, who have come to the end of my life, to die in combat in my master's service. By good hap his horse (*bāragī*)[1] came up and he was saved by Divine help. Makhṣūṣ K. came forward well, and did great deeds. The foot of courage was nearly slipping, when Khwāja 'Abdu-l-ḥalīm came with a force, and there was victory. Khwāja Wais fell bravely, and Sulṭān Sūr was made prisoner. In a short time, in consequence of the Divine aid, the rebels fled with blistered **613** feet. More than 300 Afghans fell on the field of battle, and forty of victorious army.

At this time Zain K. Koka expressed a wish that H.M. should visit his quarters again. On 3 Ardībihisht, his desire was gratified, and that good servant obtained his heart's wish. In the beginning of Khurdād H.M. crossed the Rāvī with the intention of proceeding to Kashmīr. As Shakranisā Begam (Akbar's daughter) became very ill, H.M. took a dislike to the city, and went out with this intention. When God quickly sent convalescence, he returned at the desire of high and low. On the 2nd, Zain K. Koka was dispatched to Swād and Bajaur. News came that the turbulent Afghans had again thought their difficult mountains a protection, and were meditating rebellion. The Kokaltāsh was appointed to chastise them. On the 4th, after the lapse of ten hours four minutes, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince Sulṭān Daniel by the daughter of Sulṭān Khwāja. H M. gave her the name of S'aādat[2] Bānū Begam.

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1. Bāragī is given in Vullers and in Steingass as meaning a horse, and also as a packhorse. The word seems connected with *bārgīr*, i.e. load-carrier, and is probably a variant of it. In the Ayīn, bārgīr seems to be used for the horse and not for the rider; the latter being called bārgīr suwār. See B. 139 and 215, also Wilson's Glossary. Bārgīr is in common use in India as meaning a trooper's comrade or one who does not ride his own horse. I have heard it explained as a corruption of bāhū, gīr, one who takes another's arm, that is, a dependant. Perhaps all that is meant here is that Pahār K.'s horse came back to him, and this is the Iqbālnāma account. At p. 620, of A.N. III, six lines from foot, *bāragī* is used for a riding horse.

2. B. 619.

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CHAPTER CX.

M. Jānī Beg makes peace and surrenders Sīwistān.

When by daily-increasing fortune the victorious troops prevailed, it was time that the Mīrzā should waken from the heavy slumbers of ignorance, and have recourse to supplication, and should make apologies the material of obedience. Out of arrogance and self-complacency he regarded his defeat as accidental and again resolved on battle. He resolved that he should proceed all the quicker, and take refuge in the former shelter. On the way he learnt that it was the camp of the victorious troops. He halted to deliberate, and summoned a council to decide on a stronghold. After long contemplation, he approved of a place near Ampūr[1] four *kos* from Hālākandī[2] and forty *kos* from Sehwān. There, on the bank of the Indus, he built a fort, and surrounded it with a deep and broad moat. On 26 Farwardīn the Khān-Khānān came there and invested the place. He was answered by arrows and bullets, and there was a brisk time of losing and taking life. The enemy was made arrogant by his long residence, his numerous army, large fleet of war-boats, and the nearness of the rains. At this time the fort of Nīrankot[3]—which is a choice fortress in that country—was taken. There was a great success.[4] A set of Arabs and Kurds, who were in the fort,
614 quarrelled with the governor Qāsim 'Alī, and brought in his head, and became loyal. The imperial servants were delighted, and increased their efforts to take the place. After the custom of the Turks,

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[1] Oonurpūr in Malet's translation of T. M'aṣūmī. Unarpūr and Amarpūr in Elliot VI. 251. So also in I.O. MS. 236. Text Ampūr or Anpūr probably wrong. Perhaps the place is the Arpūr of J. II. 341.

[2] Text Bālakandī, but the variant Hālākandī is right. It lies thirty m. above Haidarābad. Elliot I. Appendix 379.

[3] The old name of Haidarābad according to some, but see Elliot I. Appendix 396, who says it certainly was not Haidarābad.

[4] In the Errata, *niburd* is changed into *nīrū*.

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they raised up mounds of sand and carried forward their batteries, and set about filling up the moat. From within they made fissures and emptied the mounds. Great efforts were made on both sides. Sometimes the enemy sallied forth and fought, but they returned unsuccessful. However, on account of the strangeness of the land, and the refractoriness of the peasantry, provisions became scarce, and again food became very dear. There was also much sickness. The extraordinary thing was that it only attacked the people of Sind. In that fatal place of trouble some ascetics had a vision to the effect that "the courage of the country was being impressed with the Shāh-inshāh's name, and that the heavens were revolving at his pleasure. The people were beholding the retribution of their disobedience, and were suffering the punishment thereof. The panacea for high and low was to recognize this, and to acquire bliss by supplicating the Unique of the age, and to offer presents in accordance with their means, and give them to the needy." Next morning the secret was revealed, and the proposition was carried into effect. The sickness diminished. When this was reported to H.M. he said, "The True Artist (God) made an old woman the means of the health of a tribe; if He make this servant, who sits upon a lofty seat of rule, a source of good, what is there to cause surprise?" In the time of the great f. Qāān, Cingīz K., in the year 623 (A.D. 1226), the army had invested the fort of Kark[1]-Sīstān (?), and a great pestilence broke out. On the first day there was fever. On the second the teeth loosened. On the third the cup of life became full. An old woman had a daughter. Her nights turned to days in her anxiety to get her married. Might she grow up and might her mother acquire happiness by staining her with henna. At this time this old woman was seized by sickness. On the second day when the teeth became loose, she, out of love and simplicity, employed herself in putting henna on her darling (lit. her liver-lobe). According to common usage a little spittle was used. Thinking of the bridal, night passed into day (i.e. she lay awake), and she shed tears of sorrow. In the morning, when she was ready to depart, her teeth ceased to chatter, and there were signs of improvement. The neighbours were astonished.

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1 There is the variant Kok, but the Iqbālnāma has Gargistan (Georgia) and this is probably right.

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When they inquired, they could perceive nothing except the use of henna. High and low used it, and a world was delivered from danger of life. Henna became of the value of pearls, and the merchants made great profits.

H.M. sent abundant provisions and money by Allah Bakhsh, and Qazzāq Bahādur. They arrived in the height of the distress, and hearts received new strength. New efforts were made, and the work was advanced. In a short time the garrison was straitened, and the batteries were brought so near that they could pull the spears out of each other's hands. The garrison were troubled and begged for peace with a thousand entreaties. The soldiers accepted the proposals on account of the scarcity of provisions. The agreement was made that Sīwīstān, with the fort of Sehwān, and twenty *ghrābs*,
615 should be given up, and that M. Jānī should accept Īrij, the Khān-Khānān's son, as a son-in-law, and that when the rains were over, he would go and prostrate himself at the threshold. It was agreed that in the first place the siege should be stopped, and afterwards the marriage would take place. When Sehwān was made over, they would spend the rains there. On the 16th Khurdād, the batteries were dismantled, and ceremonies of betrothal performed. Men hastened to give up and to take possession of the fort.

On the 17th Qāẓī Ḥasan was sent to the northern hills. As the Tamūz (July) of Lahore was very hot, he was sent off there to look for summer quarters. Near the town of Panhān[1] a proper place was chosen, but on account of certain reasons the idea was abandoned.

One of the occurrences was the submission of the rebels of the eastern province. When the imperialists were victorious, they pursued the enemy and arrived next day at Jellasore which is one of the great cities of Orissa. They adorned the face of the coins with H.M.'s name and exalted the dignity of the pulpits by it. Every tribe of the Afghans retired. The Rajah continued to advance in order to dig up the root of disaffection. S'aīd K. was displeased and returned to Bengal, not accepting the blandishments of the Rajah. Pahār K., Bābūī Manklī, Bāqar K., Mīr Ghāzī, Bāqar Anṣārī separated from S'aīd K., and joined the Rajah. In a short time the landowners asked for quarter, and the country came into possession. In

[1] Cf. B. 56 and 616, who states that the proper name is Pathānkot.

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the town of Bhadrak, news was received that the sons of Qutlū (and) Khwāja Sulaimān, Dilāwar K., Jalāl K., Bahādur Kūrūh, Ulugh K., 'Abdul-l-Ghafūr, Malik Ḥaibat, Malik Dāūd, Kaham Karn, Rajah Mānū, Malik Sikandar, and Purukhotam had collected in the fort of Cuttack with 300 elephants. That fort is at the end of the country and on the seashore. It belonged to Rajah Rām Cand who was a great landholder in that country. It was called Sārangarh.[1] Rajah Mān Singh left Sujān Singh, and some others in the city and went off to attack the fort, and the Afghans took refuge in the forest near the sea. The fort was taken without a contest. 'Alāwal K., the khāṣkhel of Qutlū, surrendered the fort of Āl.[2] Near Kalkalghātī, the Tīla[3] Rajah, who is a distinguished landowner in that part, joined the victorious army. Rajah Rām[4] Cand admitted those who had taken protection to Sārangarh. When Rajah Mān Singh came to Cuttack he left Yūsuf K. the ruler of Kashmīr, the sons of Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Moẓaffar Ījī, and others, to guard it, and went off to pay his devotions at Jagannāth. His idea was that he would be nearer to Rajah Rām Cand, and that when an opportunity occurred he could lay hold of him (?). When his thought had been realized he returned and took up his quarters near Salī (?). Every day active men went forth and inflicted chastisement. In consequence of counsels he (Rajah Rām Cand) became obedient, and sent his son[5] Bīrbal with presents. The Rajah returned to Cuttack and established the foot **616** of conquest near the fort of Sārangarh. At this time news came that Ḥabīb K., Daryā K., Sujāwal K., Mewa K., who had taken refuge with Fatḥ K. of Hijlī, had fallen upon Jellasore, and that Bābūī Manklī had not found himself strong enough to fight and had retired. The Rajah sent Pahār K. and some brave men to that quarter, and soon the enemy was scattered without an engagement, and Jellasore again came into possession. The slumbrous ones of Sārangarh awoke from their sleep of neglect. On the 20th they accepted quarter and waited upon the Rajah. Every one was made hopeful of princely favours.

At this time the victorious army of Sind were in some distress,

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1 Three miles S. Cuttack.

2 J. II. 142.

3 Perhaps the Taliya of J. II. 142.

4 He was Rajah of Khurdah and Purī, B. 489.

5 Iqbālnāma has Harmal.

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but soon it became joyful. When peace was made, and the batteries were dismantled, M. Jānī Beg—before that he had obtained leave, and had made over Sehwān—went off to Tatta. The victorious troops thought they had been deceived, and were under apprehensions. Able men were sent to make inquiries. The Mīrzā (Jānī Beg) represented that the atmosphere of the fort had become dangerous on account of the numbers of dead bodies, and that the position of the survivors had become critical. Some of the soldiers and peasants wished to go to their homes. On that account he had given them leave. The whole camp had been harassed, and so without saying anything it had followed them. No one remained with him and so out of helplessness he too had gone off and halted in Naṣīrpūr. God forbid, he said, that I should drop the thread of treaty, or that my words and actions should not correspond. On the 31st they made their quarters in the town of Sunn,[1] and on this day Rustam the governor of Sehwān came and renewed the treaty. He made over the fort to Ḥasan 'Alī 'Arab, and to Maqṣūd Āqā, and all Sīwistān was added to the empire. On 22 Tīr, Prince Sulṭān Daniel took leave in order to capture Qandahār. As the guardians of that country were not equal in strength to the Mīrzās, this jewel of fortune (Daniel) was sent there. He crossed the Rāvī, and alighted in the garden of Rām Dās. On 24th (Tīr), 4th July 1592, H.M. set off to Kashmīr, and his first stage was this same garden. On the 27th, 300 little[2] stars fell from west to east. The Indian astronomers represented that if the first stage exhibited such an appearance they should return and set out again at a chosen hour. The Shāh and the Shāhzāda were obliged to go back.

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[1] The T.A. says that Sunn (or Sann) is opposite Sehwān. But A. F. III. 633 says it is twenty *kos* distant.

[2] *Sitārca*, but the variant *safed pārca*, white objects or clothes, is more likely to be right and is supported by MSS. 300 falling stars could hardly have been counted. The phenomenon was probably like the cobwebs which A.F. mentions as falling on one occasion in the neighbourhood of Agra (see p. 116).

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CHAPTER CXI.

H.M. PROCEEDS TO KASHMĪR.

For a long time he was inclined to go to that country. Most men were averse to his going on account of the difficulty of the journey. Those who had hearts bent on the enjoyment of their master regarded the difficulties of the ravines as slight, but they represented that it could not be proper for H.M.—whose empire it took a year to traverse—to go off to a corner thereof, and to enter that mountainous country. Some farsighted men were convinced from H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries, that there was a secret involved **617** in his intention, and that this expedition would result in glory. On 12 Amardād,[1] 22nd July 1592, in spite of clouds of rain and the opposition of men, he set out. Several ladies accompanied him. On the 17th he advanced from Rāmbārī,[2] but from the abundance of water there was no place found for his advance-tent (*peshkhāna*). He left the camp and the soldiers under the charge of Prince Sulṭān Selīm in order that he might bring them on slowly, and went off on elephants with some chosen courtiers. At Shāham[3] 'Alī, Qulīj K. and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn were sent back to the city. Near this place a woman brought her son and represented that every year his head was growing larger, and his neck becoming weak. No benefit had come from physicians. H.M. bade her to put a leathern cap tightly on the child's head. She did so and the thing was remedied. The skilful were astonished at this cure. On the 28th near Khaima[4] Chatha (?) the Kashmīr insurrection became known, and the veil fell from the holy purpose. A world had collyrium applied to its eyes.

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1 24 Shawwāl 1000. Elliot V. 462.

2 This seems to be another name for Rām Dās Bāgh.

3 The text makes Shāham 'Alī a person apparently, but it is a place. See *ante*, p. 600. The T.A. says they were sent back 3 *kos* from Rām Dās Bāgh. It names the Mota Rajah instead of Shamsu-d-dīn.

4 I.O. MS. 236 his *casma* a fountain, or perhaps cīma.

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More extraordinary still, when he was crossing the Rāvī, he asked "of whom is this verse said?"

Verse.[1]

Alas, Alas! how have the Cyrus-cap and Shāh's tiara
Become the portion of a bald man?

When the confidant[2] of M. Yūsuf K. represented the increase of the revenue of Kashmīr, Qāẓī Nūru-llah and Qāẓī 'Alī were sent to make inquiries. When the Mīrzā's agents lost hope of getting bribes they adopted evil thoughts. Qāẓī Nūrullah came to court and reported the disorganization of the men and their evil intentions. On this information, some of the evil disposed were summoned, and Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī was sent to encourage (the loyal). When the condition of the evil disposed became known in some measure, Darvesh 'Alī, 'Ādil Beg, Y'aqūb Beg Turkamān, Imām Qulī Cūlāq, Qiyā Beg and other servants of M. Yūsuf Beg plotted together to stir up strife. First, they went to Kamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Asko,[3] who was one of the Aḥadīs, in order to get him to become their leader and to raise a rebellion. He had the auspiciousness not to accept

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[1] This verse is quoted by Badayūnī, Lowe, 395. According to the Lucknow ed. the verse is by Niẓāmī. The words in the second line are *bahar kal* "to every bald man," being a play on the name of Yādgār kal or kul who was the cousin of M. Yūsuf. The Rauzāt Ṭāhirīn calls him the son of M. Maḥmūd. I have taken *bahar* to mean portion and supposed the *'izāfat* was omitted for the sake of the metre. Niẓāmu-d-dīn also tells the story. He says Akbar quoted the lines in the garden of Rām Dās, and it would seem (see T.A. Newal Kishor's ed., p. 377) that the word in the original was *gul* a rose or flower, and that the meaning was that every flower was blooming, and had, as it were, put on the royal tiara. It appears from Niẓāmu-d-dīn (and Badayūnī) that M. Yūsuf had left Kashmīr and had appointed Yādgār, whom he calls his brother's son, as his deputy. It appears from Niẓāmu-d-dīn's account of Kashmīr (T. Rashīdī, Ross and Elias, Appendix) that he accompanied Akbar there. In the first book of A. F.'s letters, N.K. ed., p. 33, there is a letter from Akbar to his son Murād describing his second journey to Kashmīr. In it Akbar claims to have been inspired to utter the verse about the bald man as he was crossing the Rāvī, and also claims other prophecies.

[2] See *ante*, p. 595 of text.

[3] Qn.? Ashu Koh, a form of Shukoh, majesty.

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their proposals, and then they made Yādgār[1] the cousin of M. Yūsuf K. their instrument. Every day he took into his head thoughts of sedition and developed mischievousness. One day furious men poured a shower of arrows into the house of Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī. One of his servants had contracted a marriage with a member of that set, but at the instigation of wicked people it was broken[2] off. They made this an opportunity and suddenly attacked the house (of Ḥusain B.). His men had gone away, but he closed the door and stood firm. Qāẓī 'Alī and S. Bābā intervened and quelled the tumult. Then they got up a disturbance at the Koh-i-Mārān.[3] Ḥusain Beg collected his men and fought with them. There was a slight engagement, and then peace was made. Some surrendered upon promises and were put to death. Their evil thoughts were nearly **618** being realized in action. Ḥusain Beg and Qāẓī 'Alī were obliged to leave the city and to take up their quarters at the fort of Nāgarnagar[4] (Akbar's fort). They became somewhat supine and careless. On 12 Amardād, 22nd July 1592, they (the Kashmīrīs) closed the routes and proceeded to rebel. The extraordinary thing was that on this very day H.M. the mystery-knower came out from Lahore. Some people gathered together on the pretext of visiting the melon-beds and made a league. Ḥusain Beg and Qāẓī' Alī had not the energy to put down this disturbance with vigour and alacrity.[5]

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1 Ferishta states that he had married the daughter of a Kashmīrī noble.

2 The I.O. MSS. have *zadand* in the plural, showing that the Kāshmīrīs broke off the marriage.

3 This is the Harī Parbat where Akbar built a fort.

4 This is the Harī Parbat: see *infra*, p. 726.

5 A. F.'s account of the revolt is not clear. The Iqbālnāma adds a few explanations. It says that the Kamālu-d-dīn whom it calls Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn, to whom the rebels first applied, was in the service of M. Yūsuf. The rebels offered him the leadership as he was a Saiyid. I do not know what the title Askū means. One MS. (I.O. 235) has Ashkūk, which means a roof. A variant calls him Bakhshī of the Aḥadīs, and perhaps Asku or Ashku is connected with the Turkish Ishik, a gateway. Ḥusain Beg's biography is given in B. 454, where he is called Ḥasan. He came to a bad end, having joined Khusrū's rebellion. A. F. does not appear to have fully stated the cause of the disturbance at Ḥusain's house. The Iqbālnāma says that M. Yūsuf had 5 or 6,000 piādas of the Dilahzāk tribe in his service and that a servant of Ḥusain had carried off the wife of one of them. There is a variant in which

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On receiving this information H.M. went on the faster. On 1 Shahriyūr his tents were pitched on the bank of the Cināb, and though there was a storm, and it was raining, he sate on the bank and superintended the crossing. At dawn he crossed in a boat at the Caugān ferry. On the 4th it appeared that the whole of the Mīrzā's troops had joined the Kāshmīrīs, and that Qāẓī 'Alī had offered up his life in good service, and that Ḥusain Beg had with difficulty saved himself. When Yādgār came out of the city, and they threw away power and opportunity, he came to Kāmrāj, and the success of the rebels increased. At this time they awoke from the heavy slumber of carelessness, and hastened after him. But they returned without effecting anything. Though the Mīrzā's sons did not join him (Yādgār), and the imperial servants did not assist him, that worthless madman returned to the city. Near the Ilāhī garden he was victorious after a slight contest. They were compelled to cross the river and come to the city. Both parties broke down the bridges—the rebels for fear that their comrades would desert them, and the other party for fear that the rebels would pursue them Qāẓī 'Alī wished to take shelter with Fatḥ K. Jangalī (?), and to wait for reinforcements. Ḥusain Beg said, "M. Yūsuf K.'s men have all joined the revolt, and it would be very difficult to get there." They were compelled to go rapidly to India. Near Hīrapūr some one from ignorance beat a kettledrum, and the guardians of the roads (*rāhbānān*) got news by this and broke down the bridges. They were obliged to throw themselves into the water. Some were drowned, and some were captured. Ḥusain Beg and Qāẓī 'Alī and some Badakhshīs escaped and went on. As the Pīr Panjal road had been closed, they went by the defile of Hastī Watar.[1] By strenuous exertions, and by much shooting they escaped. Qāẓī 'Alī became exhausted by the heights and hollows, and was caught and killed. When Ḥusain and some others emerged from the hills, the landowner of the place plundered them, and sought to kill them. Bahabū (?) the chief of Rajaurī came and rescued them.

the defile of Mārān is called Koh-Bārān. The Iqbālnāma makes it clear that it was Ḥusain, whom it calls Ḥasan, who broke faith and put some people to death. The I.O. MSS. and the Iqbālnāma call the S. Bābā who helped to quiet the disturbance S. Bābāī Wālī.

[1] See correspondence in R.A.S.J. for April and July 1904. The Iqbālnāma has here Hastī Wīr (qn. Watīr or Wairān).

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On this news H.M. proceeded more rapidly to that quarter, and an order was given that Zain K. Koka should proceed thither with his men by the route of Swād; that Ṣādiq K. should march by the way of Pūnc,[1] and that the landowners of the northern mountains 619 should start from Jammū, and that the fiefholders and collectors of the Panjāb should encourage some brave peasants and send them off. On 5 Shahrīyūr[2] S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was sent off together with Mīr Murād * * * (six lines of names). On account of the nearness of the fall of snow, the soldiers were sent from every quarter in order that there might be no delay in inflicting retribution. On that day the writer of the noble volume took an omen from the diwān of Ḥāfiẓ. These four lines gave the news of victory.

Verse.

Where is the harbinger which tells of victory
That I may shed my life at his feet, like silver and gold.
The stage is en fête on account of the return of the Shāh.
'Tis time for his antagonists to depart to the screen of annihilation.

On this day M. Yūsuf K. was, on account of foresight, made over to the charge of the writer of the book of fortune. When his family came out of Kashmīr he was released. Near Gujrāt (in the Panjāb) the Prince Royal and the great camp joined H.M., and there was rejoicing. On the 16th, Ṣādiq K. took leave to go forward. When he had gone some stages he made unsuitable requests. H.M.[3] was displeased and recalled him in the middle of his march.

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[1] Text Baranj, but I.O. MS. 235 and Iqbālnāma have Pūnc which seems preferable. There is however a place called Brang. J. II. 355.

[2] As Farīd Bakhshī was his patron, Faiẓī Sirhindī has a long account of this expedition. He gives the date of Farīd's setting out as 17 Ẕīl Q'ada, 15 August 1592. He describes the two roads from Rajaurī and calls one the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass, and says that no army had passed by it before. Farīd found on inquiry at Rajaurī that Yādgār had destroyed the bridges etc. on the Pīr Pinjal route, and so he chose the Katrīl one. Faiẓī mentions the Hastivanj Pass and, like A.F., he says it is the last Pass into Kashmīr. In the I.O. MS. it is spelt Hashtganj "The eight markets" (?).

[3] This obscure sentence is explained in the Iqbālnāma.

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CHAPTER CXII.

The conquest of Jūnagarh and Somnāth, and the victory of the Imperial Servants over the Country of Soreth.

Right-thinking, and proper, actions produce brilliant results. Success increases, and the countenances of the wishes of servants are brightened. There are various victories, and wondrous works are performed at home and abroad. This tale of victory is a new instance of this. When the Khān 'Āẓim gained his victory, his intention was to take this fort (Jūnagarh), and to annex the country. The vexatious behaviour of his companions caused delay. At this time, when the soldiers were recruited somewhat, he renewed the enterprise, and proceeded to the spot. Khokhan, the son of the
620 Jaīn, Jalāl K. Ghilzī,[1] Malik Rājan, Malik Aman, and many rebels of that part submitted and came in. Somnāth, Ghogah (Gogo), Mangalūr, Mahwah,[2] Bīrū[3] and others—16 ports in all—were taken without a contest. Afterwards he proceeded to take Jūnagarh which was held by the grandchildren of Amīn K. Ghorī. It is a famous fortress, and the country of Sorath is associated with it. He invested it with seven batteries. Naurang K. and some troops were sent to chastise the Kāthī tribe which was assisting the garrison. On this day fire broke out in the fort and many materials of the strength of the fort were burnt. The Feringhī cannoneer, who had turned Muḥammadan, and who was very skilful in his art, fell in his confusion into the moat. The imperial servants received the good news of victory and raised a pæan of joy. But the garrison, from the abundance of provisions, and the strength of the place, were presumptuous, and every day fired several times a hundred guns—some of which shot balls

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1 Text Ghāzī, but MSS. have Ghilzī.

2 Mahuwa of I.G. See J. II. 247. It is in the Bhawnagar State, Kāthīwar.

3 Barwa. Perhaps Barda. But more probably Pur-bandar, J. II. 246. It S.S.E. Dwarka.

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weighing 1½ *mans*. They also uttered words of arrogance and contempt. Whenever the soldiers were dispirited, the Kokaltāsh encouraged them in various ways, and renewed efforts. By the guidance of fortune, they became aware of a little hill; they raised it somewhat and prepared a tower (*sirkob*), and from it proceeded to discharge mortars. The somnolent ones were roused from their slumbers and had recourse to entreaties. On 17 Shahriyūr, 27 August 1592, after fighting day and night for three months, the garrison surrendered, and made over the keys. Miyān K., Tāj K., the grandsons of Amīn K. Ghorī, who were the sons of Daulat K.—the former 7 years old and the representative of his father, and the other 12, but from a concubine—Himmat the brother's son of Amīn K., Muḥammad the comptroller of the household, Malik Dahan, Rajān Ḥabshī, Lumba Kāthī, Muḥammad Mīrak, Muḥammad Afẓal and others—57 noted men—came out, and owing to the Kokaltash's observance of treaties, their lives, property and honour were preserved, and every one of them was made happy by a cultivated fief, a fine robe of honour, and a choice horse (*bāragī*). Sulṭan Maḥmud Bīgarhā the ruler of Gujarat with a large and well-equipped army twice tried to take this fort, and experienced great difficulty. On the second occasion he took[1] it after a long time. H.M. was near Bhimbhar and intent on punishing Yādgār when he got the news of victory.[2] He returned yet more earnestly his thanks to God.

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[1] In 1470.

[2] This paragraph is translated in Elliot VI. 90. The T.A. puts the capture into the 36th year.

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CHAPTER CXIII.

The cessation of the disturbance in Kashmīr, and the bringing the head of Yādgār Kul to Court.

Heaven rises up to take vengeance on every one who commits ingratitude. His day turns to night, and his fortune becomes ruined.
621 By his own efforts he hastens to his retribution and plays away his life and his honour. The case of this man of turbulent brain shows this to all. High and low received instruction from it. When the fly-like and mercenary natures gathered together, and (what has been described) happened to the imperial servants, the sons of M. Yūsuf K. approached him with supplications. He eagerly sent[1] them off to India, and then he crossed the river and went to the Mīrzā's quarters. He laid hold of the treasure, the gold vessels, the elephants, the horses, the cannon, etc., and shamelessly sate in the seat of the mighty. He stained the pulpit-tops (*farāz-i-mimbar*) and the faces of the coins. By glorious fortune at that time, fever and trembling laid hold of him, and when the sealmaker was making his signet, a bit of steel jumped up and entered his eye. This indicated to the acute among the spectators that his career would not be long. In his folly he gave high titles to worthless people. Bahrām Nayik was called Khān-Khānān, Darvesh 'Alī, Khān Jahān, 'Ādil Begī, 'Ādil K., Maqṣūd 'Alī Aḥdī, Makhṣūṣ K., Khwāja Muḥammad Moman, 'Aṣaf K., Mūsā M. Khān, Darvesh Miskīn, Bābū K., Jamman his son, Muṣāḥib K., Shāh 'Alī Beg Turkamān, Shahbāz K., Shāh Manṣūr, Bahādur K., Mīr Sāliḥ, Naqīb K., Niẓāmu-d-dīn, Niẓāmu-l-mulk, Dāūd Cakli, Bijlī K., Qiyā Beg, Qiyā K. Similarly, he gave great names to people of the bazaar.

Verse.

Fortune cannot be wrested from the holder thereof,
Diadem and throne cannot be sold.
The crow[2] tried for the gait of the partridge.
He ended in forgetting his own.

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[1] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 396.

[2] This is a well-known story. See Anwārī Ṣuhaīlī.

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In ignorance of the world's lord's knowledge of mysteries, he thought that "as the roads were closed, news would not quickly come to him, and if it came, would not be credited. If it were believed, the army could not march quickly in such torrents of rain. In winter it would be very difficult to come to this cold country. When a year had passed, his (Yādgār's) strength would be increased by a choice equipment. For a long time a ruler of Kashmīr had not had such a workshop." He did not know of the knowledge of mysteries possessed by the world's lord. From the time that the Age smiled upon him with a sardonic smile, he continually had drinking-bouts with persons of no consequence. They encouraged him and talked foolishly, and suggested to him to squander the accumulations and to make capital out of the honour of the Mīrzā, and he from love [1] of money and from his connection by marriage (with the Kashmīrīs) was led into stratagems. When he heard that the Mīrzā had been put in prison, he was compelled to let his family go. When their coming had not yet been heard of, H.M. from his knowledge of secrets sent Ḥājī Mīrak, who was an old servant of the Mīrzā, to bring these helpless people. Near Thāna the wicked men of the country were thinking of plundering them. Suddenly the messengers appeared. Their lives and property became safe, and all at once the news of the coming of the august standards filled the world. That wretch came a little to his senses and petitioned, saying that "Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī meant to bring the son of M. Shahrukh from Badakhshān to Kashmīr, and make him an instrument of sedition. I contended with him, and he has by crafty words given me a bad name." By order, the writer of the noble volume replied to his false statements. 622

When his cajolery was not successful, he sent off Darvesh 'Alī with many troops to the defiles, and strove to strengthen them. Though the soldiers had not [2] arrived from all sides, S. Farīd Bakhshī

[1] Text has only *dosti*, but all the MSS. appear to have *zardosti* "love of gold." I suppose that the words *paiwand-i-khweshī* refer to Yādgār's having married a Kashmīrī. If *dosti* alone is correct, the meaning might be that his poor companions prated to him of the affection that the people had for him.

[2] The text has *barasīd*, but the variant *narasīd* is supported by MSS. and seems more likely.

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Begī and his companions made a fort at the foot of the pass,[1] and having left their baggage prepared for battle. On 26 Shahriyūr the vanguard proceeded to the defile in front, and the right and left wings made ready. Darvesh 'Alī had put up two walls on the top of the pass and intended to fight. He stationed men here and there, and indulged in arrogance. By the Divine aid the active men of the vanguard drove away the enemy after a slight resistance. The brave men of the left wing took possession of the ground[2] in front of them. A hot engagement took place, and many of the enemy were killed. Four of the victorious soldiers fell. The right wing took without a contest a fortification (*sarkob*) that the enemy had. As there was no road further on, they turned back and came behind the vanguard. Next day the enemy retired from the protection of the walls without fighting. The leaders of the soldiers were influenced by idle talk and thought there was a stratagem. The vanguard and the left wing pressed on, and took the Kapartal Pass and got possession of some quadrupeds. One man ignorantly killed a horse in the pass,[3] and much injury followed from a hailstorm. Next morning they traversed the Akrambāl pass and encamped. Their idea was that they would halt five *kos* from Hastī Watar. Those in front believing it to be deserted pressed on to take it. S. Farīd sent people to recall them. Able men knowing that it was in their power did not draw rein till the top of the pass. Those who were sent chose to join them. At nightfall it appeared that the enemy were in the waist of the hill, and prepared for battle. That night was spent in standing under arms and in watchfulness. When it was morning, parties of Kashmīrīs were seen on the hillocks and many were of opinion that they were coming to fight. In a short time it became certain that they were dispersing. At the close of the day the Shaikh arrived with some men. As the main army was

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[1] It appears from Faiẓī S. that the Katrīl or Katarbal Pass is meant. The Iqbālnāma says Farīd Bakhshī Begī, who is now known as Martaẓa K.

[2] Text *Maḥakama*. A note suggests that this here means ground. Perhaps it means position. Maḥakama originally means a tribunal. Faiẓī S. uses the word *'aqaba* summit.

[3] Text *īkh* ice, but probably paj is the true reading. As to the effect of shedding blood in the Pīr Panjal Pass, see Price's Jahāngīr 82.

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behind, and the star[1] in front he delayed to advance. Meanwhile Muḥammad Kāshī surrendered himself and reported that Yādgār had thrown away endurance and had fled, and that all the men had gone off into retirement. Next morning 2 Mihr, 12 September 1592, they passed through the defile and reached Hīrapūr. Near there a body without a head was seen, and it was conjectured that the headstrong Kul had met with his deserts. In a short time **623** his head was brought in, and the thing became certain.

When that worthless one learnt that the defile had been taken, he left 'Ādil Begī with a force at Srīnagar, and came to Hīrapūr. Next day, he gave some presents to the men and moved forward. On the 31st Shahriyūr at midnight an army rushed forth crying "Allah Akbar," and a report was spread that H.M. had arrived. The whole camp was plundered, and that wretch was annihilated. Shahbāz K. Niyāzī, Ibrāhīm K. Kākar, Ibrāhīm K. Miyāna, Sārū Beg Shāmlū, Ḥusain Beg Maṣlū, Yār Beg Uzbeg, Malik Muḥammad and some others of the servants of M. Yusuf K. made a plot, and were lying in wait. When half of the night had passed, they blew the trumpet of "Allah Akbar," and proceeded to pillage. The wretch came out from his enclosure (*saraparda*) and fled into the open. No servant was with him except one Yūsuf. When he had gone some way, he took shelter in some brushwood[2] (*bota*); and sent back his companion to fetch a horse. Some well-wishers of eternal dominion did not turn to plundering, but searched for Yādgār, and were astonished at not finding him. Suddenly, Sārū Beg saw Yūsuf, and put him to torture. He was helpless and told what had happened; and at his guidance Yādgār was found. He had recourse to humility. Shahbāz K. came up and relieved his shoulders of the burden of his head.

Verse.

In the garden the pumpkin raised its head beside the cypress.
Forsooth, to raise the head is to make oneself equal!
Heaven knows between the cypress and the pumpkin
Which of them is worthy of honour.

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[1] Apparently, the unlucky star or constellation mentioned in Bābur's Memoirs.

[2] The Iqbālnāma says "behind a stone."

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On 6 Mihr Mathrā[1] Dās brought the head of the brainless one to court, and there was worship of God. The world's lord's knowledge of mysteries was impressed on all; and a world had collyrium applied to its eyes. On the day that he heard of the disturbance of this wretch, this verse came upon his lips.

Verse.

The bastard[2] is envious; I'm what my horoscope is.
The bastard-slayer has come like the star of Yemen.

The mother of this man of disturbed brain was the daughter of Nuqra (or perhaps, was called *dukht-i-Nuqra*) and had no equal among prostitutes (*lūlīyān*) for immodesty and wickedness. H.M. said, "It has been indicated to me that the destruction of this wretch, and the rising of Canopus, will take place at about the same time. By his order, the Greek, Persian, Kashmīri, and Indian astronomers examined the skies and reported that Yādgar would meet with his punishment in from two to three months. He said, "Something tells me that the time will not be less than forty days or more than two months." On this day it appeared that the whole time of the rebel-
624 lion was fifty-one days. On the same day that Canopus appeared, this evil star (Yādgār) set. The secret vision of the world's lord was anew impressed on high and low. A wonderful thing was that about the same time a shoulder-bone was produced before H.M. and that on reading it he said that the disturbance would soon subside, and

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[1] Faiẓi S. says Farīd Bakhshī's party saw the body of Yādgār hanging on a tree.

[2] Waladu-z-zina, which means both a bastard and a glowworm. Canopus is called the glowworm-slayer, presumably because he rises in the cold weather; and he is also called the star of Yemen. There is a play on the double meaning of Waladu-z-zina, Akbar saying that he the bastard-slayer comes as if he were (viz. at the same time as) Canopus. A. F. says immediately after this that Yādgār's mother was the daughter of one Nuqra. The Iqbālnāma says that Nuqra was a woman's name, or perhaps the meaning is, her name was *Dukht-i-Nuqra* "Nuqra's daughter." *Nuqra* means silvery or white, thus a white horse is called *asp-i-nuqra*. The word also might possibly mean a silversmith. Akbar may be referring to the fact that he was born about the time of the rising of Canopus, meaning the cold weather, viz. October. The verse is also given in the Inshā, in Akbar's letter to his son Murād.

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that no one except the rebel himself would be hurt. The saying became fact, and able men were astonished at his knowledge.

In this glorious year there were great victories on four sides. These were the submission of the ruler of Tattah, and the delivery of Sewīstan, the conquest of Orissa, and the submission of the rebels of the eastern provinces, the taking of Junagarh and Somnāth, the capture of Moẓaffar, the punishment of Yādgār Kul, and the prevailing over Kashmīr. When the disturbance was suppressed, H.M. went[1] on the 13th to perambulate that garden, and he said with his truth-uttering tongue, "On my first visit, I saw the bridal chamber of spring, now I behold the coquetry of autumn, on that day. Beauty's veil was withdrawn, to-day the attributes of Power (*jalāl*) are seen." The Harem and the great camp were left under the charge of Prince Sulṭan Daniel that they might stay at Rohtās till his return. As Sulṭān Khusrū was somewhat ill, he was committed to the care of God, and H.M. made up his mind to part from him. His wish was to take some ladies with him but the difficulty of the road and the severe cold prevented this in some measure. Prince Sulṭan Selīm was sent to make close inquiries, and that day the hill of Bhimbhar was traversed, and an encampment made. In the morning on account of a disagreeable wind the camp was not moved. H.M. said, "Apparently snow is falling to-day in Kabul." When the year and month were noted, H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries was revealed, and there was an increase of the collyrium of the eyes. Next day the tents were set up at Naushahra. On this day the prince returned. He went into Kashmīr by the route of Hastī Watar and returned by Pīr Panjāl. He represented the difficulty of the road, and the amount of snow, and the idea of conveying the ladies was abandoned. As the route by Pīr Panjāl was reported to be somewhat easier, H.M. resolved to go by that route. On the day that Pūshāna was reached, H.M.'s horse slipped and that skilful rider came to the ground in an agile manner. Next day he passed through the Pīr Panjāl defile, and pitched his camp near Nārī Barārī. On that day too there was a similar slipping, and the Divine protection was revealed. On the[2] 23rd, when the hour was favourable—Srīna-

[1] That is, he set out on his march to Kashmīr.

[2] Faiẓī S. says Srīnagar was entered by Farīd on 21 Zi-l-ḥajja,

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gar the capital was brightened by his advent. On the way the soldiers who had gone on in advance paid their homage. In accordance with orders, thirty-four persons entered into the trunk of a *cenār* tree which had been hollow for ages. If they had sate closer some more might have been accommodated.[1] Although the root of rebellion had been dug up, yet, owing to a report that H.M. had ordered the punishment of high and low, people had scattered, and there was no population in any of the villages. Though those who had gone on in front had used soothing measures, they were not
625 believed. When H.M.'s intentions were known, and his great benevolence had been impressed on hearts, people came back to the city, and rejoiced on beholding forgiveness and liberality. Able and truthful men were sent out in every direction, and they regarded the apprehension of rebels as the price (*pāiranj*) of obedience. Some who had been the leaven of the disturbance met with their deserts, except 'Ādil Begī, who hastened to the Deccan in the dress of a Qalandar. Those who from farsightedness had kept themselves aloof (from the rebellion) obtained high dignities. The world's commander offered up supplications, and thanksgivings had a new foundation. Though on the first occasion he had had the pleasure of water-fowling, yet as it was not the season, he did not care for it. This time he enjoyed it in perfection. On the 2nd Ābān he had a great feast, and the solar weighment took place. He who was of equal value with the heavens, was weighed against twelve things, and high and low shared his bounty. He appointed several persons to distribute money. The writer distributed presents to 14,000 necessitous people in the 'Idgāh. In this cultivated country thieves and beggars were few in number. At this time owing to an evil mixture there was loss, and many failed in patience and contentment.

One of the occurrences was the success of Zain K., Koka. Though a commotion had not broken out there, H.M. had from foresight appointed him to Swād and Bajaur. During the Kashmīr disturbance the evil-minded Afghans broke out into rebellion. As there

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18 September 1592. Akbar entered it, he says, on 9 Muḥarram 1001, 7 October, 1592.

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that the tree had exceeded the age of crows, that 34 men found room in it, and that 200 horsemen could be sheltered under it.

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were no chosen troops there, the Gagiyānī[1] tribe and the Muḥammadzaī tribe, who had always been loyal, joined with the Tārīkīs and Yūsufzais, and proceeded to hunt for the life of Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān, who was in Begrām, in order that they might get possession of the whole of that country. Suddenly, the Kokaltāsh arrived, and the rebels of every tribe withdrew. The Yūsufzai and some Tārīkīs came to the hill-country of Bajaur under the command of Waḥidat 'Alī. Jalāla put his family with him and went off to Tīrāh. The idea was that Waḥadat 'Alī would take possession of the land of the Kāfirs—which is close to Kāshghar[2]—and prepare a refuge there, and whenever there was pressure on the part of the victorious he would go there. On 7 Amardād the Koka came from the defile of Malkand to Swād, and easily took the futile but difficult-of-conquest country. He came by the way of Mardān to Bajaur. The rebels had not the strength to resist, and were obliged to hurry to the land of the Kāfirs. In a short time the hill country of Hardil[3] (?) was taken from that tribe. It is bounded on the east by Sawād, west by Kunār and Nūrkal, north by Kāshghar and Badakhshān, and south by Bajāur. They strengthened the fort of Cankārī[4] (?) and behaved presumptuously. The Koka set himself to put them down, and went there with brave and experienced men. He built forts at **626** each stage and traversed the mountains. Whenever the enemy tried a night-attack, they failed. The Koka invested the fort. On 1st Abān he took it after a severe battle, and the power of the rebels was broken.

On the 9th H.M. went off by boat to visit the saffron[5]-grounds. He arrived there next morning and enjoyed himself. Travellers cannot point out rose-gardens which come up to them in delight and fragrance. Though they (the flowers) resemble the lotus, yet their

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1 Text Kakeyāni. See J. II. 407.

2 This is Kāshkar or Citral and not Kashghar in E. Turkestān. See J. II. 39142 and Elphinstone's Cabul II. 388. It is marked on Elphinstone's map as a large country east of Chitral.

3 There is the variant Parūl. I cannot identify the place.

4 There is the variant Jankārī. Chalmers has Bunkāry. The M'aaṣar II. 368 speaks of a fort Kanshāl (?).

5 Apparently those at Pāmpūr. Cf. Jahāngīr's account, Elliot VI. 304 and 375, and also B. 84.

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enchantment and joy-giving cannot be described. A banquet of delight was prepared, and a new door was opened for the Divine bounty. Also at this time Mulla[1] Ḥusain the Turān ambassador died. He had been left behind at Lahore in order that he might prepare for his return, and he was to have got his leave when H.M. came back. Indigestion conduced to his last day. By H.M.'s orders his family and household were sent to their native country. Also at this time Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn arrived and paid his respects. He was summoned from Lahore in order that Kashmīr might be made crown-land (*Khālṣa*) for a time, and that by his sympathetic treatment it might be developed. On the 12th the Dīwālī[2] feast was celebrated, and by orders, the boats, the river banks and the roofs were adorned with lamps. They presented a splendid appearance. Also on this day the daughter of Shams Cak entered the harem. He belonged to the great men of the country, and had long cherished this wish. On this occasion it was gratified. Also in order to pacify the landowners the daughter[3] of Mubārak Khan the son of Ḥusain Cak was made over to the harem of Prince Sulṭān Selīm. Similarly, some of the countries were united by marriage (with Kashmīrīs). In this year M. Qubād[4] the oldest son of M. Ḥakīm received some punishment. He was sent to the place of instruction of the prison. He had ignorantly given himself up to wine-drinking. His punishment led to the amendment of many. At this time a kind of ink was introduced to H.M.'s notice. Whatever was written with it was not obliterated by water or by rubbing, nor did any harm happen to the writing. H.M. examined it and taught the use of it to skilful persons.

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[1] His death is referred to in the letter to 'Abdulla, *infra* p. 710.

[2] B. 216. It is celebrated on the new moon of Kārtik (October).

[3] Apparently it should be "the daughters of Mubārak K., and Ḥuṣain Cak. See B. 619. A. F. tells us, J. III. 449, that he had a Kashmīrī wife.

[4] Generally called Kaiqubād.

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CHAPTER CXIV.

Return of the World-Illuminating Standards to India.

On account of the delightful climate and of its adaptation to H.M., his idea had been to spend the winter in Kashmīr, but from consideration of the fact that the high price of food incommoded high and low, and of the severe cold making life difficult for the inhabitants of hot countries, he resolved to leave the country. He **627** wished to make over the territory to M. Yūsuf K., but the latter again was eloquent about the question of the revenue. By the wonders of fortune the (papers of the) assessment which Qāẓī[1] 'Alī had made, was found, and the representations of the Mīrza's confidant were proved. The Mīrzā felt ashamed for not having accepted (the increased revenue). H.M. in accordance with his first idea made Kashmīr crown-land (*khālṣa*) and entrusted it to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, and assigned him 3,000 cavalry. When the holy heart turned away from the country, he on 20[2] Ābān, 31 October 1592, embarked on a boat, and went off to India. The army went by land. On that day he halted at Andarkūl. There was the dwelling of M. Ḥaidar

[1] Qāẓī 'Alī's assessment is referred to in the Ayīn, J. II. 366-67. It amounted to 30 lakhs odd. This was an increase on the original assessment, which was 22 lakhs, and apparently supported the statements of Ṭuṭa (A.N. III. 595). M. Yūsuf declined to accept it, and the territory became crown-land. But almost immediately afterwards (p. 627) M. Yūsuf was restored at the request of Prince Selīm, and the revenue was not raised, but certain sources of income were reserved. A year or two afterwards (in the 39th year) Yūsuf was again recalled and made darogha of the artillery, and fief-holder of Jaunpūr, and Āṣaf K. was appointed (p. 654). Āṣaf made a fresh assessment, raising the revenue somewhat in appearance, but in reality, lowering it (J. II. 367). Qāẓī 'Ali had made himself very objectionable to the Kashmīrīs, for they mutilated and killed him. (Badayūnī, Lowe, 394.)

[2] The T. A. Elliot and V. 464. Akbar entered Pīrnagar on 8 Maḥarram 1001 and stayed 28 (not eight) days there and left 26 Ṣafr, = 2 November 1592. Faiẓi S. has 7 Safr.

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there, which was a grand building and a memorial of him. At the request of Prince Sulṭān Selīm, Kashmīr was given in fief to M. Yūsuf K., and he was sent off there. The *jāgīr* in India[1] (of M. Yūsuf?), the saffron, the silk and the game, were made *khālṣa*. Other increases were remitted. On 23 Ābān he came to the Wular[2] lake. He obtained information about the marvels of that tract. It is an extensive reservoīr. Its circumference is twenty *kos*, and the river Bihat flows through it, and hastens on to India. Sulṭān Zainu-d-dīn erected,[3] after great difficulty, a stone platform (*ṣaffa*) in it, 119 yards long, and 82 broad. Upon that he built choice mansions as a memorial of himself. Afterwards other rulers erected buildings there. A high wind always blows there, and boats encounter storms. On this occasion H.M.'s advent made the water calm. High and low were delighted. At dawn the tents were pitched at Bārahmūla. Though for two months no day had passed on which some soldiers did not get furlough to India, there was still a large army. H.M. chose out of the seven sets of guards some men as his companions, and appointed active and energetic men to the remainder in order that each party after the other might, after a suitable interval, march off. On 3 Āẕar, 13 November 1592, while the camp was at Paklī, it rained (snowed?) the whole night, and snow gathered round the camp. The advance-tents could not proceed. H.M. went off on horseback to select a suitable camping ground. As a fitting place was not found, he left the household behind and went on quickly with some companions. In the course of the journey it came on to rain and snow. He halted in the village of Mānglī[4] (?) which is a dependency of Paklī. For a long while it snowed heavily, and high and low were astonished. One month before this, when it was very cold, and the Indians were apprehensive of its snowing, H.M. said, "I hope[5] that when we pass Paklī, and get sight of India, the fall

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[1] Apparently M. Yūsuf's jagīr in Bihar. See p. 468.

[2] Text Īsar, but Ular or Wular in variant. See J. II. 364 where the circumference is given as 28 *kos*.

[3] This is the island of Lanka, for an account of which see J. II 346 and Colonel Jarrett's note in J.A.S.B. for 1880, p. 16, and T.A. Elliot V. 465.

[4] Perhaps Manglor which Hwen Thsang calls Mangala and was the capital of Swād. See J. II. 391 and note 7.

[5] Cf. Elliot V. 465.

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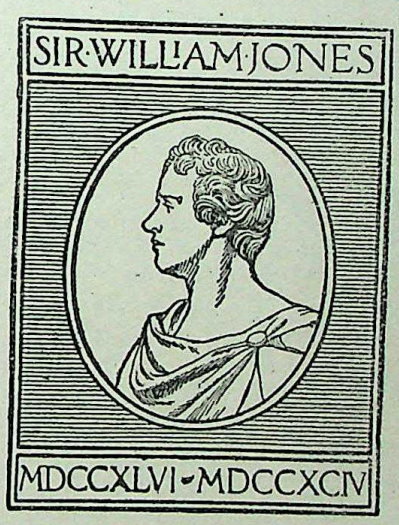

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of snow will afford delight, and that the inhabitants of warm countries will not be disconcerted, but will enjoy the spectacle." His prescience was manifested, and the lamp of guidance was kindled. In the morning the wind rose. He went forward, and on that day he halted for a while at Damtour at the request of M. Shahrukh's[1] son whose home was there. On the 7th he hastened on so rapidly 628 that he passed Rāwal Pindī, Rabāṭ,[2] Nagarkot, Thāna and Serai Carwa (?). He traversed a difficult hill and near Serai Har (?) rested for a while on the top of a hillock. On the way Ṣādiq K. was exalted by doing homage. At the beginning of the expedition he had fallen ill, and had been sent back to Lahore. When he got better he proceeded towards Kashmīr. Unexpectedly he had this taising (of meeting Akbar). His son Yār,[3] and Rām Sāh, had the honour of kissing the threshold. He had obtained leave in order that he might tame Rajah Madhkar and this proprietor (Rām Sāh ?) and convoy them to Mālwa to the Prince (Murād), and might free those frightened savages from their consternation. The landowners got new life from these royal favours and came forward with supplications. The Rajah, though he was ill, intended to come also, but died of his illness. He (Ṣādiq) brought his son Rām Sāh to Ujjaīn, and from thence to court. He was received with favour. As the camp of Ṣādīq K. was set up, he expressed a wish that the sovereign would spend the night there. When evening came, H.M. sent him away in order that he might come slowly after him, and himself set off. The Prince Royal and other servants begged that he would take some repose in a litter. He did not agree. In a night and a day he travelled 22 *kos*. On the 8th he unexpectedly cast the shadow of his graciousness over Rohtās—where the ladies were. Crowds of men, who were going to Kashmīr (?), had the pleasure of doing homage. Prince Daniel and Sulṭan Khusrū illuminated their foreheads by paying their respects near the city (Rohtās).

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[1] M. Shahrukh of Dhamtaur. His son was Bahādur, B. 524.

[2] Serai Rabāṭ is marked on Elphinstone's map S.E. Rāwal Pindī. The name Nagarkot is doubtful. The I.O. MSS. have Bīkakot, and for Serai Har they have "in the morning" as in the variant.

[3] Text has Bāz. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 391 and B. 499. I.O. MSS. have Yār.

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CHAPTER CXV.

Capture of Sulṭān Moẓaffar Gujrātī and the end of his life.

When Jūnagarh was taken, and the landed proprietors had become obedient and had made their submission, the Kokaltāsh made courage shoulder to shoulder with skill. He applied all his energies to the capture of Moẓaffar, who was the thornbush of the sedition. That evil-thinking man had given himself up to failure and had taken refuge with Sīvābād[1] Hail who was the ruler of the country of Hālār. The temple of Dwārka belongs to him. The Kokaltāsh sent to that quarter Naurang K., Gūjar K., Anwār,[2] Niẓāmu-d-dīn[3] Aḥmad, Bābā Khwāja, Qādir Qulī Koka, the Saiyids of Cambay, M. Qulī Mogal and other soldiers. On 16 Mihr they left the camp 25 *kos* from the enemy and arrived in morning (*cāsht*) at Dwārka, and took it without a contest. There it was learned that Moẓaffar was in Basīna[4] (?) the residence of Sīvā (?), and that in the town of Arāmrāh,[5] Sangrām, a relation of that landholder, was behaving arrogantly. Qādir Qulī and some others were left at Dwārka, and then
629 two bands were made out. Naurang K. with a large force proceeded to chastise Moẓaffar. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, Bābā Khwāja, and a number of gallant men also went off in that direction. At the end of the day they arrived at his residence, and a severe engagement took place. A little before this, the report of the approach of the victorious troops had made the landholder demented, and he sent off

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[1] Text سیوآباد هیل. But evidently the text is corrupt. Perhaps the meaning is that the chief belonged to the Sesodia clan. The text goes on to describe him as the chief of Lār. I.O. MS. 236 has Hālār, and perhaps Hālaria, I.G. XIII. 9, is meant. Or it may be Hālār, *id.*

[2] M. Koka's son.

[3] This is Niẓāmu-d-dīn the son of Shāh Muḥammad, B. 561, and not the author.

[4] I do not know where this place is.

[5] Amra. The place is variously spelt. See J. II. 248. It was ten *kos* from Jagat, *i.e.* Dwārka, and on the seashore. Bayley 196.

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Moẓaffar and his household by boat to an island[1] which he had fortified. He himself went after them. The imperialists followed him, and he, from being doomed, turned and fought with them. On account of the heights and hollows, the brave men got off their horses and engaged. Naurang K. beheld this from a ridge. A force, thinking that he had few men, attacked him, but by the Divine help they had to retire with disgrace. There was close fighting up to evening. During the struggle an arrow reached the turbulent one (Sīva ?), and he went to annihilation. The rebels were dispersed, and many were killed. Those also who had gone to punish Sangrām were successful. By the Divine succour the breeze of victory played on the pennants of fortune, and in both places much plunder was obtained. Some said that Moẓaffar had been drowned. He could not remain where he was, but fled to Cutch. Bihāra Jāreja the ruler of that country placed him in retirement. On 26 Ābān the Khān A'ẓim went there from Jūnagarh, sending on ahead his son 'Abdullah with some brave men. Mīr 'Abdu-r-Razzāq M'amūrī, who had been appointed Bakhshī of that country, arrived on this day. On 9 Āẓar he arrived, after traversing 55 *kos* in ten marches, at the village of Amrān,[2] which is the burial-place of Dāwar-al-Mulk. The Jām came with his sons and other relatives and renewed his promises of good service. The ruler of Cutch sent able men and had recourse to cajolery. He spoke about obeying orders and sent his son to do service. His pretences did not lull asleep the Kokaltāsh, and he replied that if he wished to be delivered from the victorious troops, he should deliver up Moẓaffar, and come in person. At this time Lokan Kohal (?) went off with evil thoughts and without leave to his house, and the soldiers in Jūnagarh plundered his house and household. His three sons were killed. The Khān A'ẓam sent his son Khurram to that quarter with some brave men. He himself left

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[1] No doubt this is Sankūdhar, J. II. 248. It is now called Beyt Shankhodhar. It is in the Gulf of Cutch and N.E. Dwārka. It was near Arāmrāh. See I. G. VIII. 17 and Bayley 195 and note. It is a sacred island. Beyt apparently means "island" in Gujarātī.

[2] The Amrūn of Bayley, 232, where it is said to be ten *kos* from Morbī. It is the burial-place of Dāwar-ul-Mulk, whose proper name was 'Abdu-l-Laṭīf and who was regarded as a saint. The M. Sikandarī, p. 127, calls the place Anbarūn and says it is in Cutch (not Sorath).

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Morbī, and having marched 31 *kos* in five stages arrived at the village of Cārbāra.[1] As the words of that proprietor[2] in those two matters did not produce action, he (M. Koka) wished to make over his estates to the Jām. He left his pretences and sent a message to the effect that if the town of Morbī—which had belonged to his ancestors for a long time—were given to him as a reward, he would deliver up Moẓaffar. His proposals were accepted, and some persons were sent ahead of the army. On 13 Dai, 23 December 1592, they arrived there. The proprietor's agents represented to the turbulent
630 one (Moẓaffar) that Bihāra was coming to wait upon (*dīdan*) him. He was pleased[3] and came out with alacrity. When he came near, they arrested him and brought him back. That night passed on the journey. Next morning, he retired[3] on pretence of easing himself, and put a razor—which he had kept hidden—to his throat. Thus by his own hand he gave the final touch to his retribution. Apparently this was well, for the Khān A'ẓam would not have put him to death

[1] Variant Jāobāra, and this is supported by I.O. MSS. and Add. 27, 247.

[2] This is the ruler of Cutch whose esidence was at Bhūj, I.G. VIII. 151. Ą.F. calls him Bihāra and the T. A. Elliot V. 466 calls him Khangār. These statements are reconciled by Bayley, p. 17, where we find the Zamindār of Bhūj called Bihāra Khengār. The Jām whom M. Koka threatened to give Bihāra's property to was the Jām of Nawānagar. The two matters, or conditions, which Bihara was to fulfil were evidently, 1st, the surrender of Moẓaffar; 2nd, Bihāra's coming on in person to visit the K. K. The text makes them alternative, but *yā* seems a mistake for *bā*. The Zamindar Bihāra who delivered up Moẓaffar appeared before Jahangir in the 13th year of the reign of the latter. He was then an old man of about 90 years of age. Tūzuk J., 234.

[3] The text seems corrupt here, and the word *bapaẓīra* is not very intelligible. Add. 27,247 has a different reading, p. 416*b*. After giving the message that Bihāra had come to wait upon Moẓaffar, who, of course, was regarded as a prince, and of higher rank, it has *khūsh waqt gashta, banda barah barāmid.* This seems to be part of Bihara's message, and to mean, "It is a fortunate time and so your slave (Bihāra) has come on the road to wait upon you."

The Iqbālnāma and the Mirāt Aḥmadī say that Moẓaffar sate down at the foot of a tree to wash, and that he had the razor concealed in his drawers (*shalwār*). The Mirāt Sikandarī and Aḥmadi, pp. 387 and 190, say the occurrence took place at the village of Dhamon or Dahar, 15 *kos* "on this side," i.e. east of Bhūj. Ferishta adds that Moẓaffar always kept the razor with him against this day.

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without orders, and if they had brought him into the Presence, H.M.'s abundant graciousness would not have hunted for his life. In revenge for Quṭbu-d-dīn K., his head was severed from his body and hung[1] up at the door of Naurang K., and afterwards Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad[2] brought it to court. Two days previous to this H.M. had said, "Inasmuch as the help of God towards this suppliant increases daily, every one who turns away his head from obedience descends into non-existence. The ingratitude of Moẓaffar has gone far. Something tells my heart that about this time he will be killed." On beholding this intelligence, eyesalve became cheap and a door of auspiciousness was opened out for many.

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[1] *Bar dar*, "at the door," but perhaps *bar* here means body. If the head was taken off to Akbar, it could hardly have been hung at Naurang's door or gate, except for a short time.

[2] The son of Shāh Moḥammad K. (Iqbālnāma).

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CHAPTER CXVI.

Return of the august standards to Lahore the Capital.

Thanks be to God that the veil was once more withdrawn from the world-ruler's knowledge of mysteries and that high and low obtained materials of guidance. During his return, his idea had been that he would locate the army for a time on the bank of the Indus, and enjoy some hunting. The soldiers would recruit and the rebels would be reduced to obedience. For this reason Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī was sent off to prepare the camping ground at Attock. H.M. halted in Rohtās and questions[1] were put to Zain K. Kokaltāsh and other officers who had been appointed to chastise the Tārīkīs. As it did not appear proper to proceed in that direction, he on 2nd Dāi[2] went on towards Lahore. After sixteen marches he arrived in that city on the 19th Dai, 29 December 1592. Crowds of men obtained the material of fortune, and largesse was the order of the day (lit. there was a daily market of largesse). From Srīnagar to Rohtās is 112 *kos*, 30 poles, and the distance was traversed in eighteen marches. To Lahore (from Rohtās) the distance is 162½ *kos*, 16 poles, and it was traversed in thirty-four marches. An account of the Divine favours which were bestowed during this expedition has been given. A world sate gathering bliss, and the Age rose up to the fruition of its desires. At this time Balbhadahar the son of Rām Cand the ruler of Bhat'h[3] obtained lofty rank. His father had left him to wait upon H.M. At this

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[1] A. F.'s letter to Zain K. Koka inquiring about the expedition against the Tārīkīs, and suggesting that the business was too unimportant to require Akbar's presence at Attock, will be found in the second volume of the Inshā. It is dated 9 Āzar (the day after the arrival at Rohtās) of the 37th year = 28 Ṣafr 1001, 23 November 1592.

[2] The text and also the I.O. MSS. have Āzar, but clearly Dai must be meant.

[3] Text Tattah! It is Bhet'h or Bhattah, and also Pannah, and is in Central India. See B. 8406, where the son is called Bīr Bhadr. He died of an accident in the following year. See below p. 641. The Iqbālnāma also calls him Bīr Bhadr.

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time news came that the father had died on 27 Shahrīyūr. On 27 Dai H.M. appointed him to the same dignity of Rajaship. He conferred favours on him and sent him off to that country. On this 631 day Khwāja Sulaimān, the Bakhshī of Gujarat, had an audience and the presents of the Mīrzā were produced. On the 29th H.M., contrary to his morning custom, came into the daulatkhāna. After seeing[1] that everything was as usual he went to the gynocaeum. The pigeon house, in the shed of which many animals were reposing, fell down, and the cause of his unusual coming out became evident. On 2 Bahmān news came that Ghāzī K. Qazwīnī had died in Bengal of diarrhoea. On the 4th a female elephant which did not use to hurt a tiny ant broke out and killed her keeper and fourteen others.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to the northern mountains. As the proprietors there showed themselves refractory and did not accompany[2] the expedition to Kashmīr, H.M., on the 16th, at the request of Qulīj K., sent his son Saif Ullah there, and gave him Qāẓī Ḥasan as a companion. Though some proprietors came forward and paid their respects, Lāl Deo the ruler of Jammū was recalcitrant. Zain K. gave him quarter and brought him to court, and the northern rising subsided. At this time the home of Rām Cand was plundered. He is one of the famous *zamīndars* of Orissa, and by the glory of H.M.'s star he became obedient, and sent his son to do service. Rajah Mān Singh summoned him and he objected. The Rajah from inappreciativeness consigned his goodnesses to oblivion and sent Jagat Singh, Mīr Sharīf Sarmadī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Barkhūrdār, Abu-l-baqā, Maḥmūd Beg Shāmlū, Shihābu-d-dīn Diwāna and others to wage war on him. A commotion arose. Rām Cand entered the fort of Khurdah[3] which was the strongest of his fortresses. The imperialists took up their quarters close by, and proceeded to attack the country. The forts Sahajpāl (?) Khāragarh, Kālūpāra, Kahnān, Longarh, Bhūnmāl, and many populated places fell into possession. On hearing of this,

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[1] The sentence is not in the Cawnpore ed. For Akbar's mode of spending his time see B. 153. Ordinarily he went first to the harem. The pigeon-house was in the inner apartments. See p. 646.

[2] See above, p. 619.

[3] Text has Chorgarha, but the variant Khūrdah must be right. Several of the forts are mentioned in J. II. 142 *et seq.*, but the names in text do not appear.

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H.M.—who appreciates dignities—became angry, and issued censures. The Rajah recalled his troops, and apologised. Rām Cand, on seeing the graciousness of H.M., took the thought of paying his respects. On 21 Bahman he visited the Rajah (Mān Singh), and was treated with much respect.

One of the occurrences was the going astray of the Afghans. When the rebels of Orissa submitted, the Rajah wisely gave Khwāja Sulaimān, Khwāja 'Uṣmān, Sher Kh. and Haibat Kh. fiefs in Khalīfahābād, and selected Ṭāhir K. and Khwāja Bāqir Anṣārī to accompany them. From the shortsightedness and foolish talk of inexperienced persons he afterwards took away their *jāgīrs* and sum-
632 moned them to his presence. Out of ignorance, the Afghans became frightened and made sedition-mongering the means of their deliverance. On the 27th Bāqir was near Kharakpūr[1] and was going with some elephants to his estates when that crew cast aside the veil of respect and opened the hand of plunder. He was wounded, and retired. Pahār K., Tolak K., Farakh K., and the men of S'aīd K. gathered together to remedy matters, but from want of courage did not address themselves to battle. The Rajah sent his son Himmat Singh with some troops. The Afghans went on plundering and came to the port of Satgāon.[2] But as they could not lay hands on it, they returned unsuccessful, and proceeded to the house[3] of Cānd Rai. The officers came from Jahānābād. Himmat Singh went

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[1] Text Gorakhpūr. But the variant Kharakpūr is supported by MSS. and seems right. It was in Fatḥābad Sarkār, J. II. 132. I.O. MS. 236 and also another MS. have *pūr* "son," after Kharakpūr and before Bāqir, thus making it Bāqir's son who was attacked and wounded. Perhaps this is the Bāqir K. Safarcī who is mentioned at p. 649 as being attached to Jahangir's troops, and at p. 672 as having died in Bengal. He was, evidently, a different man from Bāqir Anṣārī. Bāqir, or Bāqī, was the son of Ṭāhir, who is perhaps the Ṭāhir of p. 631.

[2] Text Sangāon. But there is no such place and Sonargāon is impossible. No doubt it is Satgāon or Sātgāon near Hugli. See J. II. 125 and note, and 140. Jahānābād is in the Hugli district. The Iqbālnāma has Sātgāon.

[3] Four MSS. which I have examined have *ba Busna* before the word house. Probably this is right and the place meant is Bhūshna in the Farīdpūr district. It was a famous *pargana* in old times and the seat of a Hindu zamindar. The Cawnpore ed. has بسته Basta.

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on a little way and then turned back. When the Afghans came near that place, Cānd Rai, at the suggestion of his father, conceived the idea of capturing them, and by his unskilfulness forfeited his own life. When Dilāwar, Sulaimān, and 'Uṣmān encamped within four *kos* of the place (Bhūshna), he adopted the manners of a host. On 1 Isfandārmaz the first two came to his house. When Dilāwar got up for a necessary [1] purpose they seized him. Sulaimān, seeing this, laid hold of his sword and scattered the men. He killed three men and got to the gate of the fort. He killed several and bravely made his exit. On the road some men joined him, and he got on his horse and went quickly to his quarters. Cānd Rai followed him, and 'Uṣmān, on hearing of the affair, came to help. On the way, Sulaimān told the tale of Dilawār's capture, his own escape, and of the coming of the foe. Of necessity they set their hearts upon dying, and there was a hot engagement. The servants of the proprietor who were mostly Afghans, turned traitors and joined their country men, and he (Cānd) was killed. They plundered, and then set off for the fort. Those inside thought it was Cānd Rai and opened the gate. In this way the Afghans prevailed. By the intrigues of 'Isā *zamīndār* they took shelter with him, and made over the fort and territory to Kedār Rai the father of Cānd Rai. At this time the fort of Mānpūr was taken. It lies between Orissa and Telingāna. An army marched against it and took it without much trouble. Rajah Mān Singh gave it to Rām Cand.

One of the occurrences was the marriage-feast of Prince Sulṭān Selīm. Just as for other people more than one wife is not suitable, so for great persons more are necessary, so that their dwellings may be more [2] splendid, and a large number of people may be supported. Especially is this so with nobly-born persons who are the ornament of the Age. At the beginning of this spring Gulrukh Begam, the daughter [3] of M. Kāmrān, begged that her daughter might enter the harem of the Shāhinshāh's son. H.M. agreed and there was a banquet of joy. There was largesse and there were marriage presents. On the night of 7 Isfandārmaz H.M. had a meet-

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1 *ba kāre*, lit. for a business. Cf. Iqbālnāma.

2 Probably the meaning is that there may be more progeny.

3 Her name was Nurū-n-nisā. B. 477 n.

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633 ing in the house of Miriām Makānī, and the marriage was solemnized at an auspicious hour.

On the 23rd Pahār[1] K. died in Bardwān. His heirs were treated with princely favours.

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[1] B. 405.

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CHAPTER CXVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 38TH DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR ARDIBIHISHT OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

One the eve of Sunday 17 Jumāda-al-ākhirī, 1001 A.H., 10 or 11 March 1593, after 3 hours 55 minutes, the spiritual and physical light-increaser cast his rays on the Sign of Aries. Melancholy terrestrials had heavenly bliss, and had equal rank with the celestials.

Verse.

The hand of morn kindled the torch of the new spring.
The branching[1] standards took to torch-bearing
By the side of the wind, the black earth clothed itself in green.
Every flowerpot[2] drank milk from the breast of the clouds.

There was a daily feast till the day of Exaltation, and high and low rejoiced.

On 8 Farwardīn the Khān-Khānān came from Sind and was exalted by doing homage. M. Jānī gathered bliss by having an audience, and placed the forehead of supplication on the ground, while the crown of his fortune was exalted to the skies. After the peace, the victorious army took up its quarters in Sann, 20 *kos* from Sehwān. When the rains came to an end they were in expectation of the arrival of the Mīrzā and of his departing to court. Suddenly a message arrived that as he was a little indisposed, and there was a long journey in prospect, he would go to court after collecting the autumn-revenue; also that the agreement was that this side of Sehwān would be restored to him; but Puran (?) and Hālākandī had not been given up. The imperial servants took the envoy under their

1 Meaning that every branch bore flowers.

2 *Khazaf*. The MSS. seem to have *kharaf* meaning an old, weak man; and the metaphor may be that they grew young, i.e. became sucklings. But khazaf seems right.

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supervision and proceeded to take active measures. Shāh Beg K., Ghāzī K., Jānish Bahādur, Nūram Khwāja Khiẓrī, and other brave men crossed the Indus and proceeded by land towards Tatta. Bakhtiyār Beg, Qarā Beg, Muḥammad K. Niyāzī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Khwāja Muqīm Bakhshī, 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, Khwāja Ḥisāmu-d-dīn, Sālār Beg, Sarmadī, Mubāriz Beg, Subḥān Qulī, Tāj K., Nūru-d-dīn, S'aīd Beg and others went in war-boats by the river. Sher K., Khūlgān, Langā, Dada Beg, 'Alī Āqā and others went by the river bank. It was arranged that all three bodies should keep touch of one another, and that they should take possession of Naṣīrpūr which was on the
634 route. The idea was that the Mīrzā must go to court. After some days the Khān-Khānān sent an ambassador with weighty advices, and followed in person. The troops prevailed over Naṣirpūr. The Mīrzā came out of Tatta and took post at a distance of three *kos*. His intention was to make his rear[1] safe up to the river (?). When the Khān-Khānān arrived at Naṣīrpūr he sent on the three corps with the same arrangements as before. They attacked the Mīrzā's camp and plundered it, and some of the Arghūnians joined them. The Mīrzā had recourse to supplications, and he sent able men to inquire why the treaty was broken. The reply was, "We are not breaking the treaty, and we have no new ideas in our minds, but we have heard that the Feringhī soldiers of Ormuz intend to come to this country. Hence we intend to go on to Bandar Laharī."[2] The plunder which had been taken was returned with apologies (?). The Khān-Khānān always had an eager desire for concord. On 10 Ābān of the previous year they met each other on horseback. Out of foresight the Khān-Khānān proceeded as far as Tatta. His ostensible motive was to see the place, but his real intent was to secure the lower part of the river, and to prevent any change in the feelings of the Arghūnīāns. When he had gone some way in that direction, and his mind was set at rest, he returned. "As the bond of friendship had been established, it was fitting that the Mīrzā should deliver up his fleet so that no one could have occasion to make any remark,

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[1] عقبات *'aqabāt*. I.O. MS. 236 has *qanāt*. The meaning seems to be that M. Jānī wished to keep open his communications with the river as there was a prospect of the Portuguese coming to help him. *'Aqabāt* may mean "communications."

[2] Lahorī Bandar in the Karāchī district, now quite decayed. I. G., XXII. 403, and Elliot I., App. 377.

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and that foolish praters might be reduced to silence." The Mīrzā was thus constrained to give up the whole country to the victorious army. He prepared to go to court. After viewing Tatta, the Khān-Khānān went on to Bandar Laharī. He dispatched Shāh Beg K., Bakhtiyār Beg, Farīdūn Barlās and others to go forward with the Mīrzā. He left some in Tatta and returned by land. Near Fatḥ Bāgh he arrived in person. On 29 Bahman he left Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn . . . . . to guard the country and went off to court with the Mīrzā. Though he (the Mīrzā) wished to leave his family in Tatta, he could not. His household went off by land and water, and he himself went on with the Khān-Khānān, and set his heart upon kissing the threshold. Shāh Beg K. . . . . and, from among the nobles of Tatta, Shāh Qāsim Arghūn, Khusrū Bāī K., 'Il Bastam, Saifullah 'Arab, and Nadīm Koka had the honour of being presented, and every one of them recieved princely favours.

M. Jānī[1] is the son of Payinda Muḥammad, s. M. Bāqī, s. M. 'Īsā, s. 'Abdu-l-'Alī, s. 'Abdu-l-Khāliq, who was descended from Shakal[2] Beg Tarkhān. As his (Shakal's) father Atkū[3] Timur fell bravely in the war of Taqtamish K., the Ṣāḥib Qirānī (Taimūr), cherished him in his early years, and gave him the rank of Tarkhān. He is four generations from Arghūn K. s. Abāgh[4] K., s. Hulāgū K., s. Tūlī K., s. Cingīz K. Just rulers exempted some among their servants from certain injunctions and prohibitions, and distinguished them by this name (Tarkhān). A Tarkhān of the Ṣāḥibqirān was one whom his ushers (Chāwashān) did not keep out of any place, and from whom, and from whose children, no inquiry was made up to the number of nine faults. The great Qāan Cingīz K. exalted Qishlīq and Bānā[5] to this rank because they had given information 635

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1 Cf. B. 361 and J. II. 346.

2 Shankal in B. and I.O. MS. 236.

3 Text, Īkū, and it is Ekū, in Elliot I. 497. B. has Atkū, and so have the I.O. MSS. It is Īkū in Ẓafrnāma I. 525 etc. The Ẓafrnāma seems to have Shāh Mulk instead of Shankal or Shakal, I. 530. These privileges of Tarkhāns are referred to on the same page.

4 Ayāgh in text.

5 Bātā in B. Neither of these two names, nor the reason why Cingīz bestowed the honour, is mentioned in the T. Rashīdī. The story is, however, told in Elliot I. 498, where the names of the two men are given as Bā'ta and Kashlak. It is there said that they heard of Āvang K.'s intending to kill Cingīz, and came

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about the enemy, and, from his abundant graciousness, relieved them from the burden of attendance (*bār-i-farmāīsh*), and did not exact from them the royal share of the booty. For a while the Tarkhān had seven privileges, viz.—1st, A *Ṭabb* (kettle-drum). 2nd, A Tumantogh (standard). 3rd, A Naqqāra (also a drum). 4th, A Tarkhān could confer on two of his select servants a qushūntogh[1] (the standard of a squadron?). 5th, He also could carry a Chatrtogh. 6th, He had a qūr.

It is a Moghul regulation that no one except the sovereign can carry his quiver in his hand. His hunting-ground is also taboo (*qurq*). If any one enter it, he becomes a slave. He[2] is the head of his tribe. The Amīrs in the high-divan sit further off and on both sides of him, and are a bow's length away. When Amīr Būlāgī raised Tughlaq Taimūr (to the throne of the Khānate), there was conferred upon him the right of appointing and dismissing officers up to the rank of one thousand (*hazārī*). It was also ordered that no inquiry should be held about (the offences of) his children up to nine generations. When the offences exceeded nine in number, an inquiry would be held. Then when retribution for this was to be inflicted, he was to be placed on a two-year old white horse, and a white cloth was to be put under the horse's feet. His representation was to be conveyed (to the Khān) by one of the chiefs of the Barlās tribe, and the answer by one of the chiefs of the Arkīwat tribe. Then his neck vein (*shāhrag*) was opened and the two Amīrs stood on each side and watched, until he died. Then they removed him from the presence and buried him with lamentation. Khiẓr Khwāja raised Amīr Khudādād to this rank, and he

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and told him. Apparently, the story is contained in the Tarkhānnāma.

Ḥaidar speaks, p. 55, of Cingīz's having conferred the seven privileges of a Tarkhān on Urtubu, who, we learn from p. 17, was grandfather of Amīr Būlāgī. At pp. 23 and 56, Ḥaidar says he once saw the original *firmān* of Toghluq Timūr.

1 Perhaps the meaning is that the Tarkhān could appoint two of his servants to commands. This was afterwards made a general power to appoint officers up to the rank of 1000. The last of the seven privileges is obscure both in the T. Rashīdī and in the Akbarnāma. Abul Faẓl seems only to mention six. Cf. Dr. Bellew's translation of the T. Rashīdī in his History of Kāshghar, p. 153 of the Yārkand Report, 1875.

2 Text *khwāh*. Is this a mistake for khākān?

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added three other privileges. 1st, On feast-days, when all the grandees stood, and one *yasāwal* of the ruler was on horseback to keep order, the Tarkhān also had a horse. 2nd, As when in that feast of joy the cup of *qimōz* was held on the Khān's right hand, so also did a cupbearer hold one on the left hand for the Tarkhān. 3rd, His seal appeared on the face of the *firmāns*, but the seal of the king is put at the head of the last line, and that of the Tarkhān below that.

If all favours be in accordance with discretion they will agree with the performance of God's will. The provision about not inquir- 636
ing until nine faults have been committed, of whatever nature they may be, does not appear to be consonant with propriety. If farseeing princes are engaged in testing men, and take care that no evil deed be committed by them, and if such orders have been issued for the exaltation of some persons, then it is something comprehensible. But as for that provision that no inquiry is to be made for nine generations, it would look as if the Almighty had given him (the Khān) the power of knowing the future! Whither have my words strayed! And whither have I gone in order to refresh my narrative?[1]

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[1] A.F. has copied this account of the Tarkhān and his privileges from Ḥaidar M. See the T. R. Ross and Elias, pp. 23 and 55. But the translation there given is not wholly correct, and the passage has to be explained by Mr. Blochmann's note, B. 364. Possibly too A. F. did not altogether understand his authority, and his copyists have certainly made mistakes. In one or two places I have ventured to differ from Mr. Blochmann, who apparently was not aware that the original passage was in the T. R. The words *tamantogh* and catrtogh are explained in B. 50. See also the note to the explanation of Plate 9, B. IX. Mr. Blochmann, translating A. F., says the amirs sate, arranged in the form of a bow. I have preferred Denison Ross's translation, which comes from A. F.'s original, and makes them sit a bow's length away. There is an useful preçis of A. F. in the Maaṣir III, pp. 302-4, in which the mistakes of some of the copyists are corrected. The mention of the Arkīwat tribe, and of "the two amirs" instead of "two amīrs," in the account of the Tarkhān's punishment, seems due to a corrupt text. I do not find the name of such a tribe, and there is no such name in the T. R. In a MS. of the T. R. in my possession, the words are *azkaṣrat-ādab* "with great respect." Perhaps this has been read as Arkīwat. Denison-Ross has "from an elevation," the whole of the passage being as follows: "The accused should be set upon a white, two-year-old horse; under the hoofs of the horse, nine folds of white felt should be placed

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Verse.

What words do I utter, whither have they driven my conveyance?
Whether have we gone, and where has our steed halted?

M. 'Abdu-l-'Alī attained to high rank under Sulṭān Maḥmūd M. the son of Sulṭān Abu S'aīd M., and became ruler of Bokhāra. Shaibek K. Uzbeg was in his service, but when he attained the Sultanate, he killed his master[1] and his five sons, and so gathered the materials of eternal ruin. M. 'Īsā was six months' old. The Arghūn clan being without a head, left Transoxiana and some came to Khurāsān. Mīr Zū-n-nūn Beg Arghūn became a great man under Sulṭān Ḥusain M. Qandahār, Sīstān and Zamīndāwar were given to him as his fiefs. When Badī'u-zamān M. had the wickedness to rebel against Sulṭān Ḥusain M. (his father), Mīr Ẕū-n-nūn joined him, and gave him his daughter. When Sulṭān Ḥusaīn M. died, his two sons Badīu'-z-Zamān and Moẓaffar ascended the throne, and there ensued distractions in the country. Shaībeg came to fight, and Ẕū-n-nūn was killed in battle against him. His son Shāh Beg was kept in Qandahar under surveillance (by Shaibānī). Shāh Beg sent for Bābur from Kabul in order that he might enter into his service and proceed to Khurāsan, but when Bābur approached, he fought with him. A great battle took place, and Shāh Beg was defeated, and Qandahar and the collections of years were lost. Bābur left Nāṣir M. (in Qandahar) and returned to Kabul. At the

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as a token of respect—and he should in that position address the Khān, while the Khān should speak to him from an elevation. When the interrogatory and investigation have been conducted in this fashion, if the offence should be a mortal one, and the other nine crimes should also be proved against him, two Amīrs should stand by and watch him while his veins were opened and all his blood drawn from his body." N.B.—The word for veins in the T.R. is *shāhraghā*, i.e. "principal veins"; in A. F. it is the singular, *shāhrag*. Perhaps A. F. has gone into such detail about the title of Tarkhan because Akbar nominally revived it and conferred it on Maulānā Nūru-d-dīn, the guardian of his father's tomb. See B. 542, Badayunī III. 198 and M'aaṣir I. 480.

[1] The master, or rather benefactor, whom he killed was Sulṭan Mahmūd Khān son of Yūnus K. and not Sulṭan Maḥmūd M. the son of Abū S'aīd. A.F.'s elliptic mode of writing might lead one to suppose that the

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instigation of Muqīm, Shah[1] Beg's brother, Shaibānī (Uzbeg) came to Qandahar. Nāṣir carefully guarded it, and as there was a report of a disturbance in Khurāsan, Shaibāni made peace and returned. After some time Nāṣir left Qandahar without cause, and came to Kabul. Shāh Beg acted promptly and took Qandahar. When Shaibāni in battle with Ismʿaīl Ṣafavī got his retribution for killing his master, Shāh Beg came to Herat at the summons of the Shāh (Ismʿaīl), and was put into prison. Sanbal[2] by name, a slave, from goodness and faithfulness, made a plot with forty leaders of the Arghūns, and, going to Herat, set up as a shopkeeper. He set up a shop for a while. He made clever arrangements and by means of pretexts contrived to convey news to the prison, and he in a consummate manner revealed his secret plan. Shāh Beg got the help of the other prisoners, and that faithful one brought together strong horses and had them shod backwards. At night he drugged the food of the guards and brought Shāh Beg out of prison. He himself guided him to Qandahār. After some time Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) made an expedition against him. He did not think himself strong enough to resist and retired into the fort. After two years peace was made. He went towards Shāl[3] and lay in wait. From there he came to 637
Sehwān and took Sewistān from Jām Nandā[4] who was of the Jādūn tribe and known generally as Samma (?). During the time of his son Jām Fīrūz, Shāh Beg got possession of the whole of Sind. He also took Multan from the Langāhs. When he died, he was succeeded by his son Shāh Ḥusaīn. Jinnat Āshīyānī (Humāyūn) came to him at the time of his misfortune, but Shāh Ḥusain in his folly went to war with him. Some account of this has been given in the first

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master he killed was either Abū Sʿaīd's son or Abdu-l-ʿalī, but both of them died a natural death. See T. R. 166. A. F. does not give Ẕū-alnūn's descent. It is stated in the Tarkhānnāma quoted in Elliot I. that he was the son of Amīr Baṣrī.

[1] The name is not in text, but occurs in I.O. MS. 236.

[2] See the story in Erskine's Hist. of India, I. 345, and also in Malet, T. Sind, 76.

[3] Text *basūī Damsāl*, I.O. MS., 235, has "towards Shāl," and so has the Iqbālnāma.

[4] Text has Jām Banda. See Elliot I. 233. Also for Samna, the text has *bahamma*. I.O. MS. 236 has Samma, and 235 has Samand. See Tārīkh Sind, Malet 55, and Jarrett II. 343, 346 and B. 362. See also Elliot I. App. 494. The Sammas became Muhammadans about the end of the 14th century.

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volume (of the Akbarnāma). As[1] a retribution for his wickedness, he lost his intelligence, and could not distinguish a friend from an enemy. He took flattery and cajolery to be the tests of goodness. He constantly spent six months in ascending the river, and six months in going down stream. When he was going towards Bhakkar, Kastak,[2] (?), Mīr Shāham, and Kīrchak, who were noted men among the Arghūns, raised up M. 'Isā—whose ancestors had been the heads of the Arghūn clan—and seized Tughlaqābād[3] and Tatta. On hearing this, Shah Ḥusain turned back without going to Bhakkar. With the help of Sulṭān Maḥmūd his foster-brother, who was governor of Bhakkar, he prepared for war, and encamped near Koh Haftdakhtar (the hill of the seven daughters), and with a stream in front of him. For six months, naval fights went on. By the evil machinations of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, a sort of peace was made. The country of Sind was divided into five portions, three being assigned to M. 'Īsā and two to M. Shah Ḥusain. Afterwards[4] that ingrate deprived his master of the wine he was accustomed to. He died in the same[5] year as that in which Humāyūn went to heaven, and the whole country came into the possession of M. 'Īsā. When he died, his son M. Bāqī succeeded him. Madness overcame him, and he stuck a sword-hilt in a wall, and drove

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[1] Cf. Malet 121.

[2] Variant Kabīk, and this agrees with Elliot I. 320, which has Mīr Kabaik. B.M. MS. Add. 27,247 has Kīstīk.

[3] A fort about two miles S. Tatta. Elliot I. App. 402. It is mentioned also in Elliot I. 272 and 319.

[4] *Sipas ān na sipās sarāb rā az khudawand khwesh ke bān-i-khūd dāsht bāzgirift.* This is an obscure sentence. The text has sirāb or sarāb, but all the MSS. seem to have *sharāb.* Instead of khūd dāsht I.O. MS. 236 has *khū dāsht.* No. 259 of Ethé has *sharāb.* We are told by M'aṣūm, Malet 124, that Shah Ḥusain, after he was attacked by palsy, constantly drank wine, and remained in an intoxicated condition. Apparently then, A. F. means that Sulṭān Maḥmūd caused Shah Ḥusain's death by depriving him of wine, to which he was accustomed. Perhaps, however, the meaning is quite different, and is that Shāh Ḥusain experienced the ingratitude which he had shown to Humāyūn. The T. Ṭāhirī has a great deal to say about Shah Ḥusain's misconduct towards Humāyūn, and contrasts it with the kindness and loyalty shown by M. 'Isā to Humāyūn. The latter in consequence prophesied that M. 'Isā would get the kingdom.

[5] Humāyūn died in 963 (1556) and Shāh Ḥusain in 962, or according to the Tarkhānnāma Elliot I. 323, on 12 Rabi'-al-awwal 961 = 15 February 1554.

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the point into his belly. He died,[1] and the Arghūns assigned the name of royalty to his son M. Pāyinda, but as he was a recluse, and of an insane disposition, the administration was committed to his son M. Jānī Beg. In the previous year (1000? 1592) the recluse died. For the sake of refreshing my narrative, I have disgressed somewhat. Now I return to my tale with the same straightforwardness as formerly. May this quality never fail!

On 15 Farwardīn Shāham K. Jalāīr and Qāsim K. Tamkīn came from their fiefs and had the good fortune of an audience, and were exalted by princely favours. On the day of exaltation (*sharf*) the feast of the lunar weighment look place. That noble personality was weighed against eight articles, and many necessitous ones had their desires gratified. On this day, the territory of Tattah was given in fief to M. Shāhrukh. M. Jānī Beg was given a *manṣab* of 3000, and the province of Multan. All those who had served in Sind received 638
the reward of their service. Shāh Beg K. was made an officer of 2500 and Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn one of a 1000. Similarly, every one received in accordance with his merit. On this day, M. Qubād, who had learnt wisdom in the school of the prison, was released.

One of the occurrences was the departure of M. Koka for the Ḥijāz. For a long time fancies had taken possession of him. He thought that H.M. disliked him, and he regarded[2] marks of favour as censures. At the time when he showed good service, H.M. out of excessive affection summoned him to his presence. The old frenzy boiled over, and he sank into improper thoughts. He had not the courage to treat his imaginings as realities, and yet come to court, nor the discernment to rid himself of his wrong ideas. He dismissed Naurang K., Gūjar K., Khwāja Ashraf and many of the royal servants to their *jāgīrs*, and went off himself to Jūnagarh. But without going there, he proceeded to Dwārka, in order that he

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1 Malet 136 says, he committed suicide in 1571 (979). But apparently the true date is 993 (1585). See B. 362 and the MS. T. M'asūmī.

2 Probably this refers to his appointment to Aḥmadābād, which according to Khāfī K. was procured by the brothers Faiẓī and A. F. in order to get him away from Akbar. See Tūzuk Jahāngīrī, p. 38, for account of a seditious letter written by M. Koka to Rajah 'Alī K. See also the letter which he wrote to Akbar from Mecca. Darbār A. 859 and Khāfī K. I. 201.

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might after the fashion of thorough-going men take the road of exile. He disclosed his secret to some confidants, and hurried off to Pūr Bandar. That is a populous place on the seashore. It has a stone fort, and most of the wall is of stone. From there he went to Mangalūr.[1] He gave out that he meditated the capture of the port of Diu, and he stopped the coming and going of traders from all the ports of Gujarat—a traffic which makes Diu prosperous. The Christians were put into straits and made a peace. It was agreed that this year the Divine[2] ship (*Jahāz-i-Ilāhī*) which is always filled up in Diu, should only be half filled (there) and that the other half should be freighted wherever the owner of it (*khedive*) chose, and that the 10,000 Maḥmūdis,[3] which was the hire, would not be demanded, and that the embarkation might take place wherever he chose (?). No one would interfere with this. In order to deceive people, he wrote to the Jām and to Bihāra (of Kach) that he was going to court by way of Sind, and asked that they would arrange to accompany him. He also described the route, stage by stage, and requested them to make suitable arrangements for food and water. When he came to Pattan Somnāth he confined Mīr 'Adu-r-Ṛazzāq Bakhshī and Saiyid[4] Bāyazīd, and took a promise from the soldiers that they would not prevent him from going. On 15 Farwadin,[5] 25th March 1593, he embarked on the ship Ilāhī at the port of Balāwal[6] which is near

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[1] The Māngrol of I.G. It is in the Jūnagarh State. Supposed to be the Monoglossum of Ptolemy.

[2] Many MSS. have Jahāz Ilāhī-i-Kokaltāsh. B.M. MS. 27,247 has Ilāhī guft Kokaltāsh "The Divine ship called the "Kokaltāsh." Apparently the ships belonging to Akbar or those employed for the pilgrimage were all called Ilāhī, and Kokaltāsh was the name of this special ship. Possibly jahāz here means ships or fleet, and the meaning is that M. Koka would get one ship to himself. Probably there were at least two pilgrim-ships.

[3] The Mahmūdī was worth about a shilling; Bayley 16 *n.*, 10,000 then would be worth £500.

[4] B. 501. The Iqbālnāma says that, before departing, he released them and apologised for having imprisoned them.

[5] 1 Rajab, 24th March 1593. Elliot V. 466. Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 400, 401, Maaṣir I. 683, and Khāfī K. I. 197 *et seq.* M. Koka disliked A. F. and his brother, and they in their turn intrigued to have him employed far from court. He wrote to Akbar and sneeringly asked if he regarded these brothers as Uṣmān and 'Alī. B. 326 *n.*

[6] The Verāwal of I.G. 2 m.

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Somnāth. Six of his sons—Kharram, Anwar, 'Abdu-l-lah, 'Abdu-l-laṭīf, Martaẓā, 'Abdu-l-Ghafūr, and six daughters, together with their mothers, accompanied him. He took[1] with him Khwāja Bābā, Ḥāfiẓ 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, Mullā Yūsuf, Ḥakīm Masa'ūd, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Qāsim 'Alī, and others, to the number of one hundred persons. The anchor was raised at night, and he went afar from the *Qibla* of hope. H.M., on hearing of this, forgave the crookedness of his vision, and his errors, and prayed to God for his deliverance, and for the success of his journey. He said, "Inasmuch as I have trod the path of peace with Jews and Nazarenes and others, how can I rise up against my own protegé? I so love 'Azīz that though he show evil thoughts, we can think nothing but good of him. 639
Should his mother die of grief for his absence, it will be hard for him to be delivered from the harshness of the world. Otherwise he will soon repent of what he has done." He also said, "Before this, the mother of the Mīrzā came into our presence. Before I knew what she was going to do she made a cup of water revolve round my head and then drank it. When I asked what she meant, she said, 'This night I had a dream that something untoward had happened to the Shāhinshāh. I have taken it upon myself.' Apparently she had seen her son in my[2] form." H.M. was most gracious to his sons and servants—who were in a state of great perplexity—and raised

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N. W. Somnāth temple. It is 20 m. S. E. Mangrol. The Iqbālnāma says that when 'Azīz was leaving, all the soldiers and others stood on the shore and beat their drums. Badayūnī, Lowe, 401, says people compared M. Koka's journey to that of Ibrāhīm Adham, but that afterwards it did not matter whether he had gone or not (meaning that he lost all the merit by his afterwards accepting the Divine Faith of Akbar). He also says that Akbar had sent for him before he left, and had deprived him of Jūnagarh, and given it to Rai Singh. In A. F.'s Insha, Book I, there is a letter from Akbar to M. Koka, reproaching him for distressing his mother and himself by going off without leave, and for exposing his family to the dangers of the ocean. M. Koka soon repented and came back.

[1] The T. M'aṣūmī, Malet, 131, mentions a Ḥāmīd of Uc as one who accompanied 'Azīz to Mecca.

[2] Dar paikar-i-man. But there are different readings in the MSS., and I think *paikar*, "form," must be wrong. Possibly, the true reading is paigar, or paigar-i-man "fighting with me." The B.M. MS. has در سکر وقع *dar sikr wāqa'a*, but *sirk* may be paikar. B.M. Or. 116 has *dar nāmalāīm* "acting improperly."

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his eldest son Shamsī [1] to the rank of 1000, and his other son Shādmān to the rank of 500. A fertile *jāgīr* was also bestowed. They got new life on beholding his kindness, and felt ashamed on account of their father's conduct.

One of the occurrences was the appointment of Prince Sulṭān Murād to the government of Gujarat. When M. Koka took the road of disobedience, and that country remained without a guardian, an order was issued on 10 Ardībihisht to that nursling of fortune, informing him that skilful and liberal men were being sent and that he should use them in the administration. When the Governor of Mālwa arrived, he should make over the province to him and proceed to Gujarat. On the 28th the standard of the seekers after knowledge, the Poet Laureate S. Faiẓī, returned from the Deccan, and, after an absence of 1 year, 8 months, 14 days, did homage. He was exalted by various favours. He had gone on an embassy. Burhān in his arrogance and self-will had not listened to his counsels. He had not sent fitting [2] presents and had prepared the materials of his own injury. Rajah 'Alī K. had to some extent listened to the commands, and had sent his daughter with choice bridal gifts for the wooing of the Prince Royal.

One of the occurrences was the capture of Kanshān.[3] When Zain K. Koka took Cīnkārī he stayed at Fort Fatḥābād which he had founded in Bajaur. He sent Mubārik K., Jalāl K. and some troops to watch over Swād. At this time the watching over the country from the other side of the Indus up to the Hindu Koh was made over to him, and the fiefholders there were directed to assist him. He applied himself to the uprooting the thornbrake of the Tārīkīs, and went to Tīrāh. Qāsīm K. came unattended to Jalālābad. A feast of concord was held, and it was arranged that he should go *via* Bāzārak to the hill-country, and that the army of Bangash should come from that quarter. With this idea, the Koka went to Kabul by the Ilam [4] Pass. Near Gagīānī Āṣaf K. came in from

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[1] Afterwards known as Jahāngīr Qulī K. B. 450.

[2] Cf. Elliot V. 467 where it is stated that only fifteen elephants and a few other things were sent.

[3] I.O. M.S. 236 has Kanshāl, and so have the Ma'aṣir II. 368, and the Iqbālnāma.

[4] This seems to be the Ailum range of Elphinstone. Cabul I. 129. It is mentioned again at 702. It was apparently a Pass into the Tīrāh

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Bangash, and accompanied him. At Bigrām Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and other officers—who had obtained leave from court—joined him. The Koka took up his quarters at the Pass. Qāsim K. proceeded with the Kabul troops to Tīrāh by way of Bāzārak. The Yārān (?), who 640 were among the leaders of the Afrīdīs, were killed in battle, and though other soldiers had not arrived, the Afrīdī and Orakzai tribes had recourse to entreaties. They submitted and gave some hostages. Jalāla Tārīkī left Tīrāh and went to the country of the Kāfirs. At the time when the Koka took the Fort of Cīnkārī and returned, Waḥdat 'Alī his (Jalāla's) relation (son-in-law ?) with the help of the Yūsufzai prevailed over the fort of Kanshān and parts of the territory of the Kāfirs. He (the Koka) left Qāsim K. in Jalālābād, and Muḥammad Qulī and Hamza Beg Atālīq in Bigrām. He took with him Āṣaf K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn, S'āīd K. Ghakar, Takhta Beg and others, and went to that quarter (Kanshān). Before the ill-fated Tārīkīs had crossed the Kabul river, the victorious troops came and barred their road. They failed and had to go back to the hills of Tīrah. Some were of opinion that an effort should be made to chastise them. The Kokaltāsh said, "The land-owners of Tīrāh have submitted. Probably they (the Tārīkīs) wont get access there, and they will become vagabonds. Now let our efforts be directed to overthrow Waḥdat 'Alī. Before he make this difficult country secure we shall be at our ease regarding him." All approved. They left their baggage, and entered the Kāfir country by the route of Shāhzādī. Near the village of Kandī Kahār they made a new bridge over the Bajaur[1] river—which is 70 yards broad and is very swift. The Tārīkīs, when they crossed, had broken down the bridge. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was left to guard it, and to keep the road open. They marched seventeen stages of heights and hollows and came to a great pass, eight *kos* from the enemy. The latter had strengthened the fort of Kanshān, and were exulting in their arrogance. Halfway, at this defile and uneven ground—where a single horseman could with difficulty proceed, and there were four *kos* of straits (*tegha*)[2]—they had collected stones in ten places, and were

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territory. Or it may be the Shah Ālam ferry on the Kabul river. That river is also called the Shah 'Ālam.

[1] I presume that this is the Kashkar or Citrāl river.

[2] *tegha* means a sword-blade. I presume the meaning is that the

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prepared to give battle. On 6 Khurdād, 16 May 1593, the Koka advanced with some men and was searching for a camping ground. Takhta Beg, S'aīd K., Ḥaidar 'Ali 'Arab and other brave men were sent on as the vanguard. They were to select a choice spot and halt there, and not to engage in fighting. The Afghans attacked this party, and a battle became inevitable. The enemy was driven off four times. When the Koka heard of this, he joined with the few men who were with him. The sound of the trumpet restored courage to those of the vanguard who had lost heart. Many had left their place, but Takhta Beg, S'aīd K., Ḥaidar' Alī 'Arab and some others did not shift their foot from the arena, and fought stoutly. On the arrival of the Kokaltāsh they renewed their efforts and devotion. Brave men too came up from the rear and took part in the fight. First, Āṣaf K. came up. The place was narrow and for three *pahars* there was a fight of spears and daggers. Suddenly Waḥdat 'Alī could not get out of the defile[1] (? *tegha*). With a large number of followers he went down into a deep hollow, and by the Divine help the enemy was dispersed, and victory exalted the hearts of the imperialists. The fort of Kanshān, and much cultivated country, came into possession. There was a daily market of
641 submission. The wicked went off to the high mountains, and perished (?). This hill-country is the seat of the officer (*dārogha nishīn*) of the ruler of Kāshghar.[2] It is full of snow throughout the year. Active men followed, and made many men and women prisoners. Many Kāfir leaders submitted and helped to put down the Afghans. Some went off towards Caghānserai and Badakhshān in order that they might cross the Bajaur river and get shelter with the other Kāfirs. A party of the victorious troops broke down the bridges on the other side, and so the heads of the Yūsufzai—Ḥātim, Bābā 'Alī, Hindāl, S. Ḥusaīn—came in and paid their respects under the safe-conduct of Qāsim K. and others. Waḥdat 'Alī too could not help coming in (i.e. surrendering). Four hundred of the enemy were killed, and 7000[3] were made prisoners On the side of the imperialists thirty persons gave up their lives with honour, and 150 were

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place was as narrow as the edge of a sword.

[1] I presume the meaning is that he could not force his way through the pass, and had to escape by the side of the valley.

[2] i.e. Citrāl.

[3] Badayūnī, Lowe, 401, says 14000. Cf. Elliot V. 467.

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wounded. The country was conquered up to Kāshghar and Badakhshān.

At this time Shahbāz K. was[1] set free. His success had somewhat darkened his understanding, and the gracious sovereign placed him in the school of instruction (the prison). When signs of instruction showed themselves, he was, after two years and more, made the recipient of favour on 24 Khurdād. On the 30th, Sher Beg Tawācībāshī arrived from Bengal, and produced 127 elephants and other articles which Rajah Mān Singh had obtained at the conquest of Bengal. At this time Naqīb K.[2] represented that Qāẓī 'Īsā his uncle had made his daughter a present to H.M. and that this chaste and secluded lady had for a long time been spending her days in cherishing this wish. The world's lord—though at this time he paid less attention to such matters—accepted the representation, and on 12 Tīr he visited the house of Naqīb K. and received that chaste lady according to ancestral rites. The long-standing desire was gratified. On this day the Mota Rajah took leave to go to Sirohī in order that he might reduce the proprietor there to obedience, or else prepare punishment for refractoriness.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Ṣādiq K. as Atālīq to Prince Sulṭān Murād. As Ismā'īl Quli K. did not do well in this appointment, Ṣādiq K. was on the 13th appointed to the high office and sent off. By his skill, things were well managed there. On the 12th Amardād H.M. visited the house of Rai Rai Singh and by heartfelt sympathy soothed his grief. His beloved daughter was married to the son[3] of Rajah Rām Cand. When that Rajah died, his son was treated with favour and sent to that country (Pannah or Bāndhū). On the way he fell out of his litter. To cure him, he was bled, but, from unseasonable bathing, he died near his home in the town of Khora (Jarrett II. 193). On hearing of this Rai Singh's daughter thought of burning herself, but H.M. induced her to refrain from[4] such an idea on account of the tender age of her children.

One of the occurrences was the restoration of the country of 642

[1] It appears from Badayūnī that he had been imprisoned in the fort of Kāngra and that he had to pay a fine of 7 *lakhs*.

[2] Text Naṣīb, but see B. 449.

[3] This was Bīr Bhadra or Balbhadra. B. 406.

[4] B. 358.

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Tatta to M. Jānī Beg. Though the farseeing sovereign read goodness on the forehead of the Mīrzā, and had this idea (of restoring him), yet he delayed somewhat on account of the objections of undiscerning persons. At this time it came to be known that the Arghūn tribe, to the number of 10,000—men and women—was coming upstream by boat. Owing to the emigration,[1] the boatmen and servants were in distress and were tearing themselves with their hands and teeth. H.M.'s benevolence was touched, and on the 17th the Mīrzā was gratified by this great favour. Though some courtiers represented in a proper manner that he should be restrained from returning, their suggestions were not successful. Bandar Lahorī was made crown-property (*khālṣā*), and Sewistān, which had been a present (*peshkash*) in the first instance, was given in fief to Bakhtyār Beg and some others. The emigrants got fresh life and returned from near Bhakkar.

On the 20th Zain K. Koka did homage. When Kanshān was taken, and the neighbouring country conquered, and all the rebellious made submissive, he encouraged the Kāfir chiefs to settle and develop the country. He then withdrew his thoughts from the country and returned. When he had come midway, news arrived that Jalāla was two stages off. Apparently, after he heard of the victory and of the capture of Waḥdat 'Alī he had returned back and was hastening to Tīrāh. The Koka was on the point of either leaving a body of troops to protect the camp while he himself should hasten on, or of sending a party of soldiers to that spot. Owing to the ignorance of his companions neither thing was effected. Near Bajaur it became known that Jalāla was passing in the neighbourhood. They blocked the roads and halted to look for him. He, owing to the somnolence of a few, passed near the camp. The Koka sent some of his own servants in pursuit of him under the charge of Ṭālib Beg Badakhshī. He came up (with Jalāla) with a few men and played away his life. At the end of the day when the villain had entered the hills, Zain arrived in person with some men and Jalāla went off rapidly to Tīrāh. The inhabitants had given hos-

[1] Apparently it was not those who were left behind who were suffering from the emigration, but those who were obliged to take part in it, for we find that they were relieved by being allowed to return.

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tages and so did not give him a passage. He went off in a distracted state to Kānguram (?). The Koka came to Begrām, and was thinking about entering the hills. At this time an order came, summoning him, and he went off to court. In this year he attained his wish. 'Aṣaf K., Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn and others of his companions had the bliss of an audience, and each of them was exalted by royal favours.

One of the occurrences was that a day of distraction came upon the writer of the noble volume. At the close of the 24th (Amardād) corresponding to 17 Ẕī-l-q'ada, 5th August[1] 1593, my honoured father, the Teacher of the Age and the guide of the intelligent, departed to the sublime world. A carbuncle formed on his neck, and after eleven days he left this transitory life. Wisdom rose up to mourn, and knowledge sate down helpless.

Verse.

The Imām of science, the venerated councillor, the perfect teacher, 643
Who in world-guidance was the confidant of universal Reason.
200 Bū Naṣrs[2] and Avicennas departed that he might be born.
Fate in her nine[3] shops oft practises such trafficking.

[1] B. XVIII has 4 September, but, as J. has pointed out, J. III. 442, this must be a mistake. J. has Tuesday 4 August, but A. F. says it was on a Sunday. He was born in 1505, and so was 88 years old. He died at Lahore, but his body and that of his wife were sent in September 1594 by A. F. to Agra and there buried in the family burial-ground. See A. N. III. 654, last line. A. F. says his father was ill for 11 days, and in the Ayīn he mentions 7. What is meant is that he died 7 days after taking leave of his son. He had been already ill, and it was the sense of his approaching end which made him bid adieu to his son. There is a full account of Mubārik in the Darbārī Akbarī.

[2] Bū Naṣr is Abū Naṣr Fārābī, for whom see D'Herbelot s. v. Farābī. Avicenna is called in text Bū 'Alī. See D'Herbelot s.v. Sina. 200 is used for any large number.

[3] A metaphor, I presume, for the nine heavens, but I.O. MS. 235 has *tah* instead of *nah* or *nuh*. *Tah dukan* would mean the bottom, or inner part, of the shop, and the meaning would thus be that Fate often keeps such goods as Mubārik in the bottom, i.e. in the hidden part of her storehouse. This seems to make more sense. Possibly, the *nah* is for "not" and means that Fate does not often possess such precious goods. The proper translation seems to be, "Fate oft keeps such goods in her inner shop."

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Whiles he circled the earth with the caravan of the Peripatetics,
Whiles he careered o'er the skies with the Illuminati,
The Ages contended for his perfect birth
With the era of Jalālu-d-dīn Akbar Ghāzī.

Who would have supposed that the ocean would sink into two yards of earth or that a mountain would at a breath be moved from its place? Had substitution been permitted, many life-lovers had shed their lives! What question then of a life-hater? The condition of myself—who had but little understanding—was overset, and I was near abandoning my life.

Verse.

My heart became blood, and blood rose above my chest,
Because that soul of the world passed from my view.
Alas, it is in every respect a day of orphanhood,
For to-day both my sire and my saint have passed away.

He held high rank in the rational and traditional sciences, and had on his tongue the views of the philosopher, the orator, and the Ṣūfī, and of every form of religion. He had received from the Great Teacher (God) every kind of knowledge. He removed the veil of formal science from over spiritual beauty, and cultivated seclusion in the midst of society. The ways of contemporaries stained not the hem of his soul. In spite of his profound insight he did not see his own perception and devotion (i.e. was not conscious of them), and did not bring his goods to market. He did not sell his ecstasy (*ḥālat*) and knew no finesse (*ḥīlat*). The turmoil of the world did not engage his mind. His search for proof made no distinction between the great and the small, and from his intelligence, he when vexed took the path of humility. He did not withhold the truth from the powerful, and in giving counsel he never troubled for himself. At the close of his life, and when little [1] time remained to him, he at the desire of some friends completed a great commentary, and left an abundant memorial of himself in every description of knowledge. The discerning remained in astonishment. In his [2] hundredth year

[1] *b'andak rūzgār.* I think these words mean when time was nearly over with him.

[2] This account of his father should be compared with the fuller biography given in the Āīn, J. 419 etc

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he possessed the fire of youth, and fulness of years did not restrain him from expending soul and body. At the beginning of his illness he sent for this one (the author) who was bewildered with existence and took him in his arms. He spoke many heartfelt words and bade him adieu. On account of my crudity I was in a state of distraction, but was silenced somewhat by the kindness of H.M. Ten years before this a severe illness befell him (Mubārik). H.M. said, "If it does not end within ten hours, there will be danger on the 10th day: if not, there will be danger in the 10th month: and if not, there will be (danger) in the last day of the tenth year." Afterwards it so happened, and the veil was once more removed from H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things. Out of his stout-heartedness and strong life, he did not die, and bore the burden of life on the shoulder of weakness. There is no contending against Fate! Nor any remedy against its hunting after life, and its destruction of endurance!

Verse.

Gone is the world's philosopher to whom
While yet on earth[1] the gates of the spiritual heaven were open.
Without him, his kindred are orphans and dead of heart.
He was the Adam of his race and the Jesus of his family.

644 Where is the strength to control my grief for that unique one of God? My heart is lacerated with its own grief. I, who am an inmate of the hermitage of resignation and submission, was struck a heavy blow, and nolens volens I became impatient. I cannot tell if this misfortune (his father's death) was the result of destiny or

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Shaikh Mubārik was born in 911 (1505) and he died in 1001, August 1593, so that he was under 90 when he died. The Darbārī Akbarī has a long and interesting notice of him. A. F. does not say much about his father's commentary. It appears from the Iqbālnāma that Akbar was not pleased at its being written without reference to him, and was still more displeased with A. F. for sending copies of it to various foreign princes without his permission. The story is also told in the Khulāṣat-tawārīkh.

[1] Text in first line has *azjahān*, but the MSS. have *barjahān*, and it is *bar* in the Āīn II. 271 where the same stanza is quoted. See J. III. 442 where there is a spirited translation in rhyme. The D. Akbarī 354 has another reading.

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was one greater than could be imagined. This story of grief and pain is very long, and this tale of a lasting sore is life-consuming. It is better that I wrap up this mortal event in this book of fortune, and with this verse[1] control my disturbed mind.

Verse.[2]

Happy are they, for the bitter waters of death's poison
Have smote their pitchers with the highest and deepest organ tones
Close the lips, for the incurably wounded of Fate
Have become wild, and have cried from the depths.

On the 26th Mīr Manīr—who had been sent with counsels to the ruler of Golconda—arrived with the ambassador and the tribute (*peshkash*), and was honoured by an audience.

One of the occurrences was the accepting of Shāhrukh M. as a son-in-law (*farzandī*). On 11 Shahriyūr (September 1594), that jewel of a noble family, who joined modesty with knowledge, received his exaltation. In the quarters of Miriam Makānī, Shakrnisā Begam—the beloved child of the Shāhinshāh—was united to him. When this auspicious meeting was over, another great feast was prepared and another daughter, *viz.* Khānim[3] Sulṭān, was united to Moẓaffar Ḥusain M., the son of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. On the 19th the daughter of Rājah Ālī K. was made over to the harem of the Prince-Royal, and that family obtained a strong protection. On the 23rd, Adham, the son of Niyābat K. died. The world's lord conveyed his sympathies to Māmā[4] Āghā. From there he went to the

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[1] The I.O. MSS. have al different reading here.

[2] See Vullers s.v. *sabū*. The allusion is perhaps in part to the custom of throwing down old pitchers from a roof on the last Wednesday of a month, and crying out, "Go, Sorrow: Come, Joy!" But probably the main reference is to the noise made by a pitcher when it strikes the water in a well. Those who have died, that is, those whose pitchers have struck the waters of death, have sounded the highest and deepest notes of sorrow.

[3] Also called Shahzāda Khānim. She was Akbar's eldest daughter and was born in 1569.

[4] She was the widow of Shihābud-dīn and was related to Miriam-Makānī, A. N. III. 716, and B. 333. Perhaps she was a daughter of Māham Anaga. Niyābat was Shihābud-dīn's nephew, and was put to

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quarters of Zain K. Koka and reposed there a little. At dawn M. Yūsuf K. came from Kashmīr and had the bliss of performing the *kornish*.

One of the occurrences was the sending Shāhrukh M. to look after Mālwa. H.M. had been searching for a governor of Mālwa from the time that Gujarat had been made over to Prince Sulṭan Murād. As his ability and consideration for the peasantry were conspicuous, he was on 7 Mihr raised to the high rank of 5,000, and after receiving weighty counsels he was sent off there. Shahbāz K. was raised to the office of Aṭālīq and sent with him—Ḥaidar Dost and..... .. (three lines of names) were also appointed.

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death in 997 (Badayūnī, Lowe, 308). He had been married to a daughter of Nahīd Begam. See T. M'āṣūmī.

His proper name seems to have been Najāt. B. 439.

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CHAPTER CXVIII.

Arrival of Rustum M. at Court.

From the time when, by the order of H.M., Shāh Muḥammad
645 Qilāti made over Qandahar to the agents of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and came to India, the Shāh (Ṭahmāsp) had given it to his brother's son Sulṭan Ḥusain M., the son of Bahrām M. He always behaved respectfully to H.M. and sent presents, and reckoned himself as a servant. As he always kept the chain of obedience in motion, Qandahar was not taken from him in spite of the Shāh's death. He died of drinking in the 21st year, leaving four[1] sons: Moẓaffar Ḥusain M., Rustum M., Abū S'aīd M., Sanjar M. From courtesy and appreciation of rank, that populous country was left to them. Shāh Ism'āīl—that blood-shedder—set about, in his distracted brain, the slaying of his brothers and his other relatives. He appointed some persons to put those at Qandahar to death. Those sent got hold of them, but cupidity and the gratification of their wishes led to the preservation of life. When the Shāh heard of this, he became indignant, and assigned Qandahar to Shāh Qulī Sulṭān Ẕū-ul-Qadr, and the latter sent Budāgh Beg to take their lives and to annex the country. The murderers trembled[2] for themselves and arranged that on the following morning they would put them to death. Suddenly a report spread that the blood-shedder was dead, and the innocent persons escaped. When the government of Persia came to Sulṭan Muḥammad Khudābanda, he left them in possession of the country. M. Moẓaffar Ḥusain, the elder brother, was in Qandahar, while Rustum M. and his two other brothers lived in Zamīn Dāwar. From selfwill and the turbulence of youth, they quarrelled among themselves. Moẓaffar Ḥusain was de-

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[1] The Maaṣir III. 696 speaks of five sons.

[2] For not having carried out the previous order for the murder of the Mīrzās.

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feated and retired to the fort. Rustum M. invested it for forty days, but by contrivances, peace was made and they met one another. When 'Abdullah Khān, the ruler of Tūrān, besieged Herat, Īgān Sulṭān Afshār, the governor of Farāh, by means of entreaties brought Rustum M. to his aid. He fought with the Turanian soldiers and did not give up Farāh. From not knowing his friends, and from somnolence of intellect, he (Rustum) killed Īgān Sulṭān. Sulaimān Khalīfa joined him from Khurāsān in order that he might make the Mīrzā an instrument of strife, but a happy star prevented the Mīrzā from acceding to this. But at his instigation he laid hands upon Sīstān which is commonly known as Nīmroz. Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. found his opportunity and hastened to make an expedition against Zamin Dāwar. Rustum M. came there, and a great battle ensued. Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. could not withstand him and retreated to Qandahar. Mercenary and fly-like creatures were continually going from one to the other, and were disturbing the public peace. When the old enmity had got the upper hand, they severed the ancient connection with Persia, and did not attach themselves to the Shāhinshāh's court. At last, the elder brother prevailed, and took Zamīn Dāwar. M. Rustum came to Herat and attacked Qilāt. Meanwhile a report was spread of the approach of the victorious troops, and M. Rustum had the good thought of making friendly overtures to Sharīf K. Atka, the governor of Ghaznīn. He also sent a humble representation to the sublime court, and expressed a wish to pay his respects. A comforting letter was sent to him by Mīrak Jalaīr and Mihtar Ibrāhīm, and an order was given to the fief-holders 646
on the route that they should regard the coming of the Mīrzā as an honour, and show him proper respect. When he arrived within the empire, Qarā Beg, Ḥakīm 'Aīn-ul-Mulk and Bakhtyār Beg were sent one after the other, and when he had nearly approached, Sharīf K. Atka, Shāh Beg K., Āṣaf K. and other officers were sent off (to meet him). On 12 Mihr, which was the festival of the Dasaraha, the Khān-Khānān, Zain K., and others received him and brought him into the presence. He glorified his forehead by performing the *sijda*. Sanjar M., his younger brother, and his four sons, Murād, Shāhrukh, Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm and 400 Turkomans had the honour of an audience. Every one of them was exalted by princely favours. H.M. conferred on him a *manṣab* of 5,000, Multan

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and many *parganas*, and Bilūcistān—which is larger than Qandahar.[1] On the 18th, Qāsim K. came from Kabul and did homage, and was the recipient of royal favours.

In this year Prince Sulṭan Daniel was saved by the Divine protection from a sudden danger. A great uproar occurred in the female apartments. The souls of the servants there melted. The world's lord came out to offer prayers. At evening there was some carelessness on the part of the sentinels. A madman thought it was the public hall, and entered the harem. The prince saw him and ran after him. Near the inner pigeon-house he flung him on the ground and got on the top of him. Thinking the man might use a weapon, he held both his arms tightly, and twisted them. The inner servants, who were Circassians, Qalmāqs, Russians (*Arūs*, text has *Ardūs*), and Abyssinians, rushed after him, and taking the prince for a stranger they attacked him with sticks and clods (*khisht*, perhaps bricks). From promptitude, the prince did not let go the man. At this time H.M. came out, and saw the affair. He stated: "When I approached, I thought of using my sword, and so drove off the girls. A beam which had been left at the pigeon-house prevented me from doing what I intended. Thinking that the prince was a stranger I seized him by the hair, and dragged him, and wanted to prick him with the point[2] of my sword. Suddenly, my wrath subsided, and mighty love seized the skirt of my heart." At the same time it appeared that the prince had thought the madman was an evil-intentioned man in his senses and so was holding him down. The lunatic was let go.

One of the occurrences was the despatch of Prince Sulṭan Daniel to chastise Burhān-ul-Mulk. As words of enlightenment did not

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[1] Cf. B. 313, 314.

[2] *Sanjagī palārak*. Apparently, sanjagī is connected with the Turkish *sanjmak*, to pierce. The Iqbālnāma represents Akbar as saying he wished to inflict a wound. The account given there is more intelligible than A.F.'s. It was the darkness that caused the confusion. The Qalmāqs and Russians, etc., were women. See B. 45. "The inside of the harem is guarded by sober and active women." B. M. N. 116 has *zakhm-i-palārak*. The beam had probably been left at the pigeon-house in consequence of its being under repair after having fallen down (p. 631). There is nothing in Add. 27,247 about Akbar's pulling his son by the hair.

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enter his ears, and he regarded advices as futilities, H.M.'s idea was that he would go to Agra and from there appoint the troops. But as 647
provisions were somewhat high in that quarter his intention was not carried out. He was obliged to send away Prince Sulṭan Daniel on the eve of the 25th Mihr to carry out the undertaking. He sent with him the Khān-khānān, Rai Rai Singh and many officers, and treasure, a park of artillery, and elephants. An order was given to Shāhrukh M., Shahbāz K. and the other fief-holders of Mālwa to equip troops and to proceed with the prince. An order was also given to Rajah Mān Singh to the effect that if he could turn away his attention from Bengal he should proceed from there to the Deccan. An order was also written to Prince Sulṭan Murād that he should make preparations for the conquest of the Deccan, and that when the soldiers had been gathered together from every side, near him, he should carry out the order. On the 4th Ābān, the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. A world had its desires gratified.

At this time the marriage-feast of Prince Sulṭan Daniel was arranged. For a long time it had been H.M.'s intention that the daughter of Qulīj K. should be united to this pearl of the crown. At this time the idea was renewed, and on the 5th, the grandees were assembled outside of the city, and the marriage was effected. There were various rejoicings and there was a daily market of enjoyment. It occurred to Qulīj K. that H.M. might visit his house. In gratitude for this great favour he arranged a feast. His request was accepted, and on the 13th there was a time of enjoyment. On the 20th, H.M. spent some time in the Rāmbārī garden, and M. Yūsuf K. obtained leave to go to Kashmīr. Artificers by the command of H.M. commenced to build four ships. On 7th Āzar, Sulṭan Khusrū commenced to learn Indian philosophy. Shīv Dat Brahman, who was famed as the Bhattācārje of the age, and had few equals in science, was appointed to this service. Sulṭan Rustūm[1] and Sulṭan Parvīz were set to learn knowledge, and by H.M.'s orders the writer of the book of fortune taught something of the alphabet. On the 17th, the elephants of M. Koka, which had been left in Gujarat, were brought, and were presented. On 3rd Dai, H.M. went to

[1] This is Murād's son, B. 618. Parvīz is Jahāngir's. Both were children.

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Sulṭanpūr to hunt. On the 8th, near Haibatpūr, news came that Prince Daniel was still in Sirhind, and that the army was not making progress. H.M. did not approve, and his former idea revived (of going in person to Agra, etc.). He summoned the Khān-khānān to come post to him. Near the town of Shaikhūpūr[1] he had an audience. He represented that "the time for the army to enter the Deccan was after the rains. Water and forage would then be plentiful, and corn cheap. On this account there was slowness of movement." When a council was held it was unanimously agreed that Prince Daniel should return, and that when the rains were ended, the royal standards should advance, and that the Prince should remain to
648 guard the Panjab. H.M. also said, "Since I ordered Prince Sulṭan Murād to go on this service, perhaps this sending (of Daniel) may vex him." Qulīj K. was sent off to turn back the Prince. At this time a large black deer appeared on the hunting ground. The sovereign so struck it with an arrow that it did not move, and when an enquiry was made it was found that the bones of its waist were broken. The head (of the arrow) came out with difficulty. Some persons stated that in the Ajmere expedition a large tiger had been knocked over in this way. The acute of sight were astonished. On the 15th near Sulṭanpūr the Khān-khānān obtained leave in order that he might assemble the troops in Agra. H.M. returned. On the 17th, near Patīāla, Prince Sulṭan Daniel did homage. An extraordinary thing was that on this day a petition came from Prince Sulṭan Murād representing that "he had come to Aḥmadābād on 6 Āẕar, and was preparing for the expedition to the Deccan. He had heard that Prince Sulṭān Daniel had also been appointed to this service. H.M.'s sublime thoughts were pleasing to God, but he (Murād) feared lest he might have done something improper, or meddlers might have said something unfitting." H.M., from his knowledge of secrets, had anticipated his wishes. On the 22nd, H.M. arrived at Lahore, and the world reposed anew.

One of the occurrences was the increase of saffron[2] in Kashmīr. Formerly each seed yielded less than three flowers, and the amount received by government did not exceed 20,000 *traks*, but was not

[1] Shaikhpūr in text, but Shaikhūpūr in I.O. MS. 236 and in Elliot VI. 91. Sulṭānpur is on the Beās, 35 *kos* from Lahore. Elliot V. 468.

[2] Cf. B. L. 4 and J. II. 357.

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less than 7,000. Once in M. Haidar's time it was 28,000 *traks*. This year when it became *khālṣa* the ruler's share was 90,000 *traks*. Though there was more land under cultivation, yet the flowers were also more than usual. Every seed yielded up to eight flowers. On 18 Bahman, the report was received, and thanks were returned to God.

One of the occurrences was the destruction of the Kashmīr porters. Numerous traders were bringing their goods. Near Pīr Panjāl there was a fall of snow, and a hillock was dislodged. 115 men lost their lives under it. In accordance with justice the goods reached the owners and the despairing had their desires gratified.

At this time Rai Patr Dās was sent to conquer the fort of Bandhū. It is one of the famous fortresses of the world. When Rājah Rām Cand and his son died, wicked men made the young grandchild an instrument of strife, and rose up to oppress the peasantry. H.M. on 1 Isfandārmaz sent that servant to civilise the country and to punish the evil-doers, and to take the fort. Next day Abū S'aīd M. had an audience. He was the brother of Rustūm M., and had remained behind in Qandahar. At this time he was exalted by doing homage, and was gratified by princely favours. On the 13th, Rajah Mān Singh did homage. After conquering 649
Orissa, he came to Rohtās. H.M. had called him to himself. When he arrived within one stage of Lahore, the Prince-Royal was given leave[1] from the hunting field. An order was given that as during the mourning for Rajah Bhagwānt Das, condolences had not been sent to the Rajah (Mān Singh, the adopted son of Bhagwānt), the Prince-Royal should proceed from the hunting-ground to his quarters. The order was carried out, and that chosen servant (Mān Singh) obtained high honour. Naṣīb, Lodī and Jamāl, the sons of Qutlū, Jalāl K. Khāṣkhel . . . . . Yūsuf Kāshī Pānde, Purusotam—who were headmen in Orissa—were introduced by the Rajah. On the 14th, Ismaīl Qulī K. arrived from Gujarat, and did homage On the 22nd, M. Yūsuf[2] arrived from Kashmīr.

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[1] *Rukhṣat shikār farmūdand.* This might mean "gave him leave to hunt." But the context seems to show that it means he was allowed to leave the hunting field. Perhaps Jahangīr was to go to 'Ambar.

[2] It appears from the Iqbālnāma that Yūsuf had gone back to Kashmīr to settle matters, and that the present entry refers to his return from there.

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CHAPTER CXIX.

Beginning of the 39th year, viz. the year Khurdād of the 4th Cycle.

On the eve of Monday 28 Jamāda-al-ākhirī, 1002 H. (10 or 11 March, 1594) after the passing of 9h. 44m. 22s., the world-illuminating sun lighted up his mansion of exaltation, and the third year of the 4th cycle began. The earth rose up with grace, and the heavens set themselves to rejoicings.

Verse.

By the might of delineation, the moon became like the Gallery of Mānī.
The parterre became by skill like the mind of Avicenna.
In the tray of the buds the morning was like the musk of Khallakh (a city in Turkistan).
In the mortar of tulips the air became like the powdered ambergris of Sārā.[1]

H.M. celebrated entrancing feasts up to the day of exaltation, and Divine worship assumed a higher form. On 7 Farwardīn 10,000 cavalry were assigned to the Prince-Royal. Five thousand (of them) received *jāgīrs* in Bengal. Among them were Jagat Singh, Darjan Singh, Sakat Singh, Bāqir Safarcī, M. Muḥammad, Bāqir Anṣārī, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, Y'aqūb Kashmīrī,[2] Sharīf Sarmadī. Four thousand (received *jāgīrs*) near Lahore the capital. Among them were Takhta Beg, Rai Manūhar, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Ṣalāḥa-d-dīn Bāngā, S. Khūbū, Mīr Murād Sarmast, Muqīm K., Khwāja Muḥibb
650 'Alī Khāfī, S. Kabīr, Ḥakīm Moẓaffar. One thousand[3] Aḥadīs were appointed who received pay monthly from the (imperial)

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[1] A place on the 'Omām coast, famous for ambergris.

[2] Perhaps this is Y'aqūb Chak the son of Yūsuf, the former ruler of Kashmīr. A Kashmīrī chronicle quoted in Rieu I. 300*a* says, Y'aqūb was poisoned by Akbar!

[3] This is a detail of the 10,000

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treasury. Sulṭān Khusrū, who though small[1] (khurd) in years was great in wisdom (khird), was raised to the *manṣab* of 5,000. Rajah Rām Cand, Himmat Singh, Bahāū Singh, Sher K., Bahādur Kūrūh, Salīm K. Loḥānī, Sulṭān Sūr, Allahdād Lohānī, 'Īsā K. Maswānī. Nūram Koka, S'aīd K. Mandūrī, Naṣīr K. Mīāna, Manū K. Loḥānī, Tāj K. Loḥānī, Sajāwal K. Jīlam, Ulagh K. Loḥani, and some others were assigned to that new fruit of dominion. The territory of Orissa was given to him in fief. Rajah Mān Singh, whose ability and loyalty were conspicuous, was made Atālīq, and his maintenance-jāgīr was allotted[2] to him in Bengal, which country was made over to his charge. S'aīd K. became the warden of the province of Bihar. On this day M. Rustum obtained a flag and a drum, and was exalted by great favours. On the 8th the feast of the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a daily market of liberality, and all sorts of men attained their desires.

At this time Moẓaffar Ḥusain came forward with apologies. When it became bruited abroad that the victorious troops intended to capture Qandahar, and Rustum M. arrived at the threshold of fortune, he turned his rein somewhat from wickedness, and fell into consternation. From a happy star he sent his mother with his eldest son Bahrām M. and begged for quarter. On the 9th the visitors obtained an audience, and the petition was granted. Qarā Beg[3]—who had been long connected with that family—and M. Beg Qadīmī were sent to convey to the Mīrzā the news of forgiveness and to bring him to court. Shāh Beg was appointed to watch over that country. On the day of exaltation (*sharf*) Khwāja Daulat Nāẓir was promoted on account of his good service and received the high dignity of Khanship. On this day Mīr[4] Ḥaidar M'aammāī (riddle-

assigned to Jahāngīr. The Aḥadīs were to get their pay from the imperial treasury.

[1] He was only six.

[2] Text, *tan shud*. Tan is a contraction for *tankhwāh*. See Irvine's Moghul Army, p. 39, and also the Cawnpore Akbarnama editor's note on the passage in text.

[3] See Maaṣir III. 299, which calls him Qarā Beg Kūrjāī and says he was an old servant of Sulṭān Ḥusain but had run away from Moẓaffar. Akbar made him farāshbegī.

[4] B. 593. He is Rafīī of Kāshān. Badayūnī III. 232.

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maker) came from Persia, and had an audience, and was gratified by princely favours. On the 20th Shīroyah the son of Sherāfgan (B. 455) received the title of Khān, and that good servant's wishes were gratified. On the 30th, Jabbārī the son of Majnūn K. Qāqshāl was released and treated with favour. From associating with wicked men, he had rebelled in Bengal. When he was arrested, he was sent to the school of the prison. Signs of repentance were read on his forehead, and he was released. On 1 Ardībihisht (11 or 12 April, 1594) Mullā Ṣālaḥ Bokhārī came from Tūrān, and had the bliss of kissing the threshold. He was acquainted with the current sciences, and was to some extent free from bigotry. At this time Ḥakīm 'Alī Gīlānī made a wonderful tank.[1] There was a passage in it to a room (*kāshāna*), and a wonderful thing was that the water of the tank did not enter it. Men who went down into it to find the entrance had much trouble, and many returned from half-way. On the 5th H.M. went to inspect it, and personally went down. He did not listen to the warnings of men and entered the place, and
651 stayed for some time. The spectators[2] nearly died (of terror), but came to themselves on hearing of his welfare. I lost my senses on seeing this misplaced courage, but submitted to fate and remained silent. On 1 Khurdād Ḥājī Ḥabīb Ullah died. He was one of the good men of the world, and enjoyed H.M.'s favour. On this day Sharīf Wuqū'ī[3] died. On the 13th Samānj'ī K. was summoned from Oudh, and was exalted by doing homage. Next morning Qāsim K. was sent off to Kabul, and Shāh Beg K. was sent to his fiefs in Khūshāb and Bangash, and an order was issued that he should prepare for an expedition, and march to Qandahar whenever the officers going there should summon him. In this year the Jām came to Prince

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[1] B. 466 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 273. See also Māaṣir I. 570, whose account seems taken partly from the Iqbālnāma, Part 2. It is said there that the water was kept out of the chamber by means of air. See also the quotation from the Zubdatu-t-tawārīkh. Elliot VI. 193.

[2] *Bīmandagārrā*, but the variant *bandagānrā* has the support of the I.O. MSS. The next sentence is obscure, but apparently the *bejā dilerī* refers to Akbar, and A. F. intimates that he did not approve of it. See note in Cawnpore ed. Perhaps A. F. means that he followed Akbar into the chamber, but if so, he would probably have described it.

[3] A poet. See B. 591 and Badayūnī III. 378.

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Sulṭān Murād, and enjoyed eternal bliss. On this day Naurang K. died of diarrhœa near Jūnagarh. His survivors were cared for by H.M.

At this time the thorn-brake of falsehood was uprooted and a world had repose. The collectors of the Khālṣa, the fief-holders and the assayers (*ṣairafī*) of the mint were summoned, and a proper test and just weight were assigned to the coins. On the 15th the charge of this work was given to Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn. His disinterestedness and laboriousness remedied in the course of two months the old disease of the gold and silver. The embezzlers retired into obscurity. Also on this day Ism'aīl Qulī K. was deputed to Kālpī in order that he might develop the *jāgīr*, and make himself ready for service. On the 20th, 'Abdu-r-razzāq M'amūrī arrived from Gujarat, and had an audience. Next morning Muḥammad Yār, the daughter's son of Gulbadan Begam, from illfatedness, went off to the hills with some companions. He hurried off with rebellious designs. Silhadī and Danmandās and others were sent after them. Khair Ullah Kotwāl went a little ahead and contrived to detain them by words, so that the others came up. Some were killed and he and seven others were made prisoners. Fourteen rubies, a chaplet of choice pearls, some embroidered jewels (*maraṣṣ'aāt*) and much property were taken from him. On the 24th Rajah Mān Singh was sent off to Bengal after receiving weighty counsels, in order that he might carry out the royal regulations. On the 30th a ship was completed on the banks of the Rāvī. The length of the keel (*cobī*), which formed the foundation of this wooden house, was 35 Ilāhī yards. 2936 large planks (*shahtīr*) of *sāl* and pine (nāgā),[1] and 468 *mans* two *sīrs* of iron, were used in building it, and 240 carpenters and blacksmiths 652
and others were employed. H.M. went to see the spectacle. A thousand persons struggled to drag it along. In ten days it was brought from the dry land to the water, and sent to Bandar Laharī. There was much difficulty on account of deficiency of water. On 20 Tīr Miyān Karm Ullah died of illness in Saronj. His children were provided for by H.M. On 7 Amardād Durjan Kachwāha, who was one of the confidential servants, died.

One of the occurrences was the death of Qāsim K. and the punishment of Muḥammad Zamān. It has been mentioned that a

[1] Text has wrongly *nākhūd*. See about ships. B. 280.

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native of Andijān gave himself out as the son of M. Shāhrukh, and that ignorant people accepted him. As he had attached himself to eternal dominion, he had some success. When by baseness he dropped that thread from his hand, he sank into the abyss of failure. The hill-men became disgusted with him on account of his misconduct, and the soldiers of Tūrān prevailed over him. When he failed, he formed a friendship with the Hazārahs of Afghanistan, thinking that with their help he might make a disturbance in that country. When Qāsim K. went to court, he (M. Zamān) came to this tribe with a hundred followers. He represented to the road-patrols that he was going to court, and they believed this and informed Hāshim K., the son of Qāsim K. He sent 'Alī Sher Mākrī, Selīm Beg and Allah Dost with 500 men to escort him. That villain, when he passed Panjsher, hurried off to the houses of the Hazāra. When Hāshim K. heard this, he quickly went there in person, and encountered M. Zamān near Maidān. There was a slight engagement, and Qarā Beg Bahādur, Jahāngīr Beg and some others of the victorious troops were killed. M. Zamān was defeated and made prisoner and brought to Kabul. When Qāsim K. came there, he, out of simplicity, gave M. Zamān a place near himself, and but slightly guarded him. He took his companions into service, and in accordance with commands set about arranging for sending him to court. He appointed Hāshim Beg as his conductor. The villain conspired with 500 Badakhshīs and watched for an opportunity of assassination. The leaders of the plot were Mīr Shamas K., 'Āqil Qāẓīzāda Baqlānī, and Gadā Beg Ḥiṣārī. Some suggested that Hāshīm K. should be killed on the road, and some proposed that father and son should be put to death in the city. They would get abundant plunder, and obtain possession of a cultivated country. On 12 Amardād the villain sent a message to Hashim Beg, and represented his dulness and begged him to come and have a game at dice (*nardbāzī*). His sole idea was to get rid of both father and son at one time. Hāshim was pre-
653 paring for his journey, and did not come. At midday Qāsim K. finished his food and went to sleep. There was no one near him except some servants. The rebels appointed some to go to Hāshim K.'s house, and went off to attack Qāsim K. He bravely gave up his life, and they cut off his head and set it on a spear. Khwāja Arbāb and Khudādād Khāṣakhel lost their lives in good service.

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Hāshim K. came out to quell the disturbance. Active men were sent to close the gates of the fort; soon the state of affairs was known. Hāshim then went to the citadel. The shutting of the gates helped the conclusion of the matter, for many of the rebels could not get in. When he came there, he broke the bolts and there was a hot engagement, and several were killed. Some active men got upon the wall and discharged bullets and arrows. Many of the rebels were killed, but some got into the wardrobe-room (*toshah khāna*) which formerly was the arsenal. Their idea was that they would get shelter and get materials for fighting. Brave men watched the door and whoever came out was killed. They opened the roof and threw fire inside. The rebels were bewildered and threw themselves into the warm-bathroom, which was close by. They were compelled to come out, one by one, and were killed. Things went on in this manner from midday till the end of the night. At dawn eighty men came out together, and lost their lives. Meanwhile the ringleader (M. Zamān) was killed. The fight went on till another midday, and there was a glorious victory. As he was doomed, foresight deserted Qāsim K., and though well-wishers informed him of the rebellion that was meditated, it was of no avail. Though all the soldiers and artizans (*shāgird pasha*) put their hands to the work, M. Aḥmadī, Mīr Momin, Mīr 'Abdullah, Allah Dost and Maḥabbat K. made great efforts side by side with Hāshim K. His courage and skill were conspicuous. No one lost his life. At the end of the day there was again some disturbance. Hāshim Beg and other brave men armed themselves. Five men who were breathing their last breath in the bathroom came out, thinking that it was night and that they might escape. They were soon killed. Next day Hāshim Beg seized every Badakhshī that he could hear of and killed him, and some injustice was done. He reported that on the first day he, on account of the little help he received, and the number of the enemy, had thought of killing himself. The comforting warcry of the Shāh was heard by many and gave strength to the despairing. Malik Moẓaffar Mas'audābādī used to say, "On the day of the disturbance I was coming to the city of Kabul and on the way I encountered some noble figures on horseback. When I looked closely at them, I discerned among them the king. He had a dark tiara on his head, and a cloak round his breast. I supplicated him, and was greatly as-

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tonished. He said, 'Tell no one, for I have a work in hand.'"
654 Mādhū Das reported, "On the night that was pregnant with this adventure, I saw my *Pīr* in a dream, and I asked him why he came. He replied that the Shāhinshāh had come there for a purpose, and that many imperial servants were in attendance on him." Some reported, "When we set out, we were very few in number, but from every side soldiers gathered together in troops, and fought." There is nothing in this to wonder at. The great ones of horizons do such things. What difficulty there is then about chosen spirits! On the 23rd Ḥājī Muḥammad Mashadī, and Yūsuf the brother of 'Alī Dād Kashmīrī conveyed the rebel's head to court. H.M. was somewhat grieved at the death of so able an Amīr, but returned thanks to God for the glorious victory, and royally rewarded the good servants. He sent Mīrak and Qarā Aḥadī with a gracious message, a choice *khilāt*, a sword, and an embroidered belt. The charge of Kabulistan was given to Qulīj K., and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was made *Dīwān-i-Kul* in his room. Jaunpūr, which was the *jāgīr* of Qulīj K., was made the fief of M. Yūsuf K. Kashmīr was given to Aḥmad Beg,[1] Muḥammad Qulī Beg, Ḥamza Beg, Ḥasan Beg Gurd, Ḥasan 'Ali 'Arab, and Muḥammad Beg Aimāq of Badakhshān. Sharīf K. was sent off to guard Ghaznīn, and thus an old desire of his was gratified. On 2 Shahrīyūr Āṣaf K. was sent to Kashmīr in order that he might make a new and proper division among the jāgīrdārs, and that the saffron and the game might become crown-property. On the 11th Qulīj K. received weighty advices and went to Kabul. He was favoured with a choice *khilāt* and a special horse. On the 30th news came that M. Koka had returned to Gujarat. He arrived at the same harbour as he had set out from. He desired to kiss the threshold and was busy with preparations for the journey. The gracious sovereign sent him choice *khilāts* and numerous swift horses and camels.

One of the occurrences was the sending of troops to the northern hills (i e. the Siwaliks). Though the Rajahs and chiefs of that hill-country did not cast away the thread of submission, yet their shortness of view and the strength of their country carried them somewhat out of the road (of obedience). At this time the demon of

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[1] Aḥmed Beg Kabulī, B. 465, and the Maasīr I.

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arrogance took possession of them, and they behaved improperly. On 1 Mihr S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Ḥusain Beg Shaikh 'Umari, 'Alī[1] Muhammad Darbārī, Bahādur K. Qūrdār, Aḥmad Qāsim, Muḥammad K. Turkamān, Naṣīr K., Junaid Mural, Ulugh Beg Kūlābī, Abdūl Sīāh Gosh, Dost Muḥammad Barwatī, and many others, were sent off in order that if the Rajahs did not take advice, their rust might be cleared off by the shining sword. On 12 Mihr, 22 September 1594, the writer of the noble volume went to the resting place of his honoured father and mother, and in obedience to (their) orders sent off the bodies of both these chosen ones of God to Agra the capital, and buried them in the old home. 655

On 2 Ābān the feast of the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and crowds of necessitous persons had their wishes gratified. On the 4th he crossed the Rāvī for the purpose of hunting beasts of prey. Next morning he alighted at Faẕlābād, which was a house which the writer of the book of fortune had built on the roadside. By this, eternal glory was conferred (on A.F.). On the 14th Khwāja[2] Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad Bakhshī became very ill near Shāham 'Alī from a high fever. His sons obtained leave and conveyed him to Lahore. He died on the bank of the Rāvī. H.M.'s discerning heart was somewhat grieved, and he begged forgiveness for him at the court of God. Strangers and acquaintances mourned, and honesty (*rāstī*) indulged in grief. It is to be hoped that his right-thinking will be a provision for him on his long journey. On the 21st, after the passing of 8 hours and 28 minutes, a sister to Sulṭān Parvīz was born. It is the rule that H.M. promptly gives names to the children and grandchildren. Though the inner servants expressed a wish that he would do this, he did not accept the proposition. Suddenly that newly-born one descended into non-existence, and H.M.'s knowledge of hidden things was anew displayed! On the 28th he reached Lahore, and high and low rejoiced. He went to Ḥāfiẓābād and then returned. On the

[1] Faiẓī S. says he is commonly known as 'Alī Muhammad Asp. See B. 492. He was at one time in M. Ḥakīm's service. For his long account of this expedition see Elliot VI. 125.

[2] The historian. He was an universal favourite and an excellent man. See Badayūnī, Lowe, 411. He died on 23 Ṣafr 1003 = 28 October, 1594.

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6th Āẕar he sent Qāẓī Ḥasan to the northern mountains. As S. Farīd had done much work in that quarter, it was ordered that he should be recalled, and that the envoy (Qāẓī Ḥasan) should finish the task with the help of Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī. On this day Shīroza K. was sent to Ajmere in order that he might become acquainted with the soldiers and peasantry, and might promote happiness by the administration of justice. On the 13th M. Koka had the bliss of an audience. When he glorified his forehead by prostration, H.M. raised his head by the hand of graciousness, and embraced him. From exceeding love, tears fell from his eyes, and he called his (the Mīrzā's) mother into the presence and relieved her of her dangerous sorrow. He was favoured by being made a Panjhazārī (5,000), and was named the Khān 'Ā'ẓam. It was left to his choice as to whether he should take his *jāgīrs* in Gujarat, or in the Panjāb, Bihar, etc. He chose Bihar. His sons also received *manṣabs* and fiefs. The idea of great and small had been, that he would not return to this country (India). One morning, at the hunting-ground of Sulṭānpūr, H.M. said, "M. Koka will soon repent and convey the face of apology to court." In a short space of time his heart emerged from darkness, but he remained in a state of bewilderment. He had not the effrontery to return, and he could not think of staying. Suddenly, he became aware again of H.M.'s graciousness, and giving up all other ideas he set out on the ocean. In twenty-four days he came back from the port of Balāiwal, and gathered eternal bliss by paying his devotions (to Akbar). A new aspect was given to submission. On this day 'Alī Muḥammad Asp brought to
656 court Bahabū the *zamindār* of Jasrota. When S. Farīd went to the northern mountains, he adroitly came and paid his respects. As his craftiness was proved, he was seized and sent to court. On the 16th S'aādat Yār Koka died. His elementary constituents were dissolved by excessive drinking. H.M. implored mercy for him. He graciously went to the house of his sister Ḥājī[1] Koka and administered consolation. He also showed suitable kindness to his children.

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[1] It appears from the Maaṣiru-l-Umarā that she lived into Jahāngīr's reign, and was superintendent of the Harem (Ṣadr-anās). See Tūzuk J. 21 and translation, p. 46, where it is stated that Jahāngīr employed her to present the women who were worthy to receive money and land.

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One of the occurrences was the return of the Persian ambassador. A long time ago Yādgār Sulṭān Shāmlū had brought a supplicatory letter from the ruler of that country along with presents. On the 23rd he received a gracious *firmān* and permission to depart. Ẓīyā-al-Mulk was sent with him as ambassador and Abū Nāṣir as custodian of the presents. An order was given that they should go by the Rāvī to Bandar Lāharī, and from thence to Persia by way of Ormuz. A weighty letter from the court of the Caliphate was written which might be of use to the acute, and an arm-amulet of fortune.

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CHAPTER CXX.

Letter of H.M. the Shāhinshāh to Persia, account of the Ottoman Dynasty.

Allah Akbar. Praise and supplication of the sublime threshold of the Unity—Glory be to the Name—are such that if all the niceties of Reason, and all the Categories of Intellect together with the armies of the Intelligences, and hosts of the Sciences, were gathered together, they would not amount to one letter of that book or to one ray of that sun, though, in the eyes of truth, all the motes of existence are a fountain-head of Divine praise, which with a tongueless tongue come forth and moisten the parched lips and burnt-up throats of non-existence with true praise! It is better then to shorten the lasso of thought before the pinnacle of eternal glory—to which the pure spirits (the angels) cling—and to apply oneself to the laudation of the glorious company of the prophets and apostles—on whom be benediction and peace! Let us proclaim in the pulpits of publicity; firstly, their glorious conditions, and secondly, the beautiful gifts whereby they have led mankind from the defiles of error into the highway of favour and guidance, and let us tell of the bounties and noble qualities of the "members of the household" (*Ahl-i-bait*) who are confidants of the great secrets, and unveilers of the mysteries of the prophets, and let us, relying thereupon, implore new mercy! But inasmuch as on a just view it appears that the praises[1] of those shewers forth of things Divine and human, and that the greatness of that assemblage of spirits who have been consumed in the search for truth and who are transitory in the midst of permanency, are a shadow of the praises of Omnipotence, it is fitting that we abstain from this likewise, and place on the preamble of our statement some points from the current performances of the masters of wisdom, with whose practical science the administration of mundane affairs is associated. For assuredly, in this way do the zealous travel-

[1] There is a difference of reading here.

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lers on the paths of faith, and those who slake themselves at the 657
fountains of truth—who have set before themselves the refreshing of the categories of the visible and invisible—become affused with auspiciousness!

Glory be to God the great and holy! The beholding of the pure and honoured letter which was sent along with Yādgār Sulṭān Shāmlū in the midst of spring and at the time of the equability of night and day made our loving soul to exult. The joyous breeze of the tulips and fragrant flowers became insinuated into the convolutions of the brain, for this nosegay of love and friendship conveyed the perfume of unanimity. What you have written about the delay in writing letters of affection is very appropriate. In truth, spiritual relationships require that there should not be such delays. But you must have heard from comers and goers what great affairs, and continued wars, have occurred to us against the princes of India, which has been reckoned by geometricians as four-sixths of the seven climes. During this long period, this vast country which was shared among so many independent chiefs and martial rulers has by the Divine aid been conquered by the imperial servants. From the mountains of the Hindu Koh to the shores of the ocean all the rebels and stiff-necked ones of three directions—strongfisted[1] rulers and arrogant rajahs, shortsighted Afghan mountaineers, swiftly-careering, desert-dwelling Balūcīs and other fortress-dwellers and landowners—have, one and all, come into the shade of obedience, and the tribes of mankind have enjoyed equability in concord. By the Divine aid that which was revolving in our truth-choosing soul has become accomplished fact. When the Panjab had become the seat of sovereignty it was our secret design to send an able ambassador, but some undertakings intervened. The chief of these was the deliverance of the inhabitants of the heart-rejoicing country of Kashmīr from the hands of villanous tyrants. In spite of the strength of the country, and the long marches, the lofty mountains, the dense forests, the numerous ravines—which can with difficulty be crossed by the forces of the imagination—were by grasping the strong cable of Divine aid by the support of the spirits of the holy Imāms—May Peace be upon them—traversed by the sublime army in an excellent

[1] Text has wrongly *zerdast* instead of *zabardast*. See Errata.

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fashion. Several thousand active stone-cutters went on, stage by stage, in advance, and put forth the hand of ability in eradicating
658 rocks and in cutting down forests and in making roads. Accordingly, that delightful country was conquered in a short time, and the standards of justice waved over the inhabitants in general. When that splendid country—which is lauded by all spectators who approve of beauty—was granted to us by the Divine favour, we ourselves went there and offered up our thanksgivings. We journeyed on to the hill-country of Tibet and then proceeded by the route of Paklī and Damtaur—which is a very difficult route—to Kabul and Ghaznīn. We chastised the carnivorous Afghans, the brigands who in the country of Swād, Bajaur and Bangash, are a stone of stumbling to travellers to Tūrān, and we punished the wicked Balūcīs, and other desert-dwellers who are of a bestial nature, and are deceitful foxes, and who are a thorn in the path of Persian travellers. There were incidents, but the root of the delay (in writing) was the confusion in Persia and the distracted state of that country after the inevitable event (of the death) of H.M. the Shāh (Muḥammad Khudā-banda)—May God make his proof clear. At the time when the ambassador arrived with an auspicious message, it became known that the confusion was diminishing. Assuredly, our anxious heart was comforted on hearing this news. It was infused into our soul based upon truth that at this time it was not consonant to humanity and liberality merely to make inquiries. The consolation which it occurred to us was to give every assistance that could be desired. But the affairs of Qandahār intervened, for the Mīrzās there showed slackness in assisting the sublime family (that of the Ṣafavī dynasty), and on the occurrence of accidents and misfortunes—which is the time for testing the jewel of fidelity—they did not at all show marks of concord and unanimity. Nor did they repair to our sublime asylum, which is the native land of the masters of delight and ease. It therefore occurred to us that we should in the first place make over Qandahar to our own people. Should the Mīrzās come to comprehend the nature of our daily-increasing dominion and repent of their past deeds, and render service to the representative of the flower of the pure and holy, our victorious troops would join with them and perform every act of assistance that that darling of the Sulṭanate (Shāh 'Abbās) might desire. But as the Mīrzās had ancient

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connections with our holy family and as the sending of our victorious hosts without making previous inquiry would appear, to the short-sighted general public, to be a breaking of ties, we abstained from it. Meanwhile Rustum M. arrived, and the province of Multan—which is several times larger than Qandahar—was conferred on him. And Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. on hearing of our benignities sent his mother and his eldest son, and meditated coming in person. After his arrival the victorious army will proceed to Qandahār and will easily perform every kind of help. As in the rules of sovereignty and the religion of humanity, concord is preferable to opposition and peace better than war, and especially as it has been our disposition from the beginning of our attaining discretion to this day not to pay attention to differences of religion and variety of manners and to regard 659
the tribes of mankind as the servants of God, we have endeavoured to regulate mankind in general. The blessings of this lofty principle —which is in accord with magnanimity—have once and again showed themselves. At this time when the Panjab was the seat of government our firm intention had been to uprear the sublime standards towards Transoxiana which was the country of our ancestors, so that both might that country come into the possession of the imperial servants, and also that the family of the prophets (the Ṣafavī family) might be assisted in a suitable manner. Meanwhile the asylum of, benevolence 'Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān sent, time after time, loving letters referring to ancient relationships, and confirmatory of affection, by the instrumentality of skilful ambassadors, and thereby set in motion the chain of concord and devotion and laid the foundation of affection. As to go to war with one who is disposed to be peaceable is contrary to the Divine decrees and is disapproved of in the balance of lofty reason, our head turned away from this project. Stranger still: As yet nothing which could be completely relied upon has been heard from persons arriving from that country about the reformation of the disorders of Persia and the Persians, nor has any truthful exposition been obtained about the fundamental character of that scion of purity (Shāh 'Abbās). We hope that knowing that our loving heart is disposed towards every kind of subject and enterprise, you will tread the beautiful path of correspondence and cause the arrival of truthful, diurnal reports. At the present day, when there are very few wise and acute men who look to the future

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in Persia, it behoves that cream of lofty ancestors (S. 'Abbās) to exert himself greatly in the management of the country and in the conciliation of all the inhabitants. In every undertaking he must regard caution and have a thought of the final result, and he must not let his heart be perplexed by the fictions of interested people and the lies of intriguing weavers of tales. He must practise endurance of burdens and the ignoring of the mistakes of hereditary servants and new employés, and advance the sincere, and by the light of graciousness cleanse the rust of darkness from off the hypocritical. He must also exercise supreme caution before putting any one to death and destroying what is an edifice of God. Many life-friends have been removed from their near position by the craft of self-interested enemies and have drunk the blood of death, and many enemies and seeming friends have donned the garb of loyalty and engaged in destroying the foundations of dominion. Ample thought must be exercised in studying the hearts and secrets of those men. The lent fortune of this transitory state must be made submissive to the Divine pleasure. The sections of mankind, who are a Divine deposit and treasure, must be regarded with the glance of affection, and efforts must be made to conciliate their hearts. It must be considered that the Divine mercy attaches itself to every form of creed, and supreme exertions must be made to bring oneself into the ever vernal flower-garden of "Peace with all." The increase of one's good fortune must always be kept in full view, for the eternal God is bounteous to all souls
660 and conditions of men. Hence it is fitting that kings, who are the shadow of Divinity, should not cast away this principle. For, the Creator has given this sublime order (that of kings) for the discipline and guardianship of all mankind, so that they may watch over the honour and reputation of every class. Men do not knowingly and intentionally make mistakes in worldly affairs, which are unsubstantial and pass away, why then should they be negligent in the affairs of faith and religion, which are permanent and everlasting? In fine, the position of every sect comes under one of two categories. Either it is in possession of Truth, and in that case one should seek direction from it and accept its views. Or it is in the wrong, and then it is unfortunate and suffering from the disease of ignorance, and is a subject for pitying kindness, and not for harshness and reproach. One must exercise wide toleration and knock at the door of inspec-

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tion, for in this way will the veil be removed from the wide extent of spiritualities and temporalities, and there will be ample life and fortune. One of the advantages of this method is that at a time of want of leisure and of the predominance of wrath, friends will not be destroyed under the idea that they are enemies, and that enemies masquerading as friends will not have an opportunity for deceit. One must strenuously adhere to one's word, for this is a pillar of rule. Patience and endurance must ever be one's companions, for the maintenance of permanent dominion depends thereon. Let it not be concealed that it was our intention to dispatch one of our chosen confidants along with Yādgār Sulṭān in order that he might learn the real facts about Persia and report to us. Meanwhile a number of rebels and strife-mongers rose up in Kashmīr. We were in the hunting-ground with a few intimates when the news of this arrived. A Divine inspiration made us proceed thither rapidly, and we had not reached Kashmīr when gallant heroes—who out of necessity had become the companions of this rebellious crew—got their opportunity and brought the head of the ringleader to us. When that territory had become, by the blessing of our advent, a site of peace and tranquillity, we returned and came to Lahore. At this time the ruler of Sīwistān, Tattah and Sind—which are on the route to Persia—had the temerity and ill fortune to engage in war with the troops who are associated with victory, and the route to 'Irāq and Khurāsan became closed. Hence there has been delay in sending an ambassador. Now, that our holy heart is free from all cares, and that Sīwistān and Tattah have been incorporated in the empire, and that M. Jānī Beg the ruler thereof has appeared at our court and done homage, and that we have read on his forehead the marks of repentance and devotion, we have restored that country to him. The route to 'Irāq has thus become shorter and safer than before, and we have given him his dismissal (to Tattah). We send Zīyā-al-Mulk[1] who is the **661** essence of trustworthiness and devotion, and have confided to him some loving expressions which he will communicate to you in private. He will also ascertain the state of affairs in Persia and report to us. Some rarities of this country have been entrusted to Khwāja Abū Nāṣir. We hope that you will consider this abode of dominion

[1] B. 497, where he is styled "of Kāshān."

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as your own house and pursue a line of conduct contrary to that of former times, and will consider the despatch of letters—which are a spiritual conversation—as appertaining to the rules of concord. May God Almighty ever preserve that cream of a chosen family from deceits and wiles and succour him by secret aids !

On 24 Āẕar Āṣaf K. arrived in three days from Kashmīr, and reported the revenue of the country to be, according to the settlement of Qāẕī 'Alī, 31 lakhs of *kharwārs*, each of 24 *dāms*. He had pacified the soldiers and the peasantry and distributed the fiefs in a proper manner. On the 26th, 'Imād-ul-Mulk sent an excellent royal falcon to court. The connoisseurs were much astonished, and H.M. said that in the year in which he conquered Surat such a falcon [1] had been sent to him, and that he had sent it to Munī'm K. by the hands of Subhān Qulī Turk.

On 1st Dai the "king of poets" S. Abū Faiẓ Faiẓī presented the poem of Nal Daman, and was much commended. In the thirtieth Divine year that cavalier of the plain of eloquence conceived the idea of making the *khamsa* (Niẓāmī's Pentad) the arena of his heaven-embracing genius. He composed the Markaz-i-adwār after the model of the Makhzan-i-asrār in 3,000 verses, the Sulaimān and Bilqīs after the model of the Khusrū and Shīrīn, and the Nal Daman —which is one of the old stories of this country—after the model of the Laila and Majnūn. The last two consisted, each, of 4,000 verses. He also composed the Haft Kishwar in 5,000 verses after the style of the Haft Paikar, and arranged the Akbarnāma according to the metre of the Sikandarnāma. In the same style (as Niẓāmī ?) he made in verse a catalogue of the glories of the Shāhinshāh. At that period (the 30th year) he commenced the first poem. Inasmuch as genius is attached to the antechamber of intelligence, his soul in no way grew cold, and he continually, by virtue of his inspiration and delightsomeness, produced new work. In a short time he executed the preambles of all five works together with several tales which increased the understanding of the enlightened and

[1] Text توغان. A note explains that a white falcon is so called. It appears from P. de Courteille's Dict. that the proper spelling is تویغن *Tūīghūn*. Apparently the bird was sent from Gujarāt. 'Imād-al-Mulk was a Gujarati title.

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critical. As the foundation of poetry has been placed on fancy and fiction, H.M. pays less regard to it. Still that unique one of the banquet of appreciation on the appearance of a choice poem expressed a wish to discourse about it. He (Faiẓī) out of proper devotion and auspiciousness withdrew himself from the troop **662** of futile rhymesters. He preserved silence and studied deeply philosophical works. He reverenced great spirits and exercised himself in praise of the Deity. Though his intimates urged him to build up these five palaces, he did not assent. The whole design of spiritual conquests is to erase the marks of existence ; not to adorn the antechamber of renown. At length,[1] in this year, the wise throne-occupant sent for that knower of spiritual and physical mysteries and bade him complete that *Panjnāma* (pentad). He also indicated that he should begin by putting the tale of Nal Daman into the balance of words. In four months, four thousand verses were completed in a variegated and decorated manner.

On the 4th S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī returned from the northern hills, and was exalted by doing homage. On the 6th, Ādat Dās Kashmīrī died. He was singular in that country for his knowledge and rectitude, and by his fortunate star he was admitted to the august society (of Akbar). On the 8th M. Yūsuf K. was made *dāroghā* of the Artillery, and Shāh Beg Qandahārī was made the Dīwān of that department. On this day the Mota Rajah arrived from his estate of Jodhpūr and had an audience. At this time—when the vines in Hindustan did not bear—a grape was produced in Ḥasan Abdāl which was called ox-eye (dīda-i-gāo), and Mīr Ḥusain showed it to H.M. Next morning Hāshim Beg came from Kabul and did homage, and was exalted by princely favours. On the 24th, after the passing of 3½ hours, a daughter was born in the harem of Prince Sulṭān Selīm by the daughter of 'Abdullah Bilūc. It is hoped that she may become a source of increased fortune. In the end of this month Sulṭān Murād, the ruler of Turkey, died. Twelve days afterwards, when his son Sulṭān Muḥammad was brought out

[1] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 410. In the preface to his translation of Ayeen Akberry Gladwin speaks of a poem by Faiẓī in six hundred couplets in particular commendation of every person who held even the smallest office at Court. This poem I have never been able to find. It does not occur in any copy of the Ain that I have seen.

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of the fortress, he was buried, and Sulṯan Muḥammad, from somnolence of understanding and stony-heartedness, put to death his nineteen brothers, the eldest of whom was twenty years old. On hearing of this, H.M. said, "It is very strange that the river of sovereignty has remained full in his house. If some prosperity attends this malicious and selfish man, it apparently must be as a means of retribution for mankind. He who seeks to follow wisdom does not (try to) comprehend the marvels of destiny."

Verse.

Faiẓī, open the ear of the heart and the eye of the mind.
Dedicate those eyes and ears to the work of the world.
Behold the wonders of the Age and close your lips.
Listen to the tale of the epoch and close your eye.

663 Sultan Malik Shāh Seljūqī took Syria[1] from the Christians[1] and made it over to his connexions and servants. When the dominion of the Seljūq family in 'Irāq and Khurāsān came to an end, the Seljūqs in Turkey somewhat increased in prosperity. The first (of the Seljūqs of Turkey) was Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-dīn Qulīj Arslān, then came his son Sulṯān Raknu-d-dīn, then Sulṯān Ghīāṣu-d-dīn, then 'Azza-u-dīn Kaikāūs, and then Sulṯān 'Alāu-d-dīn Kaiqubād. Many reckon 'Azza-u-dīn as the last of this dynasty, others add two other descendants of 'Alau-d-dīn. Seljūq was descended by twenty-four generations from Afrāsiyāb. He had four sons: Michael, Israil,[2] Mūsā, and Yūnas. In 375 A.H., 985-86 A.D., they came from the defiles of Turkistan to Transoxiana, and from there to Khurāsān. Then the sons of Michael,

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[1] *Nāqūsparastān* "the worshippers of the *nāqūs*," the wooden gong of the Eastern Christians. But the text seems corrupt. The MSS. I have seen have not the words *nāqūs-parastān*, and this seems an absurd name for Christians. The MSS. vary, but I.O. MS. 236 has *Armānūṣ tarsā* "Armenian Christians (?) and I.O. MS. 3296, No. 259 of Ethé, has *az nāmūs tarsā* "Christian leaders."

All the MSS. have Rūmīstān, i.e. Turkey, instead of the Ardistan of the text, which is a town in Persia. Perhaps what A.F. wrote was Anthakia, i.e. Antioch. D'Herbelot says Malik Shāh's conquests extended to that city. Gibbon may be consulted about the Turks and Seljuks.

[2] Isrāfīl in text. The Ḥabību-s-siyar, etc., says there were 34 generations between Seljūq and Afrāsiyāb.

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viz. Toghril and J'aafir Beg, became great. Their dynasty ended after 117[1] years. Then the prosperity of the Qarāmān Begs (of Caramania) began. This too came to an end after 173 years in the time of Ibrāhīm Beg. The Oṣmān (Ottoman) dynasty began in 688 A.H., and the Oṣmān year and month are counted from him (?). It is said he was born in 648.[2] Various accounts are given of his success. He reigned 37 or 39 years. In some ancient histories he is said to be descended from Aghuz K. (His genealogy is) Oṣmān s. Ṭoghril s. Sulaimān, s. Qiyālat, s. Qazil Būqā, s. Payindar, s. Ajūl Ṣafī Āqā, s. Ṭughān, s. Qandasūn, s. Māītwaqūn, s. Bāqī Āqā, s. Sūncaq Āqā, s. Bakhtumūr, s. Būsāqī, s. Lak 'Alī (Kok Alp K.), s. Aghuz, s. Qarā K. They say that Oṣmān's grandfather Sulaimān Shāh possessed the city of Mahān (in Khurāsān). When the Moghuls disturbed the world, he proceeded with his family to Rūmistān. On account of difference of religion, he attacked and plundered the country. He fought battles at Amāsīa,[3] and from there went on towards Aleppo. He lost his life in crossing the Euphrates. Ūr Khān (Orkhān) his (Oṣmān's) son succeeded him, and died after administering justice for 55 or 32 years. His son Ghāzī Murād succeeded him, and conquered numerous territories. He became known as Murād K. With him began the practice of taking one-fifth of the captives[4] as the share of government. He also instituted the corps of the janissaries.[5] While he was hunting, Christian troops arrived and he fought bravely with them and was victorious. Suddenly some men in ambush came out of a cave and killed him. He died after 47 or 32 years of rule. He was succeeded by his son Īldarim Bāyazīd. He conquered Persia and Qirmān and attained high dignity. The accumulation of treasure, the keeping of accounts, and the drinking of wine in this country became current from him. He 664
fought a battle with Ṣāḥib Qarānī (Timur) near Angora and was

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1 The variant 170 is supported by B.M. 22,247.

2 In 656 or 1258 according to Stanley Lane-Poole.

3 Abāsia in text. Birthplace of Strabo, and old capital of Pontus. Spelt Amāsyah in Ayīn, J. III. 101. For genealogy of Uṣmān see the Shajrāt-ul Atrak, Miles's translation, p. 41.

4 *Bandīyān*. See Gibbon cap. 65 where he speaks of the "royal fifth of the captives."

5 *Nekcerī* in text. Properly *yenī cerī*.

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made prisoner. For 14 or 16 years he was successful. He had six sons. Musṭafa Calabī was missing after that battle. Sulaiman, who was called Calabī, took some country. He sent presents to the court of Sāhib Qarānī, and was submissive. Some land was left to him. Mūsā, who was an attendant on the stirrup, obtained some of the land of Rūm. The brothers fought with one another. One day Sulaimān was drinking wine in his hot bath. Mūsā attacked him. He came out alone and took shelter in a village, and the villagers killed him. He reigned 7 years. Mūsā became sole ruler and indulged in arrogance. From excessive suspiciousness and deficiency of wisdom he degraded the great, and raised up the slaves of gold. Sulṭān Muḥammad his brother rose up to contend with him and there were several battles. While he was flying, his horse stuck in the mud and the lamp of his life was extinguished.[1] He reigned either six or three years. Sulṭān Muḥammad upreared the banners of sovereignty. One Musṭafa claimed to be a prophet. The Sulṭān fought with him and killed him. He reigned for 5 or for 2 years. When the pains of death came upon him, he summoned his son Sulṭān Murād from Roumelia, but died before he arrived. He arrived after forty days. They proclaimed his (S. Muḥammad's) death and committed the body to the earth. Some soldiers rebelled. An obscure man claimed to be Musṭafa Calabī the son of Īldarim Bāyazīd, and many believed on him. He took the country of Roumelia, and made an expedition against Anatolia.[2] The Sulṭān by the advice of some persons went to a saint, who was called Amīr J'aafirī,[3] and who lived a prayerful life in the city of Bursā (Brusa) which is the cemetery of the rulers of Turkey. The dervish inspired him, and in a short while the sedition-monger was seized and put to death. In the heat of success his heart grew cold to the world and he went into retirement, making his son Sulṭān Muḥammad his representative. He could not manage properly, and the violence of the Franks[4] somewhat disturbed the country. By entreaties, the leaders of the army induced that hermit to adorn again the throne. He quelled the disturbance and again retired into solitude. He left the administration to

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[1] See D'Herbelot for accounts of Sulaimān, Musā and Muḥammad.

[2] Text Ābādanī.

[3] I.O. MS. 236 has Jafiratī, which is also given as a variant.

[4] See Errata where *karda* is changed to *giroh*.

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the same son. After some time the janissaries became unmanageable and conspired to kill Khādim Pāsha the chief councillor. He fled and took shelter in the Sultān's place of retirement. By endurance of burdens, planning and increase of pay, the mutiny was quelled. Able men by much supplication again brought the hermit to the palace, and victories showed their countenance. The whole time of 665 his rule was 27 or 30 years. When he went to the privy-chamber of non-existence, Sulṭān Muḥammad, after sixteen days, sate on the throne. Fortune rose up to do him homage. Apparently it was by her order that the tiara of rule did not show its glory during the lifetime of his father. He took Constantinople, which is famous as Istambūl, and made it the capital and chose it for his place of burial. He reigned for 31 years. On his death, his son Sulṭān Bāyazīd put the imperial crown on his head. The Egyptians prevailed against him, and some unfaithful soldiers joined his son Sulṭān Selīm. That turbulent one contended with his visible god (i.e. his father). And by the jugglery of the heavens he was victorious. He ended his (father's) life by poison[1] and acquired eternal abhorrence. Bāyazīd reigned thirty years. Afterwards the parricide obtained the sovereignty and fought a battle with Shāh Ismāīl Ṣ'afavī in the plain of Khāldārān between Dīārbikr and Azarbaijān. He defeated him and proceeded to attack the Egyptians. Sulṭān Qānṣūī (Qānsūh Ghūrī) the ruler of that country was killed, and the dynasty of the Circassians came to an end.[2] Malik Ṣāliḥ, who was the last prince of the Ayūb family, died at Cairo in 648. His clan and his slaves raised his mother[3] to the power, and 'Iẓzau-d-dīn who belonged to the family was made commander-in-chief. When some time elasped base and mercenary people raised 'Izzau-d-dīn to the sovereignty, and he is the first of the Circassian dynasty. From that time the power in Egypt and Syria fell into the hands of low slaves (the Mamlūks). The dominion of the Banī[4] 'Abbās—which was only nominal—also

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1 D'Herbelot says s. v. Selīm Khān that it is only the Christians who charge Selīm with parricide.

2 This was in 922 (1516). After this A.F. turns backward and gives the history of the Circassian or Mamlūk princes.

3 This is Shajar-al-durr, but she was Ṣalih's widow, not his mother. The text has 348 but the variant 648 is right.

4 The 'Abbasid Caliphs of Egypt. They had only spiritual authority.

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came to an end. He (Selīm) reigned for ten or for seven[1] years and was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Sulaimān. Shāh Ism'aīl sent choice presents and condolences and congratulations. He (Sulaiman) wrote "reply unnecessary[2]" and put his seal on the front of the letter (of Ism'aīl) and made Ism'aīl exceeding sorrowful. Sulaimān took Cyprus[3] and many countries from the Christians. He reigned for 48 years. Then his son Sultān Selīm (II) succeeded him. His brother Sulṭān Bāyazīd took shelter with his four sons with Shāh Ṭahmāsp the ruler of Persia, and lost his life. Sulṭān Selīm reigned seven or sixteen[4] years, and was succeeded by his son Sulṭān Murād. Though his empire became extensive the janissaries prevailed over him. They took the grand Vizier (buzurg dastūr) Muḥammad Pāshā (Sokolli) forcibly out of the palace and put him to a shameful death. He reigned for 25 years. In order to water my discourse I have gone somewhat out of my way to speak of this dynasty, and have provided a collyrium for the eyes. I return to the narrative of eternal dominion, which is my objective.

666 On 9 Bahman M. Yūsuf K. obtained leave to go to Jaunpūr in order that he might bring it into some degree of order and then return. On the 15th Shīdā Beg died. He was *taḥwīldār* of the Wardrobe.

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[1] For 8 years 8 months according to D'Herbelot.

[2] *Beniyāzāna pāsakh nigāshta muhur barū kard.* I think that *beniyāzāna pāsakh* must be what Sulaiman wrote on the envelope. The text has *barū* "on it," but I.O. MS. 236, B.M. MS. 27,247 and the Cawnpore ed. have bar rū "on the face." Perhaps the sting of this consisted in his not opening the letter and merely putting his seal on the face of it. But from Dorn's Hist. of the Afghans, p. 124, it appears that to put a seal on a letter was an affront, at least if the person doing so was of inferior rank. The following passage occurs there. "In short the governors of Mālwa, obeying Sher K.'s commands, sent letters of allegiance and loyalty, with the only exception of Melloo K. who, from excessive folly and a wish to show his royal dignity, impressed his signet upon the letter, and notwithstanding the entreaties his well-wishers made to dissuade him, sent it off so. Sher K. on beholding the letter tore off the seal and preserved it, observing that the punishment for the impertinence would one day overtake him." Naturally, Sulaiman would despise Ism'aīl as a Shīa, and it is rather strange that the latter should have gone out of his way to express grief at the death of Selīm his conqueror.

[3] Text فرس Persia.

[4] So in text and in I.O. MS. 236, but 16 is probably a mistake for 8.

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From self-indulgence and drinking he seldom appeared on parade (*ba kashk*). H.M. became angry and on one occasion had him stripped and soused[1] with cold water. He died of the cold. It appeared that he had laid presumptuous hands on the private dresses. H.M. said, "God has punished him with nakedness for having donned stolen garments." At this time a supplicatory letter came from Khān Aḥmad Gīlāni. On account of long prosperity, the strength of his country, and bad company, he had been insolent to Shāh Ṭahmāsp the ruler of Persia, and had been sent to the school of the prison. Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda released him, and sent him back to the government of Gīlān. Envious tale-bearers incited Shāh 'Abbās against him. Out of ill-fatedness he set himself to fight (with 'Abbās). He was defeated and took refuge in Turkey. He was not appreciated there and not treated with favour. On the 23rd his envoy had an audience and presented a petition. It stated that he had long desired to have recourse to the sublime court, but could not accomplish his desire on account of the distance and the insecurity. At present he was passing his time in distress in Baghdad, and his old desire was occupying the skirt of his heart. The envoy was favourably received and made hopeful of royal favours, On 1 Isfandārmaz, after ten hours, a daughter[2] was born to Sulṭān Daniel by the daughter of Qulīj K. It is hoped that her advent may increase prosperity.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Sīwī (Sibi).[3] It is a strong fort near Qandahār, and in old times was held by the ruler of Bhakkar. For a long time the Afghans had held it. Saiyid Bahāu-d-dīn Bokhārī the fiefholder of Ūc, and Bakhtiyār Beg the fiefholder of Sīwistān, and Mīr Abū-l-Qāsim Tamkīn the *jāgīrdār* of Bhakkar, and Mīr M'aṣūm and other soldiers of the province of Multan, received orders to proceed thither and to make advice the material of conquest. If they did not listen, they were to be punished. On 23 Dai they went out with this intention. The zamīndārs of

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[1] This was in the month of Bahman which corresponds to January.

[2] Bālāqī Begam A.N. III. 837. Afterwards married to M. Walī. Tūzuk, J. p. 272.

[3] In Baluchistan. The district is now British. See I. G. XXII. 336. The town is S.E. Quettah and on the Sind-Pishīn railway. See J. II. 328 n. and B. 362, and Elliot I. 237. It is a long way from Qandahar.

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Ganjāba[1] and the other chiefs there—such as Daryā K. and Dāūd—submitted. On 3 Isfandārmaẕ they arrived at the fort. 5,000 men came out to fight, and after a short engagement they were defeated and retired into the fort. After investing it and preparing to take it, the garrison came to terms and gave up the keys. By this victory the country up to Qandahār, Kac[2] and Mekrān was included in the empire. The soldiers were distressed in that desert[3] from want of water. They made the world's lord the Divine instrument of worship and prayed for water. By the Divine favour in a short space of time, the dry bed of a turrent became full of water, and there came occasion for thanksgiving.

667 On the 27th[4] the festival of the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and the world sate down in the light of success.

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[1] Elliot I. 238.

[2] Text Kīc. Cf. J. II. 336. It is Cutch.

[3] Cf. J. II. 328 where it is said that there is a vast desert between Sīwī and Bhakkar.

[4] The solar month was Isfandarmaẕ, the last of the solar year. The birthday was on 5 Rajab, and in this year, 1003, Rajab began on 2 March. The last clause of the sentence refers, apparently, to the charities that were bestowed on the anniversary.

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CHAPTER CXXI.

Beginning of the 40th year, to wit, the year Tīr of the fourth Cycle.

On Tuesday, 9 Rajab 1003, after 3 hours, 33 minutes, the world-lighting sun illuminated the sign of Aries, and the fourth year of the fourth cycle conveyed the news of eternal dominion. The world's Commander returned fresh thanks to God, and adorned nineteen days with varied celebrations. The dejected of heart became exhilarated, the savage became sociable.

Verse.

Allah Akbar! What eternal bliss is this!
Allah Akbar! What a lamp of truth is this!
No particle do I see void of light.
Allah Akbar! What sunlight is this!

On 5 Farwardīn, Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umrī came with some men from the northern mountains, and brought with him Rāja Bāsū and some zamīndārs. Each received suitable favours. At this time the conquest of Busnah took place. It is a strong fort, and a populous country is connected with it. When Rāja Mān Singh came to Tānda, the capital of Bengal, he sent off troops in all directions. One body was sent under the command of Himmat Singh (the Rāja's son) to that quarter. On the 19th it prevailed, and a faction was chastised. When the world's lord had performed the thanksgivings of the New Year, he crossed the Rāvī and went to the Dilāmez garden, which had lately been made. From there he went with some ladies in retirement to Rāmbārī. Night and day he gathered the flowers of joy, and at the same time his enlightenment increased.

One of the occurrences was the death of Burhān Niẓām-ul-Mulk. Whoever neglects goodness and practises ingratitude, soon, by his own efforts, reaps his retribution. Fresh evidence of this is afforded by the story of this base one. The royal favours he received, his

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coming to power, his ingratitude, and his non-acceptance of counsels, and the appointment of an army against him, have been described. On account of the distance and of slackness in making preparations, the army had not been gathered together when he died. He delighted in obstinacy, and flattery made him arrogant. He stretched out
668 his hands against men's property and lives, and destroyed the honour of families. He made no distinction between friend and foe, relative and stranger. He raised an army to attack Ādil K. and returned unsuccessful. Thinking that he would take the fort of Rewadanda,[1] which adjoins Caul, from the Christians, he sent Farhād K. and Asad K. Rūmī with a large force to that quarter, and then lasciviously defiled Farhād K.'s wife. Farhād felt ashamed and made terms with the Christians. Many Deccanis lost their lives, and Asad K. was made prisoner. In order to increase his virility Burhān used mercurial[2] medicines, and made himself ill by listening to quacks, so that he became hopeless of life. He brought his son Ibrāhīm Beg

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[1] I.G. X. 184 and XXI. 273. Rewadanda is also called Lower Caul. The two towns are in the Kolaba district and about 30 m. S. Bombay. There is an account of Burhān's attack on Rewadanda in Noer's Akbar II. p. 309 of translation. The siege began in April 1594.

[2] *Shangarf*, Cinnabar. The Iqbālnāma has *sīmāb kushta*, ashes of quicksilver. For *kushta*, quicksilver, see B. 563, n. 1.

The story about Farhād's wife does not appear to be correct. Danvers in his "The Portuguese in India," II. 90, says that Farhād and his wife and daughter were captured at Chaul in 1592 (should be 1594), and that the wife was ransomed, while Farhād and his daughter became Catholics and went to Portugal. Faria Y. Sousa, however, says that Farhād died of his wounds after he had been baptized and showed signs of conversion, and that only the daughter went to Portugal (III. Part I, c. 8). Ferishta says nothing about Farhād's wife's having been outraged, though he says that Burhān ordered every beautiful woman to be brought to his palace. Among others, he sent for Shujā'at's wife, but dismissed her unharmed. However her husband was so affected by the disgrace that he committed suicide. He also says that Burhān's licentiousness made his officers reluctant to serve him, and so led to the triumph of the Portuguese. (Newal Kishore's ed., 3rd vol., p.155). The Portuguese victory occurred on 16 Zī-l-hajja 1002 (September 1594). Akbar seems to have been highly pleased at the defeat of Burhān and expressed to Xavier his admiration of the feat of the Portuguese in taking the Morro at Chaul (J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 109).

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out of prison, and made him his successor. Ikhlās K. Abyssinian and some others did not agree to this and endeavoured to raise up Ism'aīl, another son, and who had formerly ruled. When he had recovered somewhat, he got into a litter and set out to fight. Three *kos* from Aḥmadnagar he fought and was victorious.[1] The strife-mongers had to go into retirement. This success made him more mad, and increased his arrogance. When he returned, he used more medicine, and increased his illness. On the 25th[2] (Farwardīn) he died. Many said that his sister Cānd Bībī poisoned him. The acute beheld in it the retribution of his ingratitude. The army-leaders raised Ibrāhīm to power, and he from shortsightedness first blinded his brother and afterwards put him to death.

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[1] The battle was fought near Humāyūnpūr, which was a place founded by Burhān's mother.

[2] 5 or 6 April, 1595. According to Ferishta, Burhān died on 13 Shābān 1003 = 18 April 1595: A. F.'s account of Burhān may be compared with the more detailed one by Ferishta. Ferishta says nothing about the alleged poisoning by Cānd Bībī. Badayūnī, Lowe, 416, also speaks of reports that Burhān was put to death. According to Ferishta Burhān died at Aḥmadnagar in consequence of fatigues of his campaign against Ikhlās K. According to Ferishta it was Burhān and not Ibrāhīm who put Ism'aīl to death. Burhān did this partly because Ism'aīl belonged to the Mahdī religion.

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CHAPTER CXXII.

Arrival of the victorious troops at Qandahar, and the tranquillisation of that country.

When Qarā Beg and M. Beg—who had gone to bring Moẓaffar Ḥusain M.—approached, the Mīrzā received them and rejoiced over the royal order. He expressed submissiveness and showed a desire to proceed towards the court from there. As Shāh Beg K. had not arrived, he turned back at the instance[1] of the above-named persons, and for a time had other thoughts, in consequence of the foolish talk of wicked persons. Owing to his auspicious disposition he looked deeply into the matter and frankly surrendered the fort and came out. On the 28th, silver and gold were illuminated by the Shāhinshāh's stamp, and the pulpits were exalted by his honoured name. Shāh Beg K. encouraged the Mīrzā in various ways and sent him off with his family and 2,000[2] Qizilbāshes. A populous country
669 came into possession without a battle, and a noble family was delivered from confusion. The Uzbegs turned aside their rein from that country for a while, and the peasantry had some repose. The tribes of the Hazāra and Afghans and other presumptuous landholders received chastisement. At this time the great office of Vakīl was conferred on the Khān Ā'aẓam M. Koka. As ability and disinterestedness were seen in his forehead, he was, on 9 Ardibihisht, exalted by that great favour. Though the talents of the world's lord needed no help, and he accomplished everything by his own wide capacity, yet he, from wisdom and a knowledge of the world, entrusted business to an able officer. The thread of watchfulness was thereby doubled.

On the 19th[3] (Ardibihisht) a large caravan laden with choice

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[1] Apparently they suggested his return, as owing to the non-arrival of Shāh Beg things were not ripe for his departure. See the Maaṣir. III. 299-300.

[2] Chalmers and the Iqbālnāma have 1,000.

[3] Or 29th April, 1595. The Pādris were Jerome Xavier, Benedict of Goes, and Emmanuel Pinheiro, and

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goods arrived from the port of Goa. In it were several learned Christian ascetics—known by the name of "Padre." By the favours of the Shāhinshāh their heart-desires were gratified.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Zamīn Dāwar and the country of Garmsīr (the hot country). These two populous tracts belong to Qandahar. The Uzbegs had taken them from the Mīrzās. When the report of the approach of the victorious troops became current, the headmen of those places gathered together and were victorious. The Uzbegs retired after failure. At this time Sulṭān Muḥammad Oghlān, Tengrī Bardī, Murād K., and some others (of the Uzbegs) rose up to take revenge, and surrounded the fort. When Shāh Beg K. came, the inhabitants begged for redress. He was doubtful about helping them in the absence of orders. By good fortune some of that crew extended the hand of plunder to near Qandahar, and M. 'Iwaz took by force the fortress of Terī.[1] When he would not listen to advice, Shāh Beg K. proceeded to give him battle. He (M. 'Iwaz) made Terī strong and came out to fight and was soon made prisoner. The fort was taken. Then Shāh Beg crossed the Helmand and attacked Zamīn Dāwar. The enemy was disconcerted and hastened to the fort of Darghor[2] (?). When they were pursued, they fled without fighting towards Herat. The victorious troops returned and came to Zamīn Dāwar, and Garmsīr was also, without a contest, included in the empire. The Tūrānī soldiers had their eyes opened somewhat, and Qul Bābā, the Commander-in-chief of Khurāsān, became anxious about protecting it. Out of foresight he behaved in a friendly manner to the troops. On 28 Tīr the news came, and every one was rewarded in a suitable manner. On the 30th (Tīr), 10th July, 1595, the Mota[3] Rajah died from inability

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the date given for their arrival in Lahore is stated by Maclagan, J.A.S.B. for 1896, p. 68, as 5th May, 1595. I presume that the difference between 29th April and 5th May is due to the missionaries using the Gregorian calendar. Jerome Xavier was the nephew of St. Francis Xavier.

[1] Text Hari, i.e. Herat, but immediately afterwards Tīrī is mentioned, and this is the reading in I.O. MS. 276. It is the Tarīn of J. II. 398 and the Terī of the I. G. XXIII. 281. It is in the Kohāt district.

[2] Perhaps dar ghor, i.e. in Ghor. The Iqbālnāma has "the fort of Ghor" B.M. MS. 27,247 has "from the fort hastened into Ghor," and this is probably right.

[3] The Mota, i.e. the fat Rajah, is

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to breathe (*nafas tangī*), and four wives freely gave their bodies to the flames. H.M. went there by water to teach[1] the truth, and led some to fortitude by showing the unimportance of life.

One of the occurrences was the death of Ibrāhīm Niẓam-ul-
670 Mulk. From the time that H.M. turned away the eye of favour from the Deccan, fresh evils occurred from time to time in that country, and retribution for ingratitude occurred. When Burhān died, and Ibrāhīm succeeded him, improprieties increased. An army came from Bījāpūr to punish him. On 16 Amardād, 40 *kos* from Ahmednagar, there was a battle, and suddenly an arrow reached[2] Ibrāhīm, and he was killed.

The Bījāpūrians returned successful, and the Niẓām-al-Mulkians came home in a bewildered state. Many made Aḥmad the son[3] of Khudābanda their chief, and some chose Moti,[4] the son of Qāsim. Burhan Niẓām-al-Mulk, the 1st, had six sons, Qāsim, 'Abdu l-Qādir, Ḥusain, Khudābānda, Shāh 'Alī, Muḥammad Bāqir. When he died, the succession fell to Ḥusain,[5] and when the latter died his eldest son Martaẓa became Niẓām-ul-Mulk.

Udai Singh s. Rai Māldeo of Jodhpūr. B. 429. Apparently his corpulence caused his death. Tod has an extraordinary story about his having died in consequence of a Brahman's curse. Apparently he died in or near Lahore. His daughter was the mother of Shāh Jahān. The last clause is obscure, but I think that the meaning is that Akbar was present at the satīs or arrived shortly afterwards and took the opportunity to encourage his followers to despise death by showing how little value the widows put upon their lives. Compare his remark, J. III. 398. "The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender price."

[1] *Baḥaqiqatāmozī*. Perhaps the meaning is to learn the truth.

[2] The Lucknow Ferishta says he was killed by a spear. But a MS. says it was an arrow that killed him. He met his death on 20 Zī-l-ḥajja 1003, or 16th August, 1595.

[3] The alleged son. Apparently he was really the son of Shāh Ṭāhir. See Ferishta's account of the Aḥmadnagar dynasty. Aḥmad was made king on 10 Zī-l-hajji 1003, 6th August, 1595, but was soon deposed in favour of Bahādur, the infant son of Ibrāhīm. Mīyān Manjū however supported him for a time and called in Prince Murād to help him.

[4] Mūsā in text, but Motī in I.O. MS. 236 and in B.M. 27,247.

[5] Text *nakhastin* "the first," but the true reading is "Ḥusain" as in the I.O. MSS. Aḥmad said to be the son of Khudābanda was apparently

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On the 31st, twelve dīwāns were appointed. Though the viziership was prosperously conducted by the truthfulness and industry of Khwāja Shamsu-d-din Khāfī, yet on account of excess of business and of farsightedness, a vizier was appointed to every province, and former wishes became fact. Ḥusain Beg was appointed to Allahabad, Bhārtī Cand to Ajmere, Rai Rām Dās to Aḥmadābād, Kahnūr to Oudh, Kishn Dās to Bengal, Rām Dās to Bihar, Rām Rai to Delhi, Khwāja Ghīāṣ Beg to Kabul, Mathurā Dās to Lahore, Khwāja Muḥibb 'Alī to Mālwa, Kēsū Das to Agra, Khwāja Muqīm to Multan. An order was given that every one should report his proceedings to H.M. in accordance with the advice of the Khwāja.

One of the occurrences was the victory of Bajranath.[1] At the royal feast he wrestled with Balbhadr—who was at the head of the wrestlers (*Mals*). The spectators were astonished to see that H.M. had commanded that slenderly-made man to contend with that powerful frame. In a short time by dint of courage it appeared that that strong one would be thrown. In order to preserve his reputation, they were separated as being equal.

At this time it became known that some persons exacted tolls at the ferries. H.M.'s justice was moved, and an order was issued everywhere that every exertion should be made to punish such conduct. From Lahore to the Hindu Koh this work was entrusted to Zain K. Kokaltāsh; from Lahore to Lower Bengal to Daulat K.; from Lahore to Gujarat to Rām Dās Kachwāha, to Zamīn Dāwar, to Daulat Khurd; and from Delhi to Oudh, to Mīyān Khānū.

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the son of one Ṭāhir who claimed falsely to be Khudābanda's son. Aḥmad reigned for a short time, and then was succeeded by Ibrahim's son Bahādur. The history of Aḥmadnagar at this time may be studied in the 2nd volume of Noer's Akbar, Mrs. Beveridge's translation.

[1] B. 253, where both Bajranāth and Balbhadr are mentioned. It is there said that the *Mals* came from Gujrat.

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CHAPTER CXXIII.

Mozaffar Ḥusain M. glorifies his forehead by prostrating himself at the Holy Threshold.

Whoever is exalted by fortune and whose star raises him from a humble position, enjoys prosperity, and has happy days without
671 exertion. The condition of the Mīrzā [1] is an instance of this, and is a collyrium for the eyes. Out of dissatisfaction with the ruler of Persia, and from fear of his life, he did not submit to the Shāh, and from the turbulence of youth and bad companionship he did not attach himself to the sublime Court. Suddenly the Uzbegs prevailed over Khurāsān, and the position of the Mīrzās became difficult. They were disconcerted by the appointment of the victorious army. Owing to his happy star, Rustum M. bound himself to eternal dominion, and this increased the distracted condition of Moẓaffar. By the guidance of his star he sent his mother and his eldest son to make his excuses. They were kindly received and a comforting order was sent to him. He emerged from his disturbed state, and prepared to do service. When Shāh Beg K. arrived he made over the country and set out. The officers and guardians of the passes showed, under H.M. orders, great respect to this nobly born one. Every week, one of the courtiers arrived with choice goods. When he was three stages off, M. Jāni Beg, S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umrī and others were sent off (to him). When he was three *kos* away, Khān A'ẓam, the M. Koka, Zain K. Kokaltāsh and many others (met him). On 5 Shahriyūr the Mīrzā glorified his forehead by performing the prostration, and the rank of his auspiciousness was exalted. He presented one hundred 'Irāq horses and other things. Among them was a wonderful shell [2] which when rubbed on a snake-bite sucked out the poison, and caused a recovery. The

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[1] B. 313.

[2] *Mahra.* Perhaps here it only means an antidote.

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Mīrzā was made a Panjhazārī, and Sarkār Sambal,[1] which is larger than Qandahar, was given to him as a fief. He was made happy by much money and many goods. His four sons, Bahrām M., Ḥaidar M., Alqās M., Ṭahmāsp[2] M., and his companions, received great presents.

In this year the officers (*mansabdārān*) were divided into three classes: 1st, those who had horsemen equal in number to their office; 2nd, those who had half and upwards; 3rd, those who had less. The pay of each was fixed[3] (accordingly?). An account of this is in the last volume (the Āīn). On this day Tāsh Beg. K. was sent off to chastise the 'Īsā Khel, but as he fell ill, he could not accomplish the work properly. On the 6th a daughter was born in the harem of the Prince Royal by the daughter of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain M. It is hoped that she may become a great lady of the Age. On the 9th S'aīd K. came from the Eastern districts, and received varied favours. He had long cherished the desire to come, and when he reached Bihar, he proceeded very rapidly. He presented 100 elephants and other articles. On the 11th[4] Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk died in Hindia. The appreciative sovereign begged forgiveness for him, and bestowed favours on his children. He was one of the good men of this world. He exerted himself very much in helping men. On the 16th S'aīd K. presented the *peshkash* of 'Īsā K. the land- 672
holder of Bhātī. It was accepted. In the beginning of Mihr, food was sent to Qandahar. There was somewhat of a scarcity in that country and the soldiers were in distress. Able men sent every kind of grain from Multan, several times, and soon there was plenty. Qul Bābā the C. in C. of Khurāsān became very anxious and strengthened his friendship with the officers in that quarter. On this day Bāqir[5] K. Safarcī died in Bengal. H M. freed his children from

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[1] Badayūnī, Lowe 416, says, Sambhal was taken away from A. F. and given to the Mīrzā.

[2] The Maaṣir and I.O. 236 have Ṭahmās.

[3] Cf. B. 238, l. 6, and also the Table, p. 248. At p. 241 B. remarks, "The three classes differ very slightly (in emoluments), and cannot refer to p. 238, l. 7. Here, I think, he forgets that the salaries were monthly. A difference of Rs. 1,000 a month is considerable, especially when we remember that the contingent of the 2nd class was one half and *upwards*. See Irvine's *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p 6.

[4] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 417.

[5] He is called Bāqī K. in B. 408 and 534. He was s. Ṭāhir K. Mīr

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grief by his kindness. At this time a different scale (*barāward* [1]) of pay (estimate) was made. On 11 Mihr an order was passed that Moghuls, Afghans and Indians who had three horses should get 1,000 *dāms*, those who had two horses 800, and those who had one horse, 600 dāms. Rājpūts of the first class got 800, and those of the middle class 600.

One of the occurrences was the illumination of the jewel of Truth. One of the foolish talkers brought a charge of impropriety against a chaste personality (a woman ?). H.M.[2] sate to inquire into the matter. He said, "I have heard from persons of understanding [3] that when an inquiry was made and the facts could not be ascertained, recourse was had to the ordeal of fire.[4] The truth came out, the accuser was put to shame, and a world was astonished." One of the Hindu ordeals is this: They heat a piece of iron in the fire and then placing leaves of the *pīpal* (ficus indica) on the hand (of the accused) they put the burning metal on the top thereof. If no burning takes place, they accept the statement (of the accused) as true. On this occasion the accused did not employ any leaves, but took a piece of fire in the (her ?) hand, held it for a time and then slowly put it down.[5] No harm ensued (to the accused) though

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Farāghat who again was s. Mīr Khurd the guardian of Hindāl. See Gulbadan Begam trans. 106 and n.

[1] Perhaps *barāward* has a technical meaning. A. F. says, B. 231, that poor troopers who have not their horses branded are called Barāwardī. The rates there are Rs. 25, 20 and 15, corresponding to 1000, 800, 600 dāms. It is curious that the three horsemen get only 200 more dāms than the two horse troopers. Also that a distinction should be made between Hindi or Indian horsemen and Rājpūts. I.O. MS. 236 has Sindī for Hindī.

[2] Dād Khudā "The gift of God." One of A. F.'s names for Akbar. See below, p. 698, line 5.

[3] The text has *beṭār* "a farrier." This is obviously wrong, but the right reading is not clear. Most MSS. have *dark naẓẓāra* "spectators of intelligence," and this I have adopted. But perhaps the true reading is *behār* the Hindi form of *vyavahara* "the administration of justice," which is the heading of a chapter in the Āīn. See J. III. 261.

[4] The word is saugand "an oath." Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 368.

[5] Text has the word *andākht* "threw," but most MSS. have *farūd award* "brought down," and this seems more appropriate as it agrees with the word "slowly."

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the ground was burnt by the heat of the thing. The truth-seeking of the ruler of the age produced these wonderful results!

On the 16th the sacred seal was made over to the Khān A'zam and his dignity received a fresh increase. Maulānā 'Alī Aḥmad, at the orders of H.M., engraved the names of H.M.'s ancestors up to the time of Sāḥib Qirānī and produced a masterpiece. An order was given that all the confirmatory [1] *sanads* and some of the secret orders (*bayāẓī manshūr*) should bear this adornment.

On this day the envoy of the Viceroy [2] of Ormuz had the bliss of kissing the threshhold. He brought two ostriches very remarkable in their shape and behaviour. They treated pieces of stone as if they were fruits. All forms of existence are full of wonderment, but much seeing has put many men to sleep, and they marvel at nothing except what they see rarely.

One of the occurrences was that the veil fell from off the face of the condition of the writer of the book of fortune. After divers fallings and risings, and after traversing many heights and hollows, the idea of "Peace with All" came to me and for a while I was rooted in contentment. I perceived that there was somewhat of the glory of being in every form of creation, and so I breathed the breath of 673
Love. I thought for a while that the calm spot of resignation was my abode and was in a state of wishlessness! Suddenly, *the basin tumbled from the roof* (a proverb),[3] and cruelty and sorrow were impressed on the hearts of high and low!

Verse.

I made 2,000 vows that I'd not go crazy.
For you my vows were shattered, for you my resolve failed!

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1 *Ṣablī asnād* = *firmān-i-ṣablī*, for which see B. 260. They were issued for three purposes. *Biyāẓī manshūr* = *farmān-i-biyāẓī*, i.e. "Blank orders," for which see B. 264. They were called *biyāẓī* or blank, because they were folded and sealed in such a manner that their contents could not be seen.

2 The text, and all the MSS. apparently, have *wazīr*, "vizier." But the word should probably be وزري *wazrī* representing the Portuguese *viserei* "Viceroy." See A. N. translation I. 323. It is the Portuguese Viceroy of Ormuz who is meant, and he must have procured the ostriches from Africa. As Tatta and Sind were in Akbar's possession, the Portuguese would be anxious to conciliate him.

3 The conjunction is wanting in the MSS.

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On 21 Mihr,[1] Saturday, 10 Ṣafr 1004 (5 October 1595), the order came to the king of Poets, Sh. Faiẓī, my elder brother, and that free-souled and enlightened one on receipt of the call for the last journey proceeded with open brow to the holy city!

Verse.

A Joseph was lost to his brethren.
Nay, not to us, but to the whole world was he lost.
In Love's game our hands are empty,
He who has departed held the ring.[2]

The venerable and eloquent sate in sorrow, and crowds and crowds of men were grieved. The heart of the appreciative King was contracted because a veil had covered the seeker after wisdom, the maker of eulogies, and because the cup of the life of the chief guest at the banquet of loyalty had overflowed. The noble princes sate in sorrow because the wise-hearted teacher, and the imparter of wisdom and eloquence, had become silent. The great officers' nosegay of joy withered because the loving cup of the chief of the confidant of the banquet and the battle had become full. The spirits of those immersed in business were broken because the solver of the difficulties of the age had died. The travellers in the desert of exile were pained in their hearts and had a lump in their throats because the adorner of the stage of comfort had withdrawn his heart from mankind. Those who traversed the world of search sate with sad hearts and erased from their minds the thought of travel, because the fountain of the life of the eloquent exponent of truth had been choked. The thorns of failure increased in the feet of the empty-handed and the necessitous, because the unsolicited wish-granter had withdrawn from the world of society. Every section had its special lament, and drank the new and intoxicating wine of affliction. The tale of this stroke of lightning does not come within the mould of language. One cannot write with a wooden-legged pen. When such were the feelings of mere contemporaries, who can understand the

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[1] Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe 420.

[2] The allusion is to a game which consists in hiding a ring in the hand of one of the players. See Vullers, s. v. *kacha*; and also Bahār-i-'Ajam. The text has *kujja*, a hockey-stick. This does not agree with the MSS. and seems wrong.

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sorrow of me who loved him, body and soul? How can my mental agitation and my bodily benumbment be described? I who am of sewn-up lips, wept like a child, and a tempest of lamentation arose. Patience, wisdom's first-born, expired in weeping, and that light-giver sate in a day of darkness! Blind feelings became dominant and light-headed fancies prevailed. I regarded his leaving the house of bones as death, and his choice of life eternal as annihilation! Life became a heart-calamity and a burden to the soul. Sleep and sustenance (*khwāb u khūr*) took the path of estrangement. My elemental ties were nearly being loosed, and I was nearly casting the burden of life from off my shoulder. Sometimes I strove, like a crazy person, with heaven, and sometimes I opened my lips to abuse Fate. The material removal of a brother wrought this effect on me, and the separation in 674
spirit from a beloved solver of entanglements made me mad. Except him, this privacy-admirer, publicity-practiser, had no confidant. He it was who applied the balm to the inward sore. I felt compelled to go into retirement and to sit down in affliction and in expectation of the end. I tore my heart, and squeezed out my liver. The exhortations and endeavours of the Shāhinshāh led me back with blistered feet to the valley of patience. His life-giving encouragements and endeavours were my palisade. Departed reason returned, and slumbering understanding awoke. This came from his truthful lips, "The incomparable Almighty calls His servants to Himself by means of Liberation (*wārastagī*) and Restraint ((*dilbastagī*). By these two opposed methods He confers upon them the desire of their hearts. If death be a reality, nothing befits the good friends of the departed save submission and resignation, and if life eternal be the lot of all men, then the friends of wisdom should wear an open brow and a cheerful visage, especially in this Caravanserai where there is nought which endures. If in future you adopt your present course (of excessive grief), the bonds of hearts will be loosed, and the city will cease to prosper. God shall be displeased, and harm shall be caused to realm and religion. If grief did not touch the hem of one who had a share of spirituality, and if he were not affected by it, his man's nature would be called brutish, and his humanity be termed bestiality. Hail to the domesticities (*shahrbandī*) which in this world cause every one's foot of wisdom to strike upon stones and which make the thread of self-control to fall from our hands and compel us to

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yield to various forms of sorrow! That impatience which you displayed was a necessary adjunct of the state of Limitation (*wābastagī*)." By[1] many cordial counsels did that spiritual physician administer remedies to me.

For two days that journey-chooser (Faiẓī) withdrew his heart from us all, and turned to the incomparable Deity. There was no sign of consciousness. Suddenly the world's commander, the lover of wisdom, came to his pillow. He opened his eyes and testified his veneration. The mighty sovereign yielded him to the gracious Deity and retired, and at the same moment my brother went to heaven. In his jewelled writings he has thus spoken of the final journey.

Verse.

Fayyāzī,[2] cease from this strain.
Thy bird[3] is moving (?), put him in the cage.

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[1] Akbar's exhortation is obscurely worded, and it is impossible to believe that he ever uttered it. It bears the impress of A. F. himself. The MSS.—of which I have consulted many—differ, and the text is probably corrupt. I find it difficult to understand the meaning of the phrase *nekūwān-i-nakhastīnrā* at line 8 of page 674. Perhaps *nakhastīn* means here those who have died first, and is opposed to *pasīn* later on. But some MSS. do not seem to have *pasīn*. I.O. MS. 3257 has *nekūwān nakh*. In line 9 the text has *khird dostān* "lovers of wisdom, philosophers," but nearly all the MSS. have *jiz dostdārān-i-īnān* (or *īnānrā*), i.e. "except their friends." But this does not seem intelligible unless we read with I.O. MS. 3288 *nabāshand* for *bāshand*. The meaning then might be, "If there is immortality then no one should rejoice at the death of their friends except when the latter were good, the allusion being to the doctrine of transmigration—in which Akbar was a believer. At line 10 the text has *agar pasīn īn ṭaraz peshgīrad*," which I do not understand. I.O. MSS. 3238 and 3257 have *agar bastan* etc., and this seems likely to be right; *bastan ain ṭaraz* would mean "to adopt this course."

Apparently the gist of the discourse is that if death ends all things, then resignation is fitting, but if there is another life then the friends of the good should rejoice.

[2] Fayyāzī is the later name assumed by Faiẓī. From a remark by Faiẓī Sirhindī it would seem that our Faiẓī surrendered the title because the Sirhindī had a prior title to it. But according to Badayūnī Faiẓī called himself Fayyāzī in imitation of his brother's title of 'Allāmī. According to A. F. (B. 949), Faiẓī adopted the new title to express the abundance of his spiritual love. It appears from Badayūnī III. 307 that Faiẓī only adopted the title Fayyāzī in the year before his death. See the verse there.

[3] بنواست *banawā ast*. I take *nawā*

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Pass away from this wide field.
Pass away, thirsty one, from this ocean.

Another [1] (*Verse*).

Hail! Shāhinshāh the seeker after Truth,
Pearl of ocean, Majesty of heaven.
'Tis a pearl where a world annexes joy;
Thy reign is the heady wine of heaven.
I'm a musician whose notes are formed of blood;
My pen is like the stops of an organ;
If from this feast where thy fellowship is the cupbearer,
I depart, the melody will still remain;
The pitcher-drawers work marvels. 675
No musician, yet the feast is full of music.

Another (*Verse*).

No one can advance like me (?);
This is the work of the heart, not of the body;
What can vulpine men do against me?

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to be used here in the sense of hopping or jumping. This seems to be the Lucknow editor's opinion, for he says that the meaning is that the bird, i.e. his genius, is about to fly. The word cannot, I think, here mean singing, or being in voice, for the verse occurs in the extract given at p. 686 of the A. N., line 11, and is followed by the couplet,

"Be silent, for the tale is a long one."

It (the bird or the genius) is a sparrow and not a noble falcon. The word *mastasqī* which occurs in the last line of the quatrain means "a drawer of water," and also "a dropsical person" and "one who is thirsty." No doubt Faiẓī plays on all three meanings.

[1] Badayūnī quotes some of these lines—and many others—in his third volume p. 306, and says they come from the conclusion of a poem in supplication of Muḥammad which at the instance of friends he wrote when near his end. Like most of Faiẓī's poetry they are obscure, and justify Badayūnī's criticism of his writings. In the fourth line there is a play on the word *daur* which means both reign, and a cup that is handed round. Badayūni has a different reading of the line, and it seems an improvement. He has "*Daur-tu shrāb u āsmān mast.*" "Thy reign is wine and heaven is intoxicated thereby." The 7th line perhaps means that the pearl is not a material one but a pearl of the soul, and that Akbar's companionship takes the place of wine.

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Why do they prick the forehead of the tiger ?
I've satisfied my gaze with the holy feast;
I've received the favours of the holy lineage;
Those dog-minded ones who wander in the streets
Are throatless (i.e. voiceless) devourers of carcases;
I liken[1] them to the vultures of the age;
I leave them to batten on carrion on a dung hill!
I took a morning-draught of life with Jesus;[2]
I asked for life long as Noah's;
When this word was born of my breath,
Khiẓr[3] came and gave me his own term of life.
If the Fates exalt me in my fortune
They will make the life of my words lasting.

The world's lord intended to go a-hunting. He who was prepared for the last journey (Faiẓī) expressed a wish that the writer of the book of fortune would take four days' leave and be with him. When I petitioned,[4] H.M. abandoned his intention. On the fourth day he turned aside from mankind, and his knowledge of hidden things became apparent. Four months previously, at the beginning of the illness, he had composed this quatrain.

Verse.[5]

Seest thou what cruel sport the heavens played.
The bird of my heart made a night-rush to leave its cage,
That bosom in which worlds could harbour
Is pained when I draw half a breath.

During his illness this verse was several times on his lips.

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1 The Lucknow ed. says that the verb *māndan* has in this line the force of likening or comparing, and that in the next line it means "to abandon."

2 Alluding to the life-giving breath of the Messiah.

3 Khiẓr is Elijah, and drank of the fountain of life. The last four lines occur in Badayūnī's extracts p. 309, and they come there after many other lines which do not occur in our text.

4 The third person is used, but I think A. F. means himself. Badayūnī says that Akbar visited Faiẓī at midnight, just before his death.

5 These lines, with some verbal differences, are quoted in Badāyūnī, Lowe 420, and text II. 406. The word in the second line is *shabāhangī*, and *shabāhang* means the morning

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Verse.[1]

Should all the worlds together strive
One lame ant's foot would not get well.

From a long time he loved[2] solitude, and took the path of silence. In spite of the endeavours of the Shāhinshāh, he did not complete the pentad.[3] He himself speaks of this.

Verse

Many caravans set out, for the heavens
Never heard before such a noise of bells;
I fastened my pen to the foot of the bird;[4]
I formed the idea of composing a pentad;
It did not[5] adapt itself to the air of the skies
But stopped midway on account of the heavy weight;
I perceived that pigeons with feathered[6] legs

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star, and also a nightingale. Here, I think it means a night-journey, on the analogy of *shab-i-khūn*, a night-attack. Apparently the meaning is that Faiẓī wished to sing, but was prevented by his asthma. The Darbār-i-akbarī, 365 reads *bad āhangī* "an evil design" (?) instead of *shabāhangī*. Price reads *qafs-i-shab* "cage of night," but the metre will not allow of this. Mr. Lowe renders the line, "the bird of my heart out of its cage became a nightingale." According to Price, Jahāngīr, p. 76, these lines were quoted by Akbar on his death-bed. They are more appropriate to Faiẓī as he was a poet, and was dying of breathlessness. Price's rendering of the second line is, "My soul is on the wing to escape this cage of darkness." Apparently, Badayūnī's remark, "One of his acquaintances invented this chronogram," must refer to the chronogram immediately preceding. Otherwise, there must surely be an omission in the MS.

[1] I presume the verse to mean that all efforts are vain unless God, or Fate, wills. The Darbār-i-akbarī quotes the lines at p. 366, but reads *ba jang* instead of *ba tang*. It is *ba tang* in the M'aāṣīr II. 588. By the lame ant's foot Faizī perhaps means his pen which he is fond of describing as a foot.

[2] I adopt the reading of the MSS., which is *dost dāshta*. The text has *daulat dāshta*; *dost* seems correct as it also occurs in the M'aāṣīr II. 587.

[3] Faiẓī wished to write five poems in imitation of Niẓāmī. A list of them is given in the Darbār-i-akbarī, p. 370.

[4] Meaning his genius.

[5] Text *bagirifta*, but MSS. have *nagirifta*.

[6] *Parpā*. The text has *bar pāī* "with weights on their legs" and this may be correct, but probably the true

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Were not capable of brushing the empyrean;
If the feet had not caught in his snare,
There was hope that it would carry a message
Of the seven caravan-sarais and[1] the four stages (?);
I placed five litters on camels,
676 There were four brides and seven tents (?),
Half-way did I convey them;
Some day, if Fortune give me repose,
I'll bring them one by one to the throne's foot;
I watered my soul with the thought
That ere I sank into slumber,
If heaven brake not my vow,
I'd bring Bilqīs[2] to the bosom of Sulaimān.

I now[3] write down something of each poem that I have obtained.

696 One of the occurrences was the marriage of Prince Sulṭān Daniel. On the eve of the 22nd Mihr (2nd October, 1595), there was a feast of joy, and that nosegay of fortune was united to the daughter of Rai Mal the son of Rai Māldeo. On the 2nd Ābān the solar weighment took place. There was rejoicing, and H.M. was weighed against twelve

reading is *parpā*, for there is a kind of pigeon which has feathered legs, and in consequence does not fly high. See Vullers and the Bahār-i-'ajām s.v. *kabūtar*. Faiẓī feigns that he fastened his quill to the leg of his genius and consequently it could not soar. *Parpā* pigeons are referred to at B. 302 where the passage probably means that such pigeons only take short flights, in contradistinction to the *nishāwarī* who fly up till they are out of sight.

[1] I borrow the conjunction from I.O. MS. 236. I do not know what the line means, but probably the four stages mean four of the five poems. Apparently they are also the four brides mentioned two lines after this. The seven tents there referred to may be the Haft Kishwar which Faiẓī intended to write in imitation of Niẓāmī's Haft Paikar, or they may be the seven climes. The five litters are the five poems of his projected pentad, of which only two were completed.

[2] The Queen of Sheba and the heroine of one of Faiẓī's poems. "Sulaimān" here stands for Akbar.

[3] Here follow twenty pages, from 676-696, of extracts from Faiẓī's poems! A. F.'s account of Faiẓī here may be compared with Badāyūnī's III. 299, etc., of which there is an abridged translation in Elliot V. 544, with the long account in the Darbār-i-akbarī, p. 359, etc., with B. 548, Elliot VI. 147 and Badayūnī, Lowe 420.

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articles. A new door was opened for liberality. On this day Rustam M. obtained leave to go to Cītūr.[1] As his agents in Multān had cast away the thread of justice, Multān was made crown land and entrusted to Khwāja Muqīm. Amīnu-d-dīn accompanied him (Rustam) in order that an ignorant[2] Turk might not oppress the weak. On account of the illness (*tabāhserai*) of his companion, he sent him back from Sirhind.

At this time Ḥakīm Hamām died. For two months he suffered from a decline (*diqq ranjurī*) and on the 16th (Ābān) he died. He was of a good countenance, was a jewel of purity, and a sweetly spoken man. He laboured much for men's advancement. He had a knowledge of temperaments and some acquaintance with physic. He was exalted by the high office of Bakāwal Begī (steward of the kitchen). H.M. begged forgiveness for him, and consoled the survivors by various kindnesses.

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[1] See Badāyūnī, Lowe, 416.

[2] Text *nāsipās*, but the variant *nāshīnās* is more reasonable and is supported by I.O. MS. 236. Perhaps the next sentence rather means that M. Rustam through wickedness turned back Amīnu-d-dīn al Sirhind, B. 314, and M'aāṣīr III. 437, understand the passage to mean that Akbar recalled Rustam al Sirhind, but the verb is *gardānīd*, and not *gardānīdand* as would be the case if Akbar were the nominative.

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CHAPTER CXXIV.

RAJAH 'ALĪ K., THE RULER OF KHĀNDESH, JOINS THE VICTORIOUS TROOPS.

He always talked about service, but his acts did not balance his words. He did not have the august *khuṭba*[1] recited except in the presence of the envoys, and he became foolish from self-willed thoughts. When the Khān Ā'ẓam went to conquer the Deccan, he and other rebellious Deccanīs fought with him, and gravely repented of this afterwards. He was continually in fear and was seeking for means of escape. When the Maliku'sh-shu'arā Shaikh Abū-l-faiẓ Faiẓī went to give him advice, he emerged from his bewilderment, and when the Shāhinshāh's expedition for the conquest of the Deccan took place, he acquired fresh wisdom. His envoys were summoned to the Presence and his fears were removed by oaths and promises. When Prince Sulṭān Murād struck his tents in order to proceed from Gujarāt to the Deccan, and Shāhrukh M., the Khān-khānān, Shahbāz K. and other Mālwa officers proceeded with him, he had the auspicious idea of taking precautionary measures, and made an offer of his services. On the 27th he waited upon Shāhrukh M. and other imperial officers at the distance of thirty *kos* from Burhānpūr. The officers received him with cordiality, and by H. M.'s orders increased his territories by Nadarbār.

On this day Akbarnagar was founded. When Rājah Mān Sīngh was in Bengal he considered about a seat of government which could to some extent be safe from an attack[2] by boats. After much inquiry a place was found near Ākmaḥal (Rājmahal). Apparently Sher K. had approved of it. The foundation was laid in a fortunate hour, and

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[1] He only had the proclamation of Akbar's name made when the ambassadors were at his court.

[2] *Āsīb-i-kishtī*. But the word *kishti* seems a little doubtful as one does not see how Rajmaḥal was safe from an attack by boats, unless perhaps from the Maghs, who were not likely to come so high up the river. Possibly the words mean that the place was a safe anchorage.

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in a short time there was a choice city, to which the glorious name was given. At this time much of 'Īsā's territory came into possession. On the 27th Āẕar Rājah Mān Singh led a force thither from the new city. The enemy not seeing themselves able to resist, crossed the Brahmaputra, and abandoned all this side of the river. On account of the approach of the rains the Rājah encamped in Sherpur, Hurra (in Maimansingh), and there built a fort which he called Salīmnagar. Also at this time the fort of Kākrūyiā [1] was taken. The *zamīndār* of it applied for help to Quṭbu-l-Mulk Deccanī (of Golconda), and Durjin Singh with some brave man was sent there. In a short time the *zamīndār* was punished and his house taken.

One of the events was the punishment of the Kākar tribe (an Afghān tribe). On account of wickedness and of the strength of their country they for a long time tormented the weak, and closed the road to Qandahār. In the beginning of Dai, Shāh Beg K. went off to punish them, and a great battle took place. Strong stockades were destroyed, and many were killed. Some fled, and some submitted. On 3rd Dai Rājah Sūraj Singh received favours and was sent to guard Gujarāt which was somewhat bare of troops. On the 16th the wardrobe was submitted for inspection. On seeing a coat (*jāmah*) H.M. said, "It seems that this is Ikhlās K.'s," who had been one of the eunuchs [2] of Jannat Ashiyānī (Humāyūn) and from great service had been made an Amīr, and had died 17 years before this. Many simple-minded persons made inquiries, and the old register showed that the statement was true. Also a merchant brought, by the august orders, all his horses for inspection by H.M., in order that he might choose the best. H.M. said, "It seems that with one exception [3] they are not his." On a little inquiry this was found to be the case. A slave represented that he was called Balbal, and that this grieved him. H.M. gave him the name of Balkarn. He rubbed his head on the ground and said, "My mother and father

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[1] So in text. From the mention of the ruler of Golconda it would appear that this sentence has nothing to do with Bengal. I.O. MS. 235 seems to have Gāgrūn, which was a fort in Mālwa (see Jarrett II. 209), and probably this is right.

[2] An I.O. MS. seems to have Khwāja *Pisar* instead of Khwāja *Sarā*. But "eunuch" is probably right. See B. 405. The Ṭabaqāt-i-akbarī says he died as governor of Delhi.

[3] Perhaps the meaning is "one part is not his."

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called me by this name." A separate volume would be required to describe the intuition into mysteries of the "gift of God." The subject cannot be disposed of in a subsidiary narrative. On the 11th Bahman he, at the request of Zain K. Koka, visited his house and gave it fresh glory. He tendered 170 elephants as a present but only some were accepted.

At this time H.M. directed that an expedition should go to the Deccan As the hauteur[1] of the Prince and the duplicity of the officers were impressed upon him, and as unpleasant reports arrived one after the other, he determined to proceed thither. Though many courtiers from avarice and interested motives spoke against his going, their opposition was without effect. On the 21st the advance-camp was sent on. By wondrous fate there was some rain on that day. The Indian astrologers represented that whenever the sun was in one of the latter four signs and there was some rain, the despatch of the advance-camp should be postponed to another hour. After that there was heavy rain. On the eve of the 27th the throne-occupant himself came out. His idea was that if the rain lessened he would proceed on. On that day, after hunting, he alighted in the village of Bahāī Khān. Rain and hail increased every day. Though the clouds did not cease to send down rain, he every day enjoyed hunting. He turned back near Rām Tīrthā when thirteen *kos* off. On the 5th Isfandārmaz he by one march reached Lahore.

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[1] Cf. Badāyūnī, Lowe, 391.

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CHAPTER CXXV.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE VICTORIOUS SOLDIERS IN THE DECCAN, AND THE SIEGE OF THE FORT OF AḤMADNAGAR.

When [1] an order was given for the conquest of this country, the Prince made preparations for the expedition. The Khān-khānān was delayed by men's not having assembled. Before he joined, there arose some dust of dissension. The Prince's idea was that the leaders of the troops should join him (in Gujarāt) and proceed from there to the Deccan. The Commander-in-chief's idea was that he should march by himself by the route of Mālwa. When [2] they had settled their plans, the Prince left Aḥmadābād on 20th Ābān of the previous year (about 30th Oct. 1594), and stayed for some time in Broach, waiting for troops.[3] On 22nd Khirdād (beginning of June 699
1595), he left that place. The Khān-khānān, after collecting his men, spent some time in Bhilsa (in Gwāliyār), which was his fief, and on 9th Amardād (19 July, 1595), proceeded towards Ujjain. The Prince was angry at this and sent him an indignant letter. The Khān-khānān represented that the ruler of Khāndesh was using the language of concord, and that, apparently he would join the imperial army. His (the Rājah's) mind was somewhat disturbed, and it would be proper (for the prince) to spend some time in Gujarāt in the enjoyment of hunting. The Prince from anxiety about the expedition, became somewhat angry, and tale-bearers and interested

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1 Partially translated in Elliot VI. 29.

2 Elliot has "As their opinions did not agree," and this seems to make better sense. But text and I.O. MS. 236 have "When their ideas became of one colour." Either a negative has been omitted, or the clause refers to the generals having both agreed to march.

3 According to the Iqbālnāma, the troops that Murād was waiting for were the Khān-khānān's. It says Rājah 'Alī joined the K.K. 30 *kos* from Burhānpūr, but Murād waited in Broach, thinking the K.K. would join him there. When he found they had gone by another route, he became very angry. When Akbar heard of this he sent Rām Chand to reprove both of them, and dispatched a lac of mohars for the soldiers' pay.

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persons widened the breach. He proceeded to Aḥmadnagar with the Gujarāt army. While the imperial servants and Rājah 'Alī K. were marching to join the Prince, news (of his departure) came and filled them with sorrow. The Khān-khānān left his army, his artillery, and his elephants with Shāhrukh and the other officers, and went off rapidly with Rājah 'Alī. On 19th Azar (29th Nov. 1595), he joined the Prince near the fortress of Cāndor[1] 30 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. From want of experience, and evil teaching, the Prince did not admit them to pay their respects. He went off[2] to a distance and only after much discussion granted an audience. When the army came up afterwards it was not treated in a soothing way. The Khān-khānān and many of the auxiliary troops (*kumakī*) became disgusted and he withdrew his hand from the work. Ṣādiq K. quarrelled with[3] Shahbāz K. on account of the old grudge and he (Shahbāz), out of apprehension, seldom went to the *darbār*. On 7th Dai the troops assembled half a *kos* from the city. Many soldiers and peasants received comforting messages (i.e. safe-conducts). On that day the K.K. and Shahbāz went to the city, and owing to their neglect some soldiers committed plunder.[4] With great difficulty they were restrained, but the citizens lost heart on beholding the breach of promises. On the 8th (18 December 1595), the fort was invested, and Cānd Bībi, the sister of Burhān, undertook the defence. When Aḥmad was raised to the sovereignty, Ikhlās came to Aḥmadnagar to support Motī. He was defeated and fled to Pattan.[5] When the victorious troops joined[6] together, Manjū took Aḥmad and proceeded with some money and elephants to Bījāpūr. He was nearly

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[1] Cānd in text.

[2] There is the variant *rāī*, instead of *rāhī*, and perhaps the meaning is he assumed a distant manner."

[3] Elliot VI. 93 makes Ṣādiq the one who rarely went to the *darbār*, but the text, as pointed, makes the statement refer to Shahbāz, and this seems right. Ṣādiq belonged to the *darbār*, being Murād's guardian, and Shahbāz came from Mālwa. The Iqbālnāma says it was Shahbāz who kept away. The Iqbālnāma calls Ṣādiq the make-bate who stirred up Murād against the K.K. and says that the first day the latter was not allowed to pay his respects, and that next day the prince received him "with a thousand frowns."

[4] Firishta lays the blame of this on Shahbāz. Text has *rezah sipāhi*, but probably this is a misreading.

[5] On the Godavery.

[6] Text, *ba ikbar*, as if it were a place, but probably it only means "gathering together."

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being made prisoner, but escaped owing to the neglect of the generals. The siege of the fort, which from that day commenced, became a tedious affair. Cānd Bībī, who was afraid of the fort's being taken, resolved, on hearing of the news (of the dissensions?), upon resisting. On the 9th Shāh 'Alī and Abhang K. with a large body of men made a night attack on the Khān-khānān's entrenchments. There was a great fight, and many of the enemy were killed. They returned to the fort, unsuccessful. If the success had been a little prosecuted, they would have been taken, or active men would have entered the fort along with them. Things became difficult on account of the dissensions in the army, the closing of the roads, and the want of food. Though ingenious and right-thinking persons represented that three great armies had assembled, and that each 700
should take upon itself one of three things: 1st, to take the fort; 2nd, to conquer the country; 3rd, to guard the roads, not one was done. On the 13th a party of scoundrels did injury to the camp and the animals, but retreated without accomplishing their object. Saiyid[1] Rājah and several of his brethren died bravely and H.M. left his fief to his sons. On the 16th Sa'ādat K.[2] plundered a Gujarāt caravan which had almost arrived, and Sayyid 'Ālam and some others were killed. Shaikh M'arūf and a party moved quickly and made their escape, and Ṣādiq K. took Rājah 'Alī K. and others with him and set about chastising him (i.e. Sa'ādat K.), but was not successful. He only made himself and the ruler of Khāndesh too trivial. The thread of proper appreciation should not be cast aside and a tiger should not be sent to fight a jackal. On the 19th Sher Khwāja, Sh. Daulat, Kāmrān Beg, Daulat K. and some other brave men were sent to Pattan. After a severe engagement they defeated Ikhlāṣ K., and obtained much plunder. As there was no leader to stop oppression, the inhabitants of Pattan—who held writings guarding their quarters—were plundered to the uttermost,[3] and high and low

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1 The Iqbālnāma says, he went out on a foraging expedition. He belonged to the Sayyids of Bārha. See B. 452.

2 Sa'ādat K. is probably the person mentioned in B. 478 and note, who afterwards entered Akbar's service. Shaikh M'arūf may be the Ṣadr of Bhakkar (B. 471). He was in the caravan, and fought his way out.

3 Cf. Firishta who says the inhabitants, men and women, were stripped naked.

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were terrified by seeing the bad faith. On the 11th Isfandārmaẕ (21 February, 1596), the wall of the fort was somewhat broken. In the prince's entrenchment the foundations of the fort were made empty by extensive excavations. These were filled with gunpowder and set on fire. Thirty yards of wall were thrown down. Active men were ready to enter, but as the mine in Ṣādiq's battery had been discovered,[1] and emptied, the besiegers delayed till it should explode, being apprehensive that what had happened at Chitor might occur. So long did they delay that the garrison replaced the wall. Next[2] day some brave men ran to that quarter, but gained nothing except their own loss. The end of the day shone upon failure, and the darkness of the night prevented success. The garrison who—seeing the dissensions among the besiegers—had recovered their courage, became somewhat bewildered and proposed a peace. They represented that they would take Bahādur, Burhān's grandson, out of prison and give this child the title of Niẓām-ul-mulkī and would make him a servant of the sublime court, that the territory of Aḥmadnagar should be made his fief, and that as a thankoffering the country of Berār would be made over to the victorious army, and that jewels, choice elephants, and other varieties, would be given as presents. A party of men, owing to ignorance, and some, from interested motives, accepted these improper proposals. Though able men represented the want of food, the dismay and the trickery of the garrison, it was of no avail. Owing to the influence of bribes, and the listening to idle tales, the peace-proposals were accepted on 13 Isfandārmaẕ (23 February, 1596), and fighting was laid[3] aside.

701 On the 15th the lunar weighment of H.M. took place and there was a great feast. The holy frame was weighed against eight articles, and the wishful had their desires gratified.

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[1] Firishta says, a Persian in the Moghul army gave information of the mine to the garrison, and so they destroyed it, without the besiegers knowing that this had been done.

[2] *Dīgar roz.*

[3] Khāfī K.'s account of the siege is unusually detailed, and he does justice to the heroism of Chānd Bībī.

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CHAPTER CXXVI.

BEGINNING OF THE 41ST DIVINE YEAR FROM THE HOLY ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR AMARDĀD OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On Wednesday 20th Rajab, 1004 (11th March, 1596), after 9 hours, 22 minutes, the world-warming sun shed his rays upon Aries. The world received glory, and the fifth year of the fourth cycle began, and conveyed the news of splendour to the world. Up to the day of culmination there were grand banquets, and the period of prosperity became more active.

Verse.

Joy once more came into movement,
Princely delights abounded,
Pearls and rubies cast such lustre
That ocean and mine became mingled.

Zain K. Koka and Ṣādiq K. were raised to the rank of Panjhazārī, Shāh Qulī Maḥram was made a Cār-hazārī (4000), and many received the reward of good service. On the 26th a blind[1] man came to court, and astonished great and small. In consequence of much study he talked quietly about things and discussed on every subject without exception. Some simple-minded persons thought it was jugglery, and some thought he was helped by a *jinn*. On the 28th H.M. went to the gardens, and enjoyed himself with the new beauties of the Dilāmez and Rāmbārī pleasure-grounds.

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1 The text is not quite intelligible to me. Chalmers translates: "At this time also a blind man appeared at the court who undertook to tell all things that should be asked of him." The author of the Iqbālnāma refers to the incident and says he saw the man, but the precise nature of the marvel is left by him obscure. The text has *ba dū dast-u-baghal sakhan sarāīde*. Lit. "He spoke with two hands and with his armpit"! The Iqbālnāma has "placing his hands under his armpit." According to Vullers this is a phrase for standing quietly, and not moving.

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CHAPTER CXXVII.

Increase of the Shahinshah's Dominion.

Inasmuch as H.M. regards the issue of every event to be dependent on supplication to God, the degree of eternal dominion continually increases, and the strifemongers and the rebellious sit down in the black day of failure, and evil minded desceud into the pit of shame. Accordingly, at this time, of untimely disturbance, dissension and disgust of the army of the Deccan, and of the success of the foe, the country of Berār was conquered, and the wicked were put to silence. As the story of the peace was credited, they for a time looked to the fulfilment of the engagements, but before talk had become action, they (the imperial armies), on 10 Farwardīn (20th March, 1596), on a false report about the army of Bījāpur,
702 and from the destructive action of some of the leaders, retired from the investment of Aḥmadnagar.[1] Vagabonds followed them, and, stage by stage, laid hold of the baggage. On account of the dissensions there was no remedy for these things. On 14 Ardibihisht they reached the town of Maḥkar[2] in Berār. By great good fortune the enemy had left the territory, and a council was held about keeping it. Many thought that to guard it was beyond their power. Ṣādiq, under a happy star, took upon himself the guarding of the marches, and Mīr Murtaza became security for the cultivation of the country. At first he (Murtaẓa) made his residence in that city—which adjoins the territory of Aḥmadnagar. M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī, Sh. Daulat, Sh. Mīr Moẓaffar, Muḥammad K. Sh. Sikandar, and many servants joined him, while others went to Īlchpūr —which is the capital of Berār. Ḥasan K. of Mīana, Abū-l-fatḥ, Qalb 'Alī, 'Abdu-r-raḥman Beg and other servants were appointed to assist.

One of the occurrences was the coming of the victorious troops

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[1] An obscure clause, beginning *u lakhte badān sū* is left untranslated.

[2] Bhakkar in text, but the variant Maḥkar is right: see J. II. 237.

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to Tīrāh. When Qāsim K. was killed, the Tārīkīs rebelled and the Khaibar route became unsafe. Qulīj K. went off to administer Zābulistān (Afghanistan) and to punish them. Mubārak K., Jalāl K., Sher K., Naẕr K., Mīr 'Abdu-r-razzāq Mu'marī and many others followed him. When he had settled Kābul he proceeded towards Tīrāh. He crossed difficult passes from Bāzārak and approached that country. The Afrīdī leaders renewed their promises of loyalty, and on the allegation that their cultivation would be destroyed by the imperial troops, he (Qulīj), out of his simplicity, went to Begrām. He wished to enter the country (of Tīrāh) by the Īlam[1] pass, but on account of the difficulty of the ravine he could not do so. From there he proceeded to Kohat, thinking that he would attain his object in that way. The difficulty of the route kept him back, and he thought of going by Bangash. He came to Kharmāba. There was a slight engagement, and after being victorious, he laid the foundation of a fort. The Tārīkīs erected a stockade (shākhband) and prepared for battle. Owing to the wondrous fortune (of H.M.) the inhabitants pointed out a secret path. The general left Mubārik K., Shāh Muḥammad, M. 'Alī Islāmābādī and others there and went on rapidly by this route. During the whole night and till midday horse and foot traversed difficult passes and arrived in the country. When Jalāla became aware of this, he exerted himself to close the road, but could not come up. He failed and without a struggle retired to difficult defiles. The army destroyed the stockade and passed by this route with the baggage. On account of the insecurity of the routes, and the deficiency of provisions, the victorious troops were put to trouble. Takhta Beg, Mīr 'Abdu-r-razzāq Mu'- 703
marī and other heroes were sent to Begrām to bring provisions. On 3rd Khurdād, Āhanposh—which is a central and strong place in Tīrāh—was made the site of the camp. As there was delay in the coming of the persons who had been sent, return was made to Kabul. This going from side to side and this returning were not approved of by H.M. On the 20th it was reported to H.M. that Mathurā Dās[2] Qūrbegī had died. Honesty and valour had brightened his forehead;

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1 *Ilam gaẕr*, perhaps the Ailum of Elphinstone I. 129. Or it may be a ferry on the Kabul river as Shah-Alam is another name for that river.

2 B. 523. He was a Khatrī.

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when the misconduct of the army of the Deccan became known, an order of censure had been issued and instructions given; Mathurā Dās was sent by relays of horses, and many verbal messages were entrusted to him. Near Mulkāpūr robbers attacked his baggage. He engaged with them; when the robbers dispersed, he attacked them on foot, and was killed by a spear. One day before this, at the time of eating, when a shoulder-blade was brought before H.M., he said: "The bone shows that one of our favourites has been killed." Next morning, a new proof was given of his knowledge of hidden things. At this time Shāhpūr became founded. When Prince Sulṭān Murād's mind was relieved somewhat of the guarding of Berār he, together with M. Shāhrukh, the Khān-khānān, Rājah 'Alī K., Shāhbāz K., Jagannāth, Rai Durgā and other officers made an expedition to the centre of the territory. He established himself on the 25th[1] six *kos* from Bālāpūr. In a short time a choice city was constructed and it became known to the world by that name (Shāhpūr). At this time a wicked man who had given himself out as Burhān was executed. When his fraud was discovered, the landowners put him into prison. When he showed signs of repentance he was released by H.M., and treated with favour. The base fellow took to the same crooked courses and fled. The landowners in the northern hills seized him and he met with his deserts.

One of the occurrences was the sending of an ambassador to Tūrān. In the year when H.M. came to the bank of the Indus and an order was given for levelling the Khaibar road, a great commotion arose in Tūrān, and 'Abdullah K. wisely sent Mīr Qoresh with a supplicatory letter and presents, and made promises of peace and friendship. The gracious sovereign received these, and by sending Ḥakīm Hamām delivered him from his consternation. When Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq and Mullā Ḥusaini, who came, one after the other, with conciliatory letters, died of sickness, the Tūrānians again became uneasy. On the 26th Khwāja Ashraf Naqshbandī was sent
704 with choice presents and Sh. Ḥusaini of Lucknow was appointed as custodian (*taḥwildārī*), and a friendly letter was written. It is here given without addition or diminution.

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[1] Eight miles south of Bālāpūr, and now in ruins. B. XXII. note. Bālāpūr is in Berār. I.G.I. 458. See also J. II. 229.

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CHAPTER CXXVIII.

LETTER[1] OF THE SHAHINSHĀH TO 'ABDULLAH K. UZBEG THE KING OF TŪRĀN.

Boundless thanksgivings are due to the Initiator who, by the marvels of His eternal power, has by so many glorious sciences, that is, the categories of His Wisdom, brought forth the varied universe from the privy-chamber of secrecy to the Court of manifestation, and has subdued, disciplined, and soothed the tribes of mankind and bestowed on them unity[2] of sentiment; at one time, by spiritual rulers, that is, the holy spirits of prophets and of our great apostles—upon whom be peace—and at another, has by the dread power of temporal monarchs, who are the princely pillars of the courts of His Majesty, given them the adornment of external unity. Therefore, let worlds of blessings be given to the spirits of the caravan-leaders on the highway of purpose who have conveyed spiritual travellers and worldly pilgrims from the desert of misery and the wilderness of contrariety to the metropolis of right direction and friendship, and have then departed to the privy-chamber of eternity. And may universes of sublime aids and celestial succours attend those great men who preserve the present time from the disturbance of strife and the accidents of fortune and expend all their lofty genius in keeping the whole of mankind, whether home or foreign, in peace and tranquillity, and in improving this evil dwelling-place (the world).

At the time of enjoyment when the season was auspicious and our heart glad and we were in the pleasant country of Kabul, we read with delight those choice pages of friendship, which were

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1 This letter is the first in the letters (Inshā) of A. F., though in point of time it is not the first letter to 'Abdullāh K. The letter also appears in Gladwin's Classic Selections I. Calcutta 1828.

2 *Wāḥdat-i-irādī.* The word *wāḥdat* is used both to express Unity and Unitarianism.

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the masterpiece of the pinacothek of concord, ... (Here follows a string of compliments about 'Abdullah's letter and his expression of amity. They occupy about seven lines.)

705 What you have written with a pen perfumed with brotherhood on the subject of our mutually exerting ourselves to strengthen the foundations of Peace, and to purify the fountains of concord, and of making this Hindu [1] Koh the boundary between us, has most fully commended itself to us. Clearly, there is no nobler thing in the outward universe and social state than Love and Harmony, for the due ordering of the classes of human beings is linked and bound up therewith. Whenever this idea is manifested in the ranks of sovereigns—who are pillars of the courts of Majesty—it shall assuredly be fruitful of blessings, and procreant of beauties here and hereafter. By it thousands of souls and tribes shall take their rest in the cradles of safety! It [2] would have been fitting for us to begin the exposition of the ways of peace, and the demonstration of the rights of friendship, seeing that since the commencement of the unfolding of the morning of auspiciousness, the whole of our righteous practice has been—contrary to the ways of most of former rulers—to follow the path of amity and association with the various nations of mankind. As [3] your Highness has entered upon this subject, it

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[1] According to Bāyazīd Biyāt (I.O. MS. 216, p. 59*a*) Akbar changed the name of these mountains from Hindu-kush to Hindu Koh in 994 (1586), but it would appear from this letter that 'Abdullah used the term in his letter, and it is not likely that he would borrow it from Akbar.

[2] I am indebted to the commentator whose notes are given in the Newal Kishor edition of the Inshā for an explanation of this passage. Evidently 'Abdullah K. had read Akbar a lecture about friendship and pacific dispositions, and Akbar replies by hinting that such remarks were unnecessary as he had always been peaceful. The remarks therefore should rather have emanated from him (Akbar).

[3] I am not sure if I have understood this sentence. But I think that the recurrence of the word *bādī* seems to show that the clause refers to Abdullah. "I should have begun the subject, but as you have done so, then I beg to draw your attention to the following acts of mine." The pronoun *mā* "our" in the tenth line does not occur in the I.O. MSS. or in the Lucknow ed., and is, I think, wrong. The Lucknow commentator says, *wādī* in the phrase *bādē-īn wādī* refers to the path of peace, and it may be that it refers to this as well as to "the subject" of

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is proper that at this time you should give your attention to instances of such conduct. For example, when at this time the ruler of Īrān, relying upon former ties, sent Yādgār Sulṯān Shāmlū to us and asked for help, we did not consent. Also, when Shāhrukh M. petitioned that he might have a fief in Kābul, or Kashmīr, or Sawād, Bajaur and Tīrāh—which are cold [1] countries—we did not grant his request, having taken into consideration the proximity (of 'Abdullah), but gave him a fief in the province of Mālwa. Also we summoned the Mīrzās of Qandahār to court and committed the charge of that country—which belonged from of old to the imperial territories—to old servants of ours, lest the Tūrān troops should attack that quarter under the idea that it appertained to Persia, and also [2] that there might be a great commingling of your territories and ours. Also a wicked vagabond raised the head of disturbance in the hill-country of Badakhshán and claimed to be the son of Shāhrukh M. and was joined by the landholders there. Though he sent petitions and asked for help, we did not attend to him, and at last he became a vagabond in the desert of ruin.

As the keeping of one's word is indispensable to a great mind, we desired that when proposals of peace had once been made, they should be carried into effect. In fact, if the cordial expressions conveyed by messengers and letters be acted upon, what could be better? Or let a place be fixed and let us there have a feast of concord, and let us there discuss, without the intervention of any go-between, matters of religion and state, and things temporal and spiritual! It has come to our hearing that a number of fly-like creatures have made our being in the Panjāb their text and have spoken things contrary to the foundations of friendship. Alas, that things which never entered into our minds, should have been mentioned! or that actions should be contrary to one's avowals!

'Abdullāh's remarks. I have taken *ān wālā qadr* to mean 'Abdullāh, but possibly it refers to the princes of past times who trod the path of peace. I.O. MS. 236 has *bāshand* and I.O. MS. 275 has *bāshad*, and lower down Akbar refers to 'Abdullah as *'ān wālā shaukat*."

[1] This is put in because naturally Shāhrukh would have preferred a cold country.

[2] The word *nīz* occurs in the MSS. though not in the text. Possibly the word *khallaṯ* has to be taken here in the sense of confusion.

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Although the climate and the hunting in this country are agreeable to us, we have determined [1] to proceed to Agra the capital, in order that the mouths of praters may be closed. What you have written about there being a cloud on your heart with reference to the matter of Shāhrukh M. is a thing which gives rise to meditation, for if in the souls of great rulers who are the contemplators of divine lights, and the exponents of the ways of purity, the dust of rivalry settle, what can be the case with other classes of mankind? Especially when the cause of them is his (Shāhrukh's) youth and ignorance. Why should these not be obliterated by the waters of pardon? He by his self-will had committed faults against our family, and in retribution therefor became a bewildered one in the desert of exile. When he took refuge with us, and signs of repentance were visible on his forehead we passed over (his offences). As to what you have hinted, seeing that the coming of Shahrukh M. and the sons of Muḥammad Ḥakīm to our court are merely instances of our love for the noble family, why should you regard their approach in this light? What, on account of love and friendship, you have detailed about your victories has pleased us for we have considered these successes as the result of your good qualities. As to what you have written in the letter brought by Maulānā Ḥusainī to the effect that your son in consequence of tender years had made improper requests, and about your being vexed at this lest it should cast dust on the skirt of our friendship, and with reference to your lengthy apologising on his account—the courier was drowned on the way before his arrival and so the purport of the letter did not become known. We were sorry for the catastrophe. The ties of ancient relationship and the associations of renewed love are not such that, if it be granted that something should occur, any dust of vexation should settle on the skirt of friendship. Children are sportive with their real fathers, especially with your Majesty; if they behave in the same way to those who stand towards them in a similar relation, what marvel is it? Auspicious children who make the pleasing of their father their object, exert themselves to preserve the relationship. The glorious compacts and agreements—which

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[1] Akbar did not abandon Lahore for Agra till the 43rd year of his reign and after 'Abdullāh's death.

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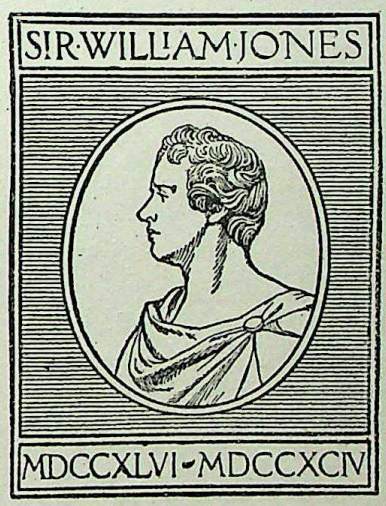

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have been ratified by skilful ambassadors, one after the other, are fixed in our mind. In the code of Islām and the rules of generosity one-hundredth part of them would be sufficient for making permanent the pillars of friendship and concord, and still more in the case of the liberal and the choosers of truth. What you have written about certain expeditions having been postponed till the arrival 707
of Aḥmad 'Alī Atālīq has been understood. You will have heard of his death which occurred after we had given him leave to return. He was intelligent and active-minded. If he had returned to you, you would have heard from him many secrets of affection. May every desire of your heart be accomplished! Every assistance that is due from friendship shall be shown (by us), so that praiseworthy endeavours may be manifested.

God be praised that from the beginning of our ascending the throne of rule till now, which is the tenth year of the second[1] cycle, and is the dawning of the morning of fortune, and the opening smile of the spring of dominion and glory, the whole righteous aim of this suppliant at the Divine court has been to disregard his own interests, and to work always for the healing and ordering of mankind. By the blessing of God, the vast territory of Hindustan,[2]

* * * * * * *

When Maulānā Ḥusainī presented himself, an order was given to the officers to allow him to depart quickly. Meanwhile some ill-fated wretches in Kashmīr began strife and sedition (*fitna u fasād*) and contended against God-given dominion. The army 710
of fortune assembled, together with a number of courtiers, under the guise of hunting, when the eyes of instruction of the beholders of the Divine power were opened, and the report of the disturbances was heard. In spite of the violence of the rains, we hastened thither, and before the holy warriors had passed through the defiles,

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1 *Qaran.* Here it means a period of thirty years, the letter having been written shortly after the completion of the fortieth year. The reference to the dawning of the morning of fortune, etc., seems to be to the circumstance that the letter was written in the early spring.

2 'Abdullāh's letter is very long. As it has already been published (in part) in Mrs. Beveridge's translation of the *Life of Akbar* (Vol. II, page 227), the reader is referred to that book from page 228 line 6 to page 231.

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some right-thinking persons who, out of necessity, had become involved in the tempest of indiscretion, obtained their opportunity, and brought the head of their leader. As the army had nearly arrived, we went on to that autumnless garden, and tasted spiritual and temporal abundance in that bounteous rose-garden. The dispatch of the ambassador was delayed, and when the royal army returned, news was received by the way of the catastrophe of Maulānā Ḥusainī, who had passed away owing to a stomach-attack. This was a cause of much sorrow. Accordingly, we sent some loving words by means of that high officer Khwāja Ashraf,[1] who is an old servant of our family, in order that he might show the matter to your Highness, and also confirm the friendly ties which are based on correspondence. We hope that tidings of love and unity may ever refresh the garden of the heart. The end.

On the 30th[2] the privy chamber of wisdom was illuminated by a ray from the Shāhinshāh's glory, and some special intimates received joy. Suddenly there arose the noise of a marriage and H.M. ordered that the music should be stopped, as a foreign sound did not suit the banquet of enlightenment. The spectators received collyrium on beholding his mildness, farsight, fewness of words, and acceptance of remark.

At this time the Prince Royal became violently enamoured of the daughter of Zain K. Koka, and meditated marrying[3] her. H.M. was displeased at the impropriety, but when he saw that his heart was immoderately affected, he, of necessity, gave his consent. There was a great feast, and a new law for joy.

Verse.

They set up a spacious tent.
They made the ground a star-spangled heaven.
On all sides they put screens round the courtyard.
They gave to the curtain new moonlight.

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[1] Son of Khwājah 'Abd-ul-bārī. B. 512.

[2] This is a rather mysterious paragraph, and there are different readings. Instead of *khilwat kada-i-dānish* I.O. MS. 236 has *khilwat kada-i-uns*, "the privy-chamber of friendship," and instead of *farmūdabūland* it has *farmūdand*.

[3] It would seem from B. 345 that

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On the eve of 8 Tīr (18 June, 1596) the nuptials were celebrated in the dwelling of Miriam Makānī, and the jewel of chastity was conveyed to the harem.

One of the occurrences was the capture of the fort of Busna. **711** Owing to the neglect of the custodians it had again fallen into the hands of the Afghans, and become a source of increased presumption. Rajah Mān Singh sent a chosen force thither under the charge of Durjan Singh. Sulaimān and Kedar[1] Rai strengthened the fort and set themselves to fight. The victorious troops invested the fort, and every day there were great combats. On the 10th (Tīr) a gun burst inside the fort, and Sulaimān and many others were killed. Kedār was wounded, and fell. As he was helpless, he fled and took shelter with 'Isā.

On this day Bikramājīt the grandson of Rajah Rām Cand was exalted by doing homage. When his father died, wicked men made this youth the instrument of their own ends, and thinking that they would be sheltered at Bāndhū,[2] set about evil schemes. When Rai Patr Dās was sent, he by ability and courage took possession of much territory. The garrison craftily asked that one of the great men of the court should take them by the hand and bring them to court. H.M. consented and by his orders Ism'aīl Qulī K. brought them, and they received suitable favours.

One of the occurrences was the victory of the army of the Deccan. When Ṣādiq K. took up his quarters in Mahkar, and Berār recovered somewhat from its distracted state, Azhdar K., 'Aīn K., Ḥabīb K. and other Deccanīs rose up to make a disturbance. A chosen force under the command of M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī went to put matters right. On the 12th he suddenly fell upon 'Ain K.'s camp and inflicted chastisement. He escaped with a few companions in a bewildered state, and much plunder was obtained. Some unquiet spirits came by a secret path upon them, but were

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Akbar objected to the marriage, because the Prince was already married to Zain K.'s niece. Akbar objected to marriages between near relations. It appears from Saiyid Aḥmad's Aṣār Ṣanādīd, p. 48 of Lucknow ed. of 1895, that the lady was known by the name of Khaṣ Maḥal, and that she was alive in Shāh Jahan's reign in 1042, 1632-33.

[1] Text Kedā.

[2] B. 407, etc.

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defeated after a short struggle. Dancing[1] and singing women elephants, etc., were obtained. On the 16th Tolak K. died in Bengal. He was an old servant. On the 20th S'aīd K. was sent off to Behar after receiving many instructive advices. On the eve of the 22nd there was a feast of reason. Suddenly there were clouds and it came on to rain. H.M. said, "Be gentle, O rain, and do not cause the dispersion of this spiritual banquet. Soon the air became clear, and there was wonderful stillness. Everywhere else it rained heavily, but it kept away from the palace.

At this time H.M. had compassion on the simplicity of M. Moẓaffar Ḥusain Qandahārī. He from self-indulgence and carelessness left his work to greedy oppressors. Several times the tenants of his fiefs and some traders came to obtain redress. Ad-
712 vice had no effect on him. He got disgusted with daily administration and begged permission to go to the Ḥijāz. It was granted, and after some time he repented and sate down in bewilderment. On the 24th H.M. recognised his dignity and recalled him, and granted him new favours. On the 27th M. Koka produced a plank to H.M. and said that at the time of splitting it a green animal came out from the middle of it. Shortly afterwards it died. In order that it might show how it was he had put it back again. H.M. said, when things come to life in an elephant's tusks, and on stones, what is wonderful in their doing so in a plank which is somewhat softer, but men are astonished at nothing except what they seldom see. On the 31st M. Rustum was sent to the northern hills. As Bāsū and some landholders had wickedly raised the head of disobedience, the Mīrzā was given Pathān (Pathānkot) and its neighbourhood in fief and sent off there. Āṣaf K., Hāshim Beg and many others went to help him. On the 11th Amardād Rām Cand was sent to Berār. When the misbehaviour of the soldiers of the south was represented to H.M., and it also appeared that Shahbāz K. with the Mālwa army had gone off to his fief without the Prince's permission, and that one lakh of *muhars* which had been sent for the equipment of the army had remained in Gwaliyar on

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[1] The text has *ramān*, but it should be *zanān*. The words are *ramān-akhāra*. For *akhāra* see J. III. 258. The word means a palaestra or theatre. The Iqbālnāma has "singing and playing girls."

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account of the insecurity of the roads, that good servant was sent off in order to convey the treasure under a proper guard, and also to recall the Mālwa troops, and to give them counsels. At this rainy season, high and low were disquieted by the small amount of rain. On the 12th rain fell at the intercession of H.M. and withered hearts were refreshed. On this day Muḥammad Beg and his son Ṭāhir Beg arrived from Persia, and had an audience. They claimed to be descended from the poet Khwaja Shamsu-d-din Muḥammad (Ḥāfiẓ). They also knew something about divination (*jafar*). H.M. thought of the expedition to the Deccan and asked (them ?) for an augury.

This verse came out.

Verse.

March, march, march away.
March for you'll be victorious.

One[1] of the occurrences was the mishap of an accident to the holy personality. By the divine protection it ended well. On the night of the 18th (Amardād, 28th July, 1596) H.M. had a deer-fight. Men looked on from a distance.[2] Suddenly a deer ran and butted him with his horns. That athlete seized the horns, and though he fell, he did not relinquish his hold. One of the testicles was lacerated, and blood flowed. That strong-souled one did not regard it but continued to attend to the work of government. On the 7th day the injury[3] became serious, and the swelling increased. On

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[1] See about deer-fights. B. 218. The Iqbālnāma puts the occurrence into the 40th year and says it occurred on a moonlight night. Cf. B. 221 and 212 about nocturnal combats. The special night for such sport was the 14th of the Muḥammadan month, i.e. the full-moon night, and the 18th Amardād, 1596, corresponded to about the middle of Ẕī-l-ḥajjah 1004. Faiẓī Sirhindī, Elliot VI. 131, says the occurrence was on 15 Ẕī-l-q'ada. This was 1004, and corresponds to 1 July, 1596; Faiẓī (Elliot VI. 131) seems to put the occurrence into the 39th year, 1002, but this is an error, as is also the use of the words stag-hunt. In the original Faiẓī speaks of a deer-fight. The word "night" *shab*, does not occur on the text, but it is in the B.M. MS. 27,247 and in the I.O. MS. 236, and so I have inserted it, especially as it is supported by the statement in the Iqbālnāma.

[2] *Az dūr nazzāragī*. But perhaps it should be *az daur* and the meaning be that the spectators sate round in a circle.

[3] Text *āsīb-i-āftāba*. *Āftāba* means a water-bottle and surely can have no application here. On referring to B.M. MS. 27,247 and to I.O.

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account of the diversity of opinion among the physicians, the treatment was not decided upon, and the pain momentarily increased. After much discussion the case was left to Ḥakīm Miṣrī and Ḥakīm 'Alī. The application of the medicine was left to the writer of the
713 book of fortune. Shaikh Bīnā[1] and Shaikh Hansū his son did good service in putting on the plasters and in opening and tying the bandages. Though the illness lasted one month[2] and twenty-two days, yet there were twenty-nine days which passed with difficulty. Though out of prudence he every day held public audiences, there arose great commotion, and the market of strifemongers and busy bodies became brisk. High and low were in a state of consternation. For seven days he did not go to the privy, and small and great became still more discomposed. On the eleventh day leeches were applied, and there were signs of improvement. On 24th Shahrīyūr M. Yūsuf K. arrived from Jaunpūr, and was exalted by royal favours. On this day Fatḥ Ullah the *sharbatdār* (butler) was sent to the Deccan, and 500 Aḥadīs went with him. On 7th Mihr the holy form bathed, and there was a great festival.

Verse.

There was a feast such as
The young had not beheld in dreams.
'Twas not a feast, but a picture of sky and stars—
An assemblage of the beauties of the seven worlds.

There were various forms of liberality and the world had new joy. Many prisoners were released, and ancient desires were gratified. The attainment of desires increased the thankfulness of every one. Misfortune did not cause him to abandon graciousness, and he civilised the world by justice and liberality, and took into

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MS. 236 it appears to me that the true reading is *āfatā* or *āfatāna*, and that the *ba*, if there be such a letter, belongs to the word *rasīd*. *Āfat* is an Arabic word meaning a calamity, and *āfatāna* might be formed from it. Or the word may be *uftā*, falling or occurring. Possibly, however, *āftāba* is A.F.'s euphemism for the urethra.

[1] B. 543. The Iqbālnāma calls him S. Bihīnāi (?) and refers to Hansur's afterwards receiving the title of Muqarrab K. See B. 543, and Tūzuk J. 12, etc.

[2] That is, from 18 Amardād to 7 Mihr on which day Akbar bathed, this being always considered by the orientals as the day of recovery.

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consideration the happiness of every one. Such an inquiry cannot be considered as a retribution, nor as a message of warning, though this may not appear so wonderful to those who believe that after the body has decayed, the soul assumes fresh forms. As the changes in the method of Divine Government are not understood by every farseeing one—what can be the case with the superficial?—the searchings of heart diminished somewhat. Apparently (the cause of the accident) was to increase men's devotion and love. The illness disconcerted small and great, and they wished to give their lives and property in exchange for the world's lord.

On the 15th Qāẓī Nūr Ullah was sent to make inquiries into the tenures (*sayūrghāl*)[1] of the province of Agra, and an order was given that new land should be given to the necessitous. On the 26th H.M. mounted on horseback and gathered delight in Bāgh Dilāwez. He spent the night with pleasure in the Deer-house. At the end of that day the great lady of the family of chastity, the mother of Prince Sulṭān Daniel, died. Next day an old servant of the harem of fortune died. H.M. after making his supplications to God adopted resignation, and begged forgiveness for them. On the 28th he returned to his palace. On this day the wife of the Prince Royal, who was the daughter of the ruler of Khāndes, died.

One of the occurrences was the failure of 'Īsāk. When Rajah **714** Mān Singh took up his quarters in Ghorāghāt after the commencement of the rains he fell very ill, and experienced physicians began to despair of his life. 'Īsā and M'āṣūm K. Kābulī and other scoundrels came out to fight. They had come to within twelve *kos*, and the imperialists were prepared to give battle. By the wondrous working of fortune there was little rain and the river fell. With a great deal of difficulty they got away, and had much trouble in moving their boats. When the Rajah got well, he sent a choice army under Himmat Singh to punish them. The scoundrels got away from the interior of the country and came to Kinārā Sindur, and there rested. When the victorious troops approached, some in their confusion lost their lives, and much plunder was taken.

In this year[2] kitchens were established in every city. There

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[1] Rent-free. B. 268.

[2] Cf. Elliot VI. 94. The word "rice" is used there, but the word is not *birinj*, but *ba-ranj*. The

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was a deficiency of rain this year, and high prices threw a world into distress. In the beginning of the year a comet (*zūzūāba*) appeared, and astrologers predicted that there would be dryness and scarcity. The gracious sovereign appointed able men to every place to give food duly to the necessitous. Petitioners constantly came before H.M., and had their desires gratified. Similarly numbers of beggars were made over to rich people (*khwāstadārān.*) (?)

On 2 Ābān the solar weighment took place and H.M was weighed against twelve articles. Numbers of men had their desires gratified. On the 10th, which was a feast day, a Turānī *farāsh* (carpet-sweeper, etc.) lifted up (*barkashīd*) two camels with their loads, and astonished the spectators. On this day Shāham came from his fief and was exalted by royal favours.

The idea was that Rustum M. should be sent to guard Gujarat, and that Shāham should accompany him as guardian (*atālīq*) so that Prince Murād might gather enjoyment by the royal favour, and the near neighbourhood of his son (Rustum). But the idea was not carried out. At this time saffron flowered in Begrām.[1] H.M. recognized that that country was suitable for this crop, and sent seeds to Takhta Beg. On the 11th he learnt that they had sprouted and bloomed. On this day M. Yūsuf obtained leave to go to Gujarat. He obtained a fief in that quarter and was sent there in order that he might assist the army of the Deccan.

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famine seems to have been a very severe one and to have even led to cannibalism. See Elliot *id.* 193. The extract there given speaks of its lasting 3 or 4 years. The Iqbālnāma, writing of the 40th year, says it lasted for six months and that many persons died of hunger. It certainly lasted longer than that in some places for it was very bad in Kashmīr in 1597 when Xavier and Benedict Goes visited that country along with Akbar in the summer.

[1] Near Kabul. For Takhta Beg see B. 469.

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CHAPTER CXXIX.

ṢĀDIQ K. IS VICTORIOUS WITH THE HELP OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH'S FORTUNE.

When M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Shāhī prevailed, the Niẓāmu-l-Mulkīyān made in revenge a new plan (paimān). Khudāwand K., Ḥamīd K., 'Abdu-l-fattāḥ, Azhdar K., Jamāl K., Dastūr K., and others collected 10,000 men and nearly eighty elephants, and re- 715
solved upon battle. Though the imperial troops did not amount to 3000, yet, on the encouraging words of their general, they set their hearts on fighting. In the centre were Ṣādiq K., Sanwal Dās, Muḥammad Jān Beg, Maulānā Maḥmūdī, and other brave men. In the right wing were M. Khan, Saiyid Bāyazīd, 'Izzat K., Malik Rādhan and others. Shāh Qulī and Ṭāhir Aurganjī were on the flank, and on the left wing were I'tibār and others. In the vanguard were M. 'Alī Beg, Dost (s. Ṣādiq) and others. Mīr Ḥusainī and others were the archers (*uqcīgarī*).[1] They prepared for battle, 40 *kos* from Maḥkar, and halted 8 *kos* from Pāthrī on the bank of the Bān[2] Ganga. Having that river in front, and a stream behind, they had a strong position for their camp. On 7 Āẕar, 17 November, 1596, they drew up their forces and set their hearts on fighting. First, Khudāwand K. with 5,000 horse and 40 elephants fought in the van. M. 'Alī Beg displayed masterpieces of battle with a few men, and defeated them. Dost,[3] and Saiyid Lād and Ḥasan[4] showed valour and fell wounded. The right wing[5] on account of

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1 Though this word properly means archery, it probably here stands for skirmishers. See Irvine's A. of M. 226 and 91. See also Timur's Institutes, p. 389.

2 That is, the Godavery. But there is also a tributary of the Godavery known as Penganga.

3 Ṣādiq's son, says the Iqbālnāma. See B. 357.

4 Text Aḥasan. I follow the Iqbālnāma.

5 The Iqbālnāma seems to make it the enemy's right wing that fled, but this does not seem to be correct.

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the numbers of foe turned back without fighting. Ṣādiq K. was keeping the stream in front of him, and observing the jugglery of the heavens. A large body of the enemy attacked him. He stood firm and used guns and muskets. By the Divine aid victory showed her countenance. Many of the wicked (enemy) were killed, and much plunder was obtained. Among this were forty chosen elephants. Of the victorious army none were killed except some obscure men.

On the 18th Qulīj K. came to court. He came to make his excuses as he had not managed well in Tīrāh, and H.M. had not approved of him. On the 23rd Ḥusain Beg, S. 'Umrī was sent off to Bangash, and the development of that country and the punishment of the Tārīkīs were made over to him. At this time a choice ship was made. On the first[1] occasion there had been much difficulty in launching on account of the deficiency of water. It occurred to H.M. that it should be built on the top of a large boat which could carry 15,000 *mans* and more, and it was easily brought to the station. It was begun on 24 Tīr and finished on the 28th Āzar. Its length was 37 yards. Rs. 16,338 were spent on it. It was safely conveyed to Bandar Lāhārī. The spectators were astonished.

On 5 Dai Māmā Aghā[2] died. She was the widow of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K., and had led a good life. As she was related to Miriam Makānī H.M. went in the morning to her (Miriam-Makānī his mother) holy abode and administered consolation. From hence he crossed the Rāvī and came to the Ahūkhāna (Deer-Park). He intended to spend the night there. He[3] hurt his hand somewhat, and returned to the city. On the 11th he sent Shāham K. back to Qanauj and gave him valuable instructions.

One of the occurrences was the submission of Lacsmī[4] Narain.

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[1] I think this must refer to the ship that was previously built. See *ante*.

[2] The Maaṣir calls her Bābā, not Bābū as in B. 333. Āghā: I.O. MS. 236 has Pāpā Āghā. We know that Shihābu-d-dīn was related to Māham Anaga. Apparently he was her son-in-law, and Māmā Āghā may have been her daughter.

[3] Text *dast-i-mubārik*, "his blessed arm," but the word *mubārik* does not occur in the MSS.

[4] Cf. Gait's Koc kings of Kāmarūpa, J.A.S.B. for 1893, p. 284, and Blochmann's contributions. In the Āīn, J. II. 117, it is said that the ruler of Kūc has 1,000 horse and 100,000 infantry.

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He was the ruler of Kūc (Bihar). It has 4,000 horse, 200,000 infantry, 700 elephants, and one thousand war-boats. It is a populous country: its length is 200 *kos*, and its breadth 40 to 100 *kos*. On the east is the river Brahmaputra, on the north is Lower Tibet and Assam, and on the south Ghorāghāt. On the west is Tirhut. A hundred [1] years before this a pious woman was praying in the temple of Jalpesh [2]—which is dedicated to Mahādev—and prayed for a son who should become a ruler. By God's help she became pregnant and bore a son. He received the name of Bīsā [3] and obtained the government of that country. His grandson Māl Gosain possessed much enlightenment, and was adorned with excellent qualities. By virtue of spiritual senses he got some idea of the greatness of H.M. and composed an address in praise of the Shāh-inshāh and sent it together with choice goods to the sacred court. He always gathered auspiciousness by supplications (to Akbar). He lived in a disengaged manner, and refrained from marriage. At fifty years of age he nominated his brother's son the Pātkunwar as his successor. His eldest [4] brother Shukl-gosain expressed a wish that he (Māl Gosain) should marry, and the latter out of love to him consented. He had a son to whom he gave the name of Lacmī Narain. When he

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1 B.M. MSS. 27247 and Or. 1116 have 500 years, and the Lucknow ed. has 15! The B.M. MSS. also have a different reading after the word Jalpesh, to the effect that Jalpesh or Jales is the same as Mahādeo in India.

2 Jales in text. See I.G. s.v. Jalpesh.

3 Bashnu in text. The variant Bīsū is preferable. See the story in Gait, l.c. 284, who writes the name as Bīsū. The Gaur Pāsha referred to at pp. 291 and 297 seems to be 'Īsā K. and not Dāūd.

4 So A. F. says, but the local authorities say that Shukl-gosain or Sukladhvaj was the younger brother and had the title of Sīraraī. A. F.'s words might be taken to mean that it was Shukl-gosain who married and had a son, but probably this is not the meaning. The Pātkumar was Raghū Deva. Perhaps we should read *babuzurg* and translate "he showed to his elder brother a desire to marry, and the latter consented. The B.M. MSS. and the I.O. 236 call the son Lacmī Narain. Māl Gosain seems to be another name for Narain. With reference to the suggestion above about A. F.'s meaning, it should be observed that the words used are "*khwāhish-i-kankhudāī namūd*," and that these words are used at p. 732, line eleven, to mean that another person should do a thing, e.g. Prince Salīm invited, *khwāhish namūd*, Ganga Rīshī to visit Akbar.

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died, the kingdom came to him (Lacmī Narain). The Pātkunwar raised the head of rebellion, and by the help of 'Isā had some success. At this time Lacmī Narain petitioned H.M. and through Rajah Mān Singh requested that he might be associated with eternal dominion. The Rajah (Mān Singh) hastened from Salīmnagar to Anandapūr (?). Lacsmī Narain received him at a distance of forty *kos*. On 13 Dai they embraced on horseback [1] (?) and there was a banquet of friendship. Afterwards the Rajah went to his quarters, thinking that he would then treat the chief with honour. On the way he observed that the latter was distressed and so he dismissed him with respect. After some time he (the chief) gave [2] his sister to the Rajah.

717 The ruler of Kūc did not pay his respects to the Ḥākim (governor) of Bengal, and Sulaimān Kararānī proceeded to make war upon him, and returned after failure.

At this time Multan was given in fief to the Khān Ā'ẕim. As he wanted to make amends for his former misconduct (in going to Mecca) he asked to have a fief near the court. His request was granted. On the 26th Rai Rai Singh was admitted to an audience. One of his favourite servants practised [3] oppression. H.M. called for an explanation. That wicked one was for some time excluded from performing the *kornish* as he kept the matter concealed and reported that the servant had fled. H.M. now remembered his former graciousness to him and sent him to the Deccan. Sorath was included in his fief with the idea that he might awake from his somnolence, and redeem his misconduct. That slumbrous-witted one remained some time in his home in Bīkānīr, and some time he spent on the road. Though counsels were given to him, they were not effectual. Ṣalāḥu-d-dīn was sent to him to tell him that if he did not hasten to his employment, he should return to court. He was obliged to come, and as he had no proper answer to give for his waywardness,

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[1] *Suwāra*, but B.M. MS. 27247 has *dar suwārī* in an equipage and Or. 1116 has *suwārī*.

[2] The Vamsāvali says, the Kūc Bihar chief gave his daughter to Akbar. A. F. does not expressly say that the sister was given in marriage to Mān Singh, and would a Rājput marry a Koch?

[3] See B. 358 where it is said that the servant complained of Rai Rai Singh. The text, however, does not, I think, say this nor does the Maasir II. 152.

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he was for some time not granted permission to appear at court. On this day his bewilderment was forgiven, and he was allowed to perform the *kornish*. The star of his fortune shone anew. On the 29th the rank of M. Shāhrukh was increased. A grant of land (tankhwāh) was made to him on the scale[1] of 5,000 personality and half that number of (extra) troopers. Ujjain and other choice places of Mālwa were taken from Shahbāz K. and included in Shahrukh's fief. And as he was with the army of the Deccan, Amīr Kalān Badakhshī was sent (to Mālwa) to restrain the agents of the former jāgirdār (Shahbāz K.).

At this time each day of the week was assigned to a particular task. The sovereign always walked warily and kept an account (awāranawīsī) of his life. In accordance with the increase of business he every now and then made a fresh division. On 4 Bahman he fixed Sunday for the inspection of horses, Monday for the inspection of the camels, mules and bullocks. Tuesday for inspecting soldiers, Wednesday for the business of the Viziership, Thursday for dispensing justice, Friday for receiving the good, Saturday for the elephant-stables. The works mentioned were first performed and then others were done. On the 5th Rai Rai Singh was sent to the Deccan. Perhaps he would make amends for his misconduct and get fresh honour. On the 7th Rānā Kīkā[2] died. Apparently Umrā, his wicked son, poisoned his food. He had also hurt himself in bending a stiff bow.

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1 See Irvine, A. of M., pp. 5, 6; and B. 238. As Shahrukh's extra troopers were half the number of his *manṣab* he belonged to the second class of the 5,000 division. The jagirs were taken away from Shahbāz as a punishment for misbehaviour at Aḥmadnagar.

2 Text Khankār, but it really is the famous Rāna Pratāp or Kīkā of Udaipūr. Tod says nothing about Umrā's poisoning his father, and the story is probably quite untrue. The Iqbālnāma also refers to the story. It gives his name as Rānā Kīkā. Perhaps Khankār is Kahnkār "the old Rānā."

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CHAPTER CXXX.

Victory of the Imperialists and defeat of the Deccanīs.

On account of the affair of Aḥmadnagar and the dissensions[1] (among the imperialists), the Deccanīs fell into evil thoughts. They did not open their eyes to daily-increasing fortune, and set their hearts upon fighting. Prince Sulṭān Murād formed the idea of giving battle, but the officers were critical and did not agree to this. A confidential meeting was held, and they sate down to consider how
718 things should be remedied. M. Shahrukh was chosen as the leader, and the Khān-khānān obtained leave to command many brave men. Treasure, elephants and artillery were also properly arranged for. They relied on the Divine aid and drew up in battle array. In the centre were M. Shahrukh, the Khān-khānān, M. 'Alī Beg, S. Daulat, I'tibār K., Wafādār K., Afẓal Tulakcī, Sher Afkan, Mīr Sharīf Gilānī, Muḥammad K., 'Alī K., Mīr Niẓām, Qādir Qulīkoka, Islām K., Mīr Quṭb-ud-dīn, Mīr Muḥammad Amīn Mandūdī, Hazāra Beg, Mīr Ṭūfān, Mīrak Beg, 'Alī Qulī, Sā'id Guāliyārī and others.

(Here follow long lists of names).

With devout hearts and high courage they marched from Shāhpūr towards the enemy and chose Ashtī 12 *kos* from Pāthrī as the battle-field. The enemy also arranged their forces and sought for battle. The Niẓāmu-l-Mulk's soldiers were in the centre. 'Ādil khānīān on the right wing, the Qutbu-l-mulk army on the left
719 wing. On the 28th Bahman, 8 (?) February 1597, when a watch of the day had passed, they crossed the river Ganges (the Godavery) and set their hearts on battle. The battle began with the Ūqlīs (archers ?) on the right wing, and Sher Khwāja performed wonders. The enemy had taken up a strong position and stood firm. They used their firearms and did not move. Active men came out on every side and fought. At the close of the day there was a great

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[1] The *'iẓāfat* in text after *shorush* is wrong.

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engagement, and brave men became intermingled. On account of the numbers of the enemy and their abundant firearms many lost the foot of courage. Jagannāth with some men, and Rai Durgā and Rāj Singh and other Rājpūt leaders, drew their rein and kept their ground. The 'Ādilkhānīāns attacked the ruler of Khandes. He stood firm and bravely fell. Thirty-five noted men, and 500 servants, gave up their lives in his company. M. Shāhrukh, the Khān-khānān and M. 'Alī Beg drove off the enemy in front of them and became spectators of the jugglery of fortune. Saiyid Qāsim and other warriors also prevailed over their opponents. The enemy thought that the ruler of Khāndes was in the centre and that his death involved the defeat of M. Shahrukh and the Khān-khānān. On that dark night the opposing forces separated and stood still. Both thought[1] they had won and mounted their horses. Many who had fled out of fear returned. The leaders of the army thought that Rajah 'Alī K. had joined the enemy, or had retired. On this account they plundered his quarters. Dwārikā Dās in the vanguard, and Saiyid Jalāl on the right wing, nobly played away their brief lives. Rām Cand, who had fought strenuously on that day, received twenty wounds in Rajah 'Alī K.'s army and lay on the ground. On that night he was mingled with the elect. On the morning he was lifted up and taken to a house.[2] After some days he died. In the morning, although the victorious army was 7,000 strong, and the enemy 25,000, they gave their minds to battle. As the whole night they had suffered from thirst they hurried towards[3] the river. The

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1 It would be better sense if the meaning were, both sides doubted if they were victorious, and perhaps the words of the original will bear this meaning.

2 Rām Chand was a Chohān, and not a Deccanī, so it could not be his own house that he was taken to. There is a notice of him in Maaṣir U. II. 138.

3 *Daryā sū gām bardāshtand.* Professor Dowson, Elliot's History of India, VI. 96, has made one word of *sū* and *gām* and calls the river—the Sūgām. But I do not find this river in Hyderabad, and I think that *gām bardīshtand* means "they hurried," literally "lifted their places." Blochmann, p. 336, says, Ferishta has "near Sūpā" but the leading account of the battle of Āshtī is in Ferishta's description of Akbar's 41st year, and I do not find Sūpā mentioned there.

H. B.

Daryā sū = *Sū-i-Daryā* = towards the river. (A. SUHRAWARDY, *Phil. Secy.*).

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enemy, who were in two minds, thought of fighting on seeing this inopportune movement, but after a short contest they took to flight. Many of them were slain. Ankas K., Mīān Zainu-d-dīn, Haibat K., Sharīf K., Sarkash K., Bhīlun K., Sarmast K., Rūmī and other leaders of the 'Ādilkhānīs were killed. Shamsheru-l-Mulk, 'Āzīu-l-Mulk, Dilpat Rai, Yāsīn K., Azhdar K., of the Niẓamu-l-Mulkīs, were killed. Ikhlāṣ K., Ṭāhīr K. and some others of the Quṭbu-l-Mulkīs were killed. As the victorious troops were wearied with the long fighting they did not pursue the enemy, but remained where they were and returned thanks. Though the enemy were more than 60,000 horse, and the imperial servants 15,000, a great victory was obtained by God's help, and high and low [1] were astonished. Forty chosen elephants and a park of artillery were taken.
720 Next day Rajah 'Alī was recognised on the battle-field, and his body was taken up. The evil-thoughted and the foolish talkers were ashamed. The understanding of the story of a battle is like that of the blind men and the elephant. Every one relates it differently. He who knows about both armies is not to be found, and each party has a confused knowledge. It is better to stop contented with what has been said.

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[1] Text *gaurān*, but the word should be kūrān. The story of the elephants and the blind men is a well-known apothegm, and is told in Mill's History of India. A. F.'s account of the battle should be compared with Ferishta and Faizī Sirhindī. The battle lasted two days. The account in Noer's Akbar II, trans. II. 337 *et seq.*, should be consulted. A. F. evidently has said as little as he could about the Khānkhānān's victory. It was Suhail the Abyssinian who commanded the Deccanīs on the 2nd day, and it was his being wounded which decided the day. See B. 336. I do not know the source of the story about Daulat K.

Ferishta's account is that the imperialists broke the treaty that had been made on the retreat from Aḥmadnagar by plundering Pātrī and other places outside of Birār. On this account Suhail, who was 'Ādil Shāh of Bījapūr's general and was returning from Aḥmadnagar—whither he had gone to help Chand Bībī—attacked the Moguls and fought the great battle of Ashtī. On the first day he was victorious, but on the second he was defeated by the Khān-khānān. After this Murād and his guardian Ṣādiq wanted the Khānkhānan to proceed against Aḥmadnagar. He objected on the ground that it was necessary to take other forts. They complained to Akbar and he recalled him, but afterwards was fain to reappoint him.

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At this time Zain Koka was sent off to Kabul. As Qulīj K. had not managed Afghanistan well, this chosen servant was sent there after receiviug valuable instructions. Kabul was made his fief, and the jāgīrdārs there were enjoined to act under his orders. On the 6th (Isfāndarmaẕ) the festival of the lunar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a time of rejoicing, and high and low enjoyed [1] themselves.

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[1] Text has *'ashratnāma*, a letter of rejoicing, but I.O. MS. 236 has *'ashratmaya* which is more probable.

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CHAPTER CXXXI.

BEGINNING OF THE 42ND YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR SHAHRĪYŪR OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

The sound of Spring took the world with delight, and the breeze of joy brought the disposition of youth. The world's lord (the Sun) gave a new form to Divine worship, and by the call to prayer furnished ornamentation to the Spring.

Verse.

Time gave colour and fragrance to Spring.
It put a nosegay into hand of wish.
It made over the garden to the night-breeze.
The plain [1] of Tibet and the Spring of Kashmīr.

On the eve of Friday, 2 Shābān 1005, 11 March 1597, after the passing of 3 hours, 12 minutes, the light-giver of creation arrived at the house of his exaltation. The sky rose up to paint and the earth sate to be painted. On 6 Farwardīn Himmat Singh, the son of Raja Mān Singh, died. He was distinguished for courage and management. He died of diarrhoea, and the Kachwāha tribe fell into grief. The affectionateness of H.M. administered balm and produced some resignation in them. On the 9th, Ṣādiq K. died. After the victory he was with Prince Sulṭān Murād in Shāhpūr. The latter commanded, and ruled well with the help of his service. In [2] everything he did he never ceased to do what was proper. Diarrhoea ended in dysentery, and he yielded up his breath with gaspings. A remarkable thing was that some time before this the Khan Ā'ẓim saw him in this condition in a dream. On the 17th H.M. enjoyed a banquet at Khwājahgī Fatḥ Ullah's. Suddenly some rue was burnt in

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[1] Apparently, the allusion is to Tibet as the fragrant land of musk.

[2] The author of the Iqbālnāma praises him for his abilities, but says he was unequalled for hypocrisy and trickery.

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the face of fortune. Fire seized the preparations for the New Year feast and the flames went from the court-yard to the holy mansion. Apparently, a spark from the royal bedchambers set fire to an awning,[1] and then there arose a conflagration. Efforts were made for several days to extinguish the fire.[2] H.M. had no mind this year for such a feast. His whole idea was to visit Kashmīr. A remarkable thing was that there was a similar fire in the quarters of Prince Murād (in the Deccan).

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[1] *Ṭanābī* = *ṭanbī*. See Vullers and Bihar 'Ajam s.v. Apparently, the ṭanābī was a large, temporary building open on all sides (Elliot VII, 204). The Iqbālnāma calls it *bāngāh*. The Jesuit fathers have the word "*tentorium*," and describe it as belonging to Prince Selīm. They say the fire extended from it to the Palace, and destroyed brick-buildings and Akbar's throne.

[2] The fire is described by Faiẓī Sirhindī. He says it began on Sunday 17 Shābān at one watch of the day remaining (26 March 1597) in the great tents in the courtyard. The *farāshes* were atop, and flung themselves down. Akbar was then, according to custom, visiting Khwājāgī Faṭh Ullah. Maclagan, J.A.S.B. for 1896, says the Jesuits' account is that the fire came from heaven. But the Annual Letter for 1597 (Naples 1607), which seems to be the General's source, does not say what was the origin of the fire, though there is a reference to the Divine Providence. The words, for which I am indebted to my brother, are—"Cum sacro resurgentis Christi die in area quaeest ante Regiam, magnâ procerum manu stipatus inambularet, repentino incendio, Principis filii tentorium, quod pretiosissimâ gazâ instructum juxta Regiam obtendabatur, correptum est." Easter Day, 1597, seems to have been on 6 April whereas A. F. seems to give the date of 26 or 27 March. Perhaps a difference of styles explains the discrepancy. General Maclagan says the bad news that came was of Murād's defeat at Aḥmadnagar, but the original letter does not mention Murād, and his repulse belongs to the 40th year, up to February 1596, or more than a year before the fire. What the letter must refer to is the bloody battle, called a victory by A. F., of Ashtī of 27 January 1597 in which Rajah 'Ālī K. and many distinguished officers were slain. A. F. refers to the fire as "rue" *sipand*, meaning that it was a means of averting the evil eye. Faiẓī Sirhindī speaks of the fire as lasting two days and a night. He speaks of it as a very great fire and says nothing like it had occurred before except once when in M. Kāmrān's time a fire was caused by the anger of a darvesh. Here it may be noted that Maclagan speaks of the church at Lahore's having been opened in September 1597, but what the letter says is that Divine service was held in it four years previously, viz. on 7 September, 1593.

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Next day there was an illumination on the same place, and the feast of the Sharf (culmination) took place. Qulij K. was raised to the rank of 4,500, and Ism'aīl Quli to 4,000. M. Jānī Beg and Shāh Beg were raised to 3,500. Far and near, high and low received suitable favours.

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CHAPTER CXXXII.

THIRD EXPEDITION OF H.M. TO KASHMĪR.

H.M.'s idea was that, before[1] proceeding to Agra, he should first offer up prayers in that land of abundance to the Incomparable Creator. As on every other occasion, great and small sought to restrain him from this. Some represented that the victorious troops were contending with the Deccanīs. How then could it be suitable for the Shāhinshāh to march to Kashmīr? Though the inward vision of the world-adorner had tested them, yet from conventional motives he remained silent until, suddenly, the news came of victory. This gave support to his design, but still, in order to respect their feelings, there was some delay in his departure, and orders were given for the celebrations (of the New Year). Those illuminations enkindled his wishes, and on the eve of the 21st (Farwardīn[2]) after two hours of the evening he set off, and reposed in the Dilawez[3] Garden. The brows of the foreheads of the hearts of the conventional were wrinkled, while the farsighted sate in expectation of the appearance of hidden knowledge.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Prince Sulṭān Daniel to Allahābad. Inasmuch as the exaltation of dutiful children waters the rose-garden of sovereignty, this jewel of the Caliphate was sent off on this night. He received the rank of Hafthazārī (7,000) both personal (*zāt*) and in troopers (*suwār*). He also received fiefs there. Qulīj K., Ismʿaīl Qulī, Mīr Sharīf Āmulī and many others accompanied him. The first of them was made Atālīq. They were presented with robes of honour, choice horses, and had their rank

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1 That is, before removing his capital to Agra.

2 About 1 April, 1597. Xavier and Benedict Goes must have left after Akbar, for Xavier says they left Lahore on 13 May.

3 Faiẓī Sirhindī describes this garden. Akbar had it made by Khwājahgī Muḥammad Ḥusain.

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increased. The weak in that quarter had new tidings of tranquillity. Many valuable counsels were bestowed. A few of them are here written down.

722 First: men should try to clarify their thoughts, and should reduce them into action. In eating, clothing, sleeping, and walking, they should seek to increase wisdom, and not the fattening of the body, or pleasure. In governing, the idea should be to protect the feeble from the strong arm of oppression. The improvement of the country and the army should be advanced. Company should always be kept with the good, for this supplies the material of propriety. The showy but inwardly bad should be avoided, for they are the fountain-head of everything that is disagreeable. Do not associate with praters, loquacious persons, drunkards, foulmouthed persons, buffoons, bad-hearted men, base people, hot-headed persons, the envious, the censorious, fluent and ignorant sellers of wisdom, handsome youths and young women. For man easily assumes the manners of his associates. There are some who though they regard this principle in the matter of their companions, do not account of it with regard to their servants. They forget that the evil disposition of this class is the most extensive in its effects, and that it is from them that an evil report rises high. Much inspection is necessary for appreciating men. One is life-giving, another is poison. Some are like food, and some like medicine. Many wicked, by craft and flattery, obtain a place in the rank of the good. Many right-thinking ones, on account of their silence, their honest speaking, reserve and retirement, get the name of evil-doing. Do not turn away from the bitter disposition of the truthful, and be not angry with them. Nor be vexed on account of the superior enlightenment of the well-intentioned. Consider abundance of well-wishing as an ornament of dominion, not as a reason for neglect. Judge[1] nobility of caste and high birth from the personality, and not goodness from grandfathers, (*az niyāg nekī*) or greatness from (the size of) the seed. You can attain the truth by considering that smoke is the child of fire, but has no portion of light. "Look up with same eyes as you look

[1] The meaning is that he should reverse the process, and when he finds a man to be of high character he should presume him to be of noble lineage, and not infer from high birth, nobility of character.

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down and speak of the past as of the present."[1] Be slow and profound in inquiries, and be not satisfied with writings, witnesses and oaths. Let varied investigations be made, and consider the lines of the forehead. Study the daily doings and manners of your companions. Be instant in prayer. Do not let reprisals pass beyond bounds, and do not attend to such matters when angry or hungry. Be not offended by diversity of religion. Struggle hard to sit in the shade of "peace with all." Do not stain your soul with revenge. Do not take the path of deceit when inflicting retribution. Keep secrets to yourself, and except to one or two right-thinking and profound persons do not reveal your thoughts. Do not refer deliberation to an unsuitable assemblage. First, inquire separately, and then in full meeting consider what you have investigated. Do not indicate your (private) adviser. Do not distress the relation, the intimate and the neighbour by angry glances. If a thing can be remedied by kindness, do not have recourse to terror. Do not seek the destruction of the fallen, nor follow up the flying. Do[2] not open the lips to utter oaths. Receive warning[3] from others, not from oneself. Whoever gathers wisdom from the teaching of the world learns without the learner's pain. Forget not any one who does you ser- 723
vice, and strive to recompense it. Postpone not to the morrow the work of to-day. Reckon a good name as eternal life. Keep aloof from jesting, and toying, especially with one who is higher (or older) than yourself. Though our ancestors practised this somewhat in order to drive away melancholy, yet they did not indulge in it so as to make the heart cold, and to neglect duties. Be not arrogant to any one, and do not affront any one. Regard the shining sword and the pen as the two arms of power. Commit the first to the brave and frank-hearted, and the second to the contented and right-acting. Soldiers get a great name by four things: 1st, Loyalty to their master; 2nd, Love to their comrades; 3rd, Obedience; 4th, Experience. The general is famed who always looks after the pay, the arms and the cattle of his followers, and who is always prepared. And he

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1 The passage is very obscure.

2 Cf. J. II. 37. "Refrain from the use of oaths." Perhaps *saugand* "oath" is here used in the sense of ordeal. See A.N. III. 672 (text), line 11.

3 That is, instead of learning from your own mistakes, do so from those of others.

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wins their hearts by gifts and honours, and looks after the survivors of deceased soldiers. Nor does he lay hands on their properties. He is not lulled to sleep by success, and does not cast away caution at the time of action. He spends less than he receives. He consumes one portion, distributes another, and something he accumulates. He does not give himself up to intoxicants, nor is he devoted to hunting. He does not neglect secret inquiries. Especially does he seek information about those near to him and [1] about the thoughts of enemies. In every [2] business he employs some men who are unknown to one another, and he himself weighs their reports. If he cannot do so, he refers it to a truthful and abstinent master of peace with all. Otherwise he prosecutes his inquiries still further.

On 1 Ardībihisht S. Ẓīya-ullah [3] left the world. He was the son of S. Muḥammad Ghauṣ and had gathered some traditionary knowledge. He was familiar with Ṣūfī language. On the 6th the august retinue arrived at Amnābād, and the hidden knowledge of H.M. became again impressed on high and low. Inasmuch as the mountain air of Kashmīr, and the difficulty and delay in crossing into it excite the tranquil,—not to speak of the base and light-headed,—a low-born [4] person by name Jamīl mixed himself up in that country with the Aimāqs of Badakhshān and passed himself off as 'Umr S., the son of M. Sulaimān. The Mīrzā when he was in distress in Ḥissār had a son by a girl and gave him this name. When he (the son) came away from there, he passed to Uzbeg K., the cousin of 'Abdullāh K., and died. It is said that narrow-minded, envious people put him to death, while others say that he died of smallpox. Others said that he was still alive. That trickster resolved on making a commotion and secretly engaged in binding men by promises so

[1] I have inserted the conjunction because it occurs in the I.O. MSS. and in the Cawnpore edition. The passage is illustrated by the remark at p. 736, line 10, to the effect that rulers should first of all make inquiries about the dispositions of their sons and intimates (*nazdīkān*), as people are slow to complain against them.

[2] Cf. Jarrett II. 38. "In every affair he should associate several who are unknown to each other," etc.

[3] Called Ziya-ud-dīn by Badayūnī, Lowe 123. See B. 457 at p. 204. Lowe, Badayūnī, calls him Ẓiya-ullah.

[4] Text غوري زاده *ghorīzāda*, which may mean "one born in low estate." The Iqbālnāma seems to have "*az mardam gharībī*" "of poor people."

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that a thousand Badakhshīs and many Kashmīrīs joined him. The veil had not been removed from over his actions when the reports 724
of the august standards rose high. Some of those who knew the secret, arrested him and brought him to Muḥammad Qulī Beg, and he was conveyed to this stage (Amnābād). There he received his deserts. If H.M. had not made his expedition there would have been a great commotion, and many would have suffered. The eyes of vision of the superficial but well-intentioned were opened, and they who had controverted the expedition sank their heads in the collar of shame. On the 9th Khudāwand K. Deccanī, from his own self-will, retired. When in the fight with Ṣādiq K. he was disgraced and failed, he thought of entering into service, and joined Sher Khwāja. Soon afterwards he separated from him. Then a star of guidance, through the instrumentality of M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī, brought him into the service of the prince. Inasmuch as he had not a strong thread of moderation, and his arrogance increased daily, he, in the same year and month, took to flight. On the 16th, Jagat Singh, the son of Rajah Mān Singh, was sent to the northern hills. Owing to the mismanagement of Rustum M. and Āṣaf K. there was delay in the work, and Bāsū made Māu strong, and became presumptuous. H.M. summoned the Mīrzā to his side when he was at the Cināb, and sent that choice servant in charge of the soldiers. On the 18th he arrived, hunting by the way, at the town of Gujrāt—which had been recently founded by his orders. He rested for a while in this pleasant city. On the 19th M. Yūsuf K. was appointed Atālīq of Prince Sultān Murād. The mystery-seeing sovereign had given him a fief in Gujarāt (the province) in the previous year, and had sent him there. When Ṣādiq K. died, he was raised to this high position, and an order was given that he should join the Prince quickly, and do what was necessary for the times.

One of the occurrences was the defeat of the Pātkunwar.[1] When Lacsmī Narain, the ruler of Koc, submitted himself, and was exalted, envy made his competitor mad. He collected an army and took possession of some territory. Lacsmī Narain retired into a fortress and begged the help of Rajah Mān Singh. A chosen force

1 The Raghū Rai of Mr. Gait's paper (J.A.S.B. for 1893), and Raghū Deva of the Hayagrīva temple-inscription, Gait 295.

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under the command of Jajhār K. and Fatḥ K. Sūr hastened to the spot. On the 22nd Ardībihisht (3 May 1597) they arrived there and after a great contest defeated (the Pātkunwar). Many were killed, and many were made prisoners, and much plunder was obtained. On the 23rd the august standards reached Bhimbhar, and the quarters of Mīr Murād the local fief-holder were brightened by the advent of H.M. The victorious troops were divided into ten sections. 1st, H.M. with some special men. 2nd, the ladies of the harem; and the writer was, with some men, put in charge of this
725 party. 3rd, the Prince-Royal and his men. The other seven were the guards for each day (of the week). On 1st Khurdād, 11 May 1597, the first defile was surmounted. On the 6th (Khurdād), which was the day of Jashn,[1] the halt was made at Rajaurī, and the Prince came to the presence without permission. On the route some impropriety [2] occurred, and for a while he was in disgrace and not allowed to pay his respects. The writer of the jewelled book was sent for in order that he might inquire into the matter. On account of the exceeding love of the world's lord and the contrition of the nursling of dominion he (Salīm) was pardoned.

On this day it was represented to H.M. that Khwājagī [3] Fatḥ Ullah had misbehaved in the matter of guarding the road, and that one of the Prince-Royal's servants had been killed. H.M. sent him (Fatḥ Ullah) to the Prince in order that he might be punished. The latter was delighted at this graciousness and treated him with favour and sent him back to service. On the 8th the Prince obtained permission to proceed [4] as before, and the writer was also appointed

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[1] The 6th Khurdād is called Jashn. The Iqbālnāma seems to take the word as meaning a feast and says Akbar's weighment took place on this day, but apparently this is a mistake.

[2] Apparently this was not the affray between the Prince's servants and Fatḥ Ullah, but something that had occurred previously.

[3] Khwajagī Fatḥ Ullah was Bakhshī, see B. 499 and 528, and the Iqbālnāma says he was placed by Akbar on the top of the Bhimbar Pass and told to let nobody through without orders, the object being to prevent men crowding into Kashmīr and the consequent occurrence of a famine. In executing these orders an affray occurred and one of Salīm's servants was killed. But apparently this occurred after the Prince had fallen into disgrace for some unexplained cause.

[4] Apparently Salīm and A. F. were sent back to the charge of their respective divisions.

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to this service On the 11th H.M. marched from Pustīāna, and crossed the Pīr Panjāl, cutting and treading down the snow. A halt was made in Nārī Barārī at the lodging which Muḥammad Qulī Beg had prepared.

In this year the commotion of Bahādur ceased. He was the son of Moẓaffar Gujrātī. When the latter died in failure, his son took shelter with Tīwārī,[1] and he hid him and supported him. At the time when many of the fief-holders were serving the Prince in the South, Bahādur raised the head of sedition. Base, fly-like creatures joined him, and the town of Dandūqa was plundered. Rajah Sūraj Singh and some men took the resolution of fighting. On this day the troops were drawn up on both sides and there was some fighting among the skirmishers. By the good fortune of the Shāhinshāh that rebel was put to flight.

On the 14th, great Passes were traversed and H.M. halted at Hīrapūr. From this stage he went on to behold the spectacle of the Spring in Jamāl Nagarī,[2] and an order was given that the camp should keep the high road and enter the city. In old times this was a capital, and its ruin told an instructive tale. The plain expanded the melancholy heart. According to orders this humblest of individuals came to this pleasant place from Hīrapūr, and was exalted by performing the prostration at the holy threshold. On the 19th H.M. spread out his tent in Punj Brāra[3] (Bij-Behara). The ladies joined him here. Near this place M. Yūsuf K. had thought of making a city on the top of a ridge. H.M. went to the spot, and gave it the name of Akbarnagar, and made over the estab-

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1 The Iqbālnāma has Tarwārī, the ruler of Rājpipla, and says Moẓaffar left in his charge a son and two daughters. Bahadūr lived into Jahangir's reign and died a natural death in 1614. Elliott VI. 340, Tuzuk J. translation, 274.

2 This is the name of a place, but I do not find the name in Stein or elsewhere. The Iqbālnāma has Jamālnagarī as the name of a place, and it is mentioned as such by Faiẓī Sirhindī who says Akbar arrived there on the 17th (Shāwal). He adds that many men suffered from asthma here. Perhaps it is the burned city of Narapūra referred to by Stein, p. 172, J.A.S.B. Akbarnagar may have been built on the Cakradhara "Uḍar."

3 The Vijayesvara or Vijabror of Stein. It is a famous place of pilgrimage.

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lishing of it to Muḥammad Qulī Beg. At this stage the Prince-Royal performed the *kornish*. On the 23rd he proceeded with some intimates up the river and first halted at Anca.[1] From there he
726 went to Machī[2] Bhavan and enjoyed himself and then took boat near Khānpul.[3] On both banks there were delightful meadows. H.M. enjoyed the pleasures of hunting.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Mau. Rajah Bāsū, on account of ill fortune and the strength of the position, took the road of ingratitude. He won over many proprietors to his side. When the victorious troops proceeded there, some landholders separated (from Bāsū) and joined them. That turbulent one entered the difficult fortress. The victorious troops invested it, but interested motives withheld them from prosecuting the task. When, by orders, M. Rustum set off for the court, the other servants made a compact of concord and addressed the foot of resolution to service. For two months great valour was displayed. In one place was Âṣaf K. with a number of strenuous men; on another was Tāsh Beg K. with some brave men. Hāshim Beg was there with some noted men and Muḥammad K. with a party of servants. On the 24th that slumbrous-witted one came out and took shelter in another strong place. The imperial servants took the fort and plundered the dwellings. They burnt his house and home. On the 26th M. Rustum did homage near Pampūr,[4] and was exalted by princely favours. On the 27th H.M. encamped near Koh-i-Solimān, and he went to visit the Dall Lake. From there he went to see Amartasar[5] which is a famous temple in that country. Near it is a delightful fountain. H.M. travelled 105 *kos* in 34 days. He halted on the way one month and five days. On the 28th he cast

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[1] I think this is the famous fountain of Acebal or Acabal which A. F. in Āīn, J. II. 358, calls Achh Dal. See Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, p. 99.

[2] Martand or Matan. See Stein, J.A.S.B. for 1899, pp. 176, 177, where Matsyabhavna, i.e. abode of fish, is given as one of its names. The place is famous for its temple of the Sun. J. II. 358. Faiẓī Sirhindī describes Macī Bhawan.

[3] Kanbal the port of Islāmābād, the Khanabal of Stein.

[4] Banpūr in text.

[5] So in text امرتسر. I.O. MS. 236 has امریسر. Apparently it is the Amaresvara of Stein 164, N.N.W. of Srīnagar, now Ambarhar, but it may be Amartabhavana, Stein id.

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the shadow of his fortune on the city of Nāgarnagar.[1] Near Srīnagar there is a high hill, and there is a large reservoir (*ābgīrī*) near it. The far-seeing prince had chosen this place as the site of a city, and M. Yūsuf K. had, under his orders, peopled it. He built some residences and laid the foundation of an earthen wall. Suitable quarters were also provided for the soldiers. H.M. took up his abode in the quarters of Muḥammad Qulī Beg on the banks of the lake. An order was given that the fort should be made of stone. Every portion of the work was assigned to an officer. On this day it was shown how the commotion of that native of Ghor (*ghorīzāda*)[2] had arisen, and how it had been quelled by the report of the august expedition. He who had delivered him up received the reward of his good service. It also appeared that much evil had been caused by the tyrrany of the fief-holders. In their ignorance of affairs they demanded the whole rent in money and sought for gold and silver from that country which was regulated by the division of crops. H.M. made remittances to crowds of men, and established choice regulations. The oppressors received their punishment. And kindness was shown to the injured cultivators. The whole country was divided into fourteen portions, and to each of these two *bitikcīs* (accountants), one an Indian and the other a Persian, were sent so that they might study the settlement-papers (*khām kāghaz*) of **727**
every[3] village and might ascertain the extent of the cultivated and

[1] The Haraparvat and the hill Sārikā of Stein, pp. 147, 148, the Harī Parbat or "Fort Hill" of the I.G. The hill is on the northern outskirts of the city and about 250 feet high, and crowned by the fort. The date given in the I.G. is wrong. The wall was built in 1597 apparently and the Fort still later according to Stein. At all events the stone buildings of the Fort appear to have been erected in 1597, though evidently something had been done in M. Yūsuf K.'s time, and we find from p. 618 that Ḥusain Beg and Qāẓī 'Alī took refuge in the fort of Nāgarnagar in July 1592.

[2] Perhaps it means "low-born" or it may mean "untimely born" and be connected with *ghaura*. See Badayūnī's II. 379 where the word *ghaura*, an immature grape, is used with reference to Murād.

[3] Text *har dū* "of both," but the I.O. MSS. have *har dih* and I think that the reading must be *har dih* or *har dīh* and not *har dū*. Evidently Chalmers also read *har dih* for he translates "to read all the documents of each village." The two bitikcīs were appointed to be a check on one another, or in order to get through the work, but I dont think they were to make out two sets

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uncultivated land, and of the collections, and might reckon one half of the produce as the share of the ruler,[1] and return any excess. Though they (the fief-holders?) always spoke about three heaps[2] (of produce), yet they claimed the third share of the tenant's uncultivated land. An arrangement was made for cultivated and uncultivated land. When the settlement was for more than ten years, one-sixth share was taken for the first year, one-fourth for the second, one-third for the third, and one-half for the fourth. When the settlement was for from ten to four years, one-fifth was the share for the first year, one-third for the second, and the usual rate (one-

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of papers, and the *khām kāghaz* must, I think, have been the settlement-papers already drawn up, and not those which the two accountants were to prepare.

[1] *Farmāndihī.* Here I suppose it would mean the fief-holder to whom Government had transferred its rights.

[2] The word "three" does not occur in text nor in the MSS. In text the words are *hamwāra toda nām bar nihand.* I.O. MS. 236 and Mr. Irvine's MS. have *būda* for *toda* and perhaps this is the true reading. I have inserted the word "three" because I think that the passage is explained by p. 570, Vol. I, of the Āīn, Jarrett's translation II. 366. The lit. translation of that passage seems to be, "Though they from of old used the name of one-third share, yet they took more than two-thirds. H.M.'s justice has made it one-half." Jarret translates, "Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the State, more than two shares was actually taken, but through His Majesty's justice, it has been reduced to one-half." Gladwin's translation is to the same effect. If *būda* be the true reading, then the meaning would seem to be, "Though they professed to go by 'actuals' yet they wanted to take even the one-third of the husbandman when nothing had been produced." Perhaps *hamwāra* does not mean here "continually" but "even, equal," and the translation of *hamwāra tūda* should be "equal heaps." The author of the Iqbālnāma avoids going into particulars, and says it was Abul Faẓl who, under orders from Akbar, put matters to rights. Apparently the settlement in force in the 42nd year was the one made by Āṣaf K. in the 39th year. See ante, p. 661. A.N. III. 548, and B. 346, and Maaṣar I. 110 should be consulted. Blochmann has made a curious slip. He says, p. 411, Āṣaf K. only stayed three days in Kashmīr. He could not have made a settlement in that time, and what A. F. says, A.N. III. 661, line nine, is that Āṣaf made the journey from Kashmīr to Lahore in three days. Āṣaf was made governor of Kashmīr in the 42nd year: see infra, p. 732.

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half) for the third. (When the settlement was) for from four to two years the share was one-third for the first year, and for the second one-half. In a short time great comfort was produced.

On account[1] of the deficiency of rain and the dispersal of the husbandmen, prices became somewhat high. Though by the coming of the victorious army the scarcity was increased, yet the Shāhinshāh's graciousness provided a remedy. By his orders twelve places were prepared in the city for the feeding of great and small (i.e. young and old). Every Sunday a general proclamation was made in the 'Īdgāh, and some went from the palace and bestowed food and presents on the applicants. Eighty thousand necessitous persons—more or less—received their hearts' desires. A great many persons also got their livelihood by the building of the fort. By means of the pay for their labour they were brought out from the straits of want. At this time some attention was paid to miscellaneous imposts. Fifty-five censurable customs were abolished. The husbandmen for a long time paid[2] these, and until the order of remission took effect they did not believe in it (the abolition). The case[3] of the saffron is one of these. The Government share of the produce was divided among the bazaar-people and the husbandmen to be cleaned. Though out

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1 From the accounts of Xavier and others it appears that the famine was very severe.

2 Text *basān-i-sābiq*, but the MSS. have *basān-i-māl*.

3 A. F., as usual, writes obscurely. Fortunately the passage is elucidated by the account of the saffron-cultivation in the Āīn, B. 84, and J. II. 357. See also Elliot VI. 375, the Tūzuk Jahangīrī 315, and the Iqbālnāma Jahangīrī, 168. It would appear from Jahāngīr's account that the practice of paying for the labour in cleaning the saffron by barter, viz. by salt, was still in force in his time. After the words *khushk z'afrān* we have the words *u tarah* وترہ which I do not understand. I.O. MS. 236 seems to have *ṭazhā* buds, and I have adopted this. But what we should expect to find would be *khāliṣ* "pure" which occurs in the Āīn, B. 84. I now suggest the Arabic word *watarat* instead of *utarah*. This would mean choicest (saffron). At p. 734 A.F. says that owing to Akbar's abolition of forced labour two *sīrs* of dried saffron were obtained from seven or eight *traks* instead of from eleven or thirteen as formerly. Possibly the text is wrongly punctuated, and the hyphen or stop should come after *jahānbāni rā*. The sentence would then be, the case of the Government-share of the saffron is an instance of this. The saffron, etc.

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of eleven *traks*, one was given as wages, yet two *sīrs* of dried saffron and buds (?) were exacted, and there was great loss, especially in the time of rain. It was also an old custom that the cultivator should cut and bring some wood from a distance. Otherwise they lost their pay. Similarly they took money from the carpenter, the weaver and other workmen. On 2 Tīr H.M. went to see the new quarters. M. Yūsuf K. had put up beautiful buildings on the top of a small hill near Nāgarnagar for the repose of H.M. On the 6th he went to Shihābū-d-dīn-pūr, and from there he proceeded to Lain Lankā.[1] When he came to the lake there were high waves, the boat was taken to the bank and he rested by the skirt of the mountain. In the morning he went to that charming spot, and got new enlightenment. On the 9th something improper happened on the part of the Prince-Royal while he was traversing that great lake. Khwāja Bhūl got angry[2] and conveyed a message from the Shāhinshāh. The Prince was angry at his rude words, and the gracious sovereign consoled him by cutting the tip of his (the Khwāja's) tongue.
728 Meanwhile, by orders of the Shāhinshāh, a ghrīb[3] (vessel) such as those used at sea, was prepared. High and low were astonished, and on the 20th he sate in it and witnessed the spectacle of the river Behat (Jhelam).

One of the occurrences was the taking of Bāndhū.[4] As increase of territory and wealth augments H.M.'s devotions and he makes success an instrument for developing the spiritual world, all kinds of difficult tasks, which have not been accomplished by former rulers in spite of abundant efforts, are easily effected by his servants. The conquests of this formidable fortress speaks eloquently of this. Pannah is a populous country, and has a separate ruler. This fortress (Bāndhū) is the seat of his government. The territory extends to

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[1] In Lake Wular, J. II. 364. It is described by Xavier in a letter published by L. de Dieu.

[2] Or perhaps, conveyed an angry message from the Shāhinshāh.

[3] Cf. B. 280. It was a model.

[4] Bāndhū is now in the Rewah State, and is the Bāndhogarh of I.G. VI. 358. Apparently, it was regarded in A. F.'s time as belonging to Panna State. See also B. 407, 469, and Elliot IV. 463 n. A minor, Bikramajīt by name, had taken possession of the fort. See I.G. XXI. 281, and also VI. 359. Can the local legend about Akbars having been born at Bāndhogarh be connected with his alleged re-birth at Allahabad?

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the east of it for sixty *kos*, and then comes the land of other Rajahs who are to some extent submissive to him. Then comes the territories of Sarguja and Rohtās. On the west it extends for twelve *kos* and there are the lands of other zamindars who are in a manner subject to him. After that comes the land of Gadha. On the north are the Ganges and the Jumna. The territory extends in this direction for sixty *kos* and joins the province of Allahabad. On the south it extends for sixteen *kos*, and then comes the territory of Gadha. Between the south and east (i.e. to the S.E.) is Rantambhūr after 45 *kos*. To the N.E. it extends for 70 *kos* and then comes the province of Allahabad. To the N.W. it extends for 50 *kos* and adjoins Fort Kālinjar. To the S.W. it extends for 25 *kos* and then is the territory of Gadha. The difficulties in the taking of this fort cannot be described. It is surrounded by low hills, whose vallies extend for eight *kos*, and whose high lands extend for more than 1½ *kos*. On three sides it has hills close to it. On the N. it is surrounded by a stone wall. The first gate is called Ganeshpūr. Near it is a large reservoir. The second gate is Hindalīpūr; the third, Kampūr; the fourth, Harharpūr. Inside are the Rajah's quarters. The fort is an ancient building and has four fine old walls, and a charming lake. Inside is a large temple. Round about are the houses of the kinsmen and dependents. No ruler had laid hands on it. Sulṭān 'Alāu-d-dīn had the idea of doing so, and spent much treasure on the enterprise, and many lives were lost, but he was unsuccessful. At this time, by H.M.'s fortune, it was conquered with little trouble. When the garrison sent the young ruler to court, their idea was that they would put off an expedition against the fort by scattering gold. The acute sovereign did not accept the words of the bribe-takers and issued an order to the effect that the rule of service was that the fort must once be delivered up in order that it might be given back. Owing to somnolence of intellect, and the strength of the fort, the good advice was not received and they resolved upon contumacy. Rai Patr Dās exerted himself, and liberality was made the key for delivering up the fort. After severe engagements the country was conquered and in an auspicious hour the fort was invested. After eight months twenty days the garrison, or 22 Tīr, 8 July 1597, came to terms on account of want of provisions, and the fort was taken. Much plunder was obtained.

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729 On 4 Amardād a son was born in the harem of Prince Sultan Daniel by the daughter of Qulīj K., and soon departed to the other world.

One of the occurrences was the appearance of a rainbow (*qaus quzaḥ*)[1] on the night of the the 5th (Amardād). On the night (shab) of 13 Zī-l-ḥajja, 18 July 1597, in the city of Srīnagar there was a feast of enlightenment. At the third *pahar* in the eastern heaven, a rainbow—which the Persians call the two-coloured bow—appeared. The variety of its colours was less than that of one (rainbow) which appears in the day. Though some think that the rainbow appertains solely to the day, they are without special knowledge. Some ancients allow that it is also produced by the rays of the moon, and that it does not acquire so many colours (as the solar rainbow). Maulānā S'aidu-d-dīn[2] Taftāzānī writes, "In the year 763 (1362) in Turkistan, on the opposite direction from the moon, I saw an appearance like a rainbow, but it had not the permanency and the bright colour of that." On the 8th,[3] in the same city, after a watch of the day had elapsed, a halo round the sun (*ṭufāwa*) showed itself for two hours. The Indian sages did not think it auspicious, and directed the great towards kindness to the needy. H.M. gave large bounties to the needy, and won over hearts.

Though the present work does net deal with the causes of those two phenomena, and though it is treated of in cyclopaedias (*farhang nāmhā*), yet the contention of intellect leads me, nolens volens, to say something about them, and to enlighten the perception of the inquirer.

The Peripatetics regard this glorious bow, this halo, and other solar phenomena (*shamsīyāt*) as fantastic, unsubstantial appearances like the reflections in a mirror, while the Platonists (*ashrāqīān*) regard them as real and substantial occurrences.

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[1] See Lane's Dict. 2520b. Quzaḥ is an angel who presides over the clouds. The third *pahār* must mean the third watch of the night for A. F. goes on to say that it was a nocturnal phenomenon and depending on the moon.

[2] An author who lived in the time of Timur and who is called Taftāzānī from his birth-place. See Beale s.v. Taftāzānī and D'Herbelot s.v. Takhtazānī. He died in 1390. As he was born in 1322 he was about 40 when he saw the lunar rainbow.

[3] Faizī Sirhindī says the halo was seen round the sun at midday on 10 Zī-l-ḥajja, the day of the 'Id Qorbān.

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[Here follow about two pages of disquisition on the subject of rainbows and halos. They are probably borrowed from some astronomer, and are difficult of translation. I think, I may neglect them].

On the 12th (Amardād) a piece of stone was shown to H.M. There appeared to be some water inside of it, and the spectators were astonished. Some Persians who were present represented that they had broken a stone in 'Irāq and that a frog[1] had come out of it.

Next morning a Turkish rope-dancer appeared and gave a wonderful exhibition. On the 16th Sāng[2] Panwār died. He was a noted Rājpūt. His survivors were comforted by royal favours.

At this time the ambassadors to Tibet were sent off. At the time that the royal standards came to Kashmīr, it had been intended that an army should be sent to conquer that country. As, owing to the scarcity of the year, it was difficult to provide the soldiers with forty days' provisions, and as H.M. wished to convey counsels, the design was not carried out. Umed 'Alī Jolak, Ṭālib Isfahānī, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Kashmīrī were sent to 'Alī Zād, the ruler of Little Tibet, and Ayūb Beg, Salīm Kāshgharī, 'Abdu-l-Karīm Kashmīrī were sent to Kokaltāsh Kaliyū, the ruler of Great Tibet. Rājū Rai, the commander-in-chief of that kingdom, had on account of his wealth become somewhat rebellious, and the ruler of the country had collected an army and deprived him of his fiefs. That rebel had gone into vagabondage. At this time 'Alī Zād rose up to avenge him (?) and by his guidance and wickedness he was successful and made (the ruler of Great Tibet) prisoner, and proceeded to his dwelling-place and gathered abundant moneys. He also took much territory. On hearing the report of the arrival of the sublime army he made the above-named (Kokaltāsh)—who was descended from former rulers—ruler and returned. An ambassador was also sent to Kashghar. When 'Abdu-l-Karīm died, and Muḥammad[3] K. (his brother) 732
became ruler of that country, it appeared that he wished to suppli-

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1 *Wazaqī*. Text wrongly has waraq.

2 Evidently this is the Sāngah Punwār (Powār) of the Āin, B. 526. The text has Banwār.

3 See ante, p. 556.

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cate the sublime court. He had sent Shāh Muḥammad[1] with valuable gifts. On the way he was robbed, and out of simplicity and shame he went off to the Ḥijāz. At this time he came and was exalted by paying homage. He related his adventures. On the 20th he was sent back after being treated with favours. M. Ibrāhīm Andījānī was sent with counsels, and some choice goods were made over to Fattā[2] Hā (?). H.M.'s idea was that the ambassador would proceed to Khatā (China) as for a long time there had been no news of that country, nor was it known who ruled it. H.M. also wished to know with whom he was at war, and what degree of enlightenment and sense of justice he possessed, what kind of knowledge was current, who among the ascetics had a lamp of guidance, who was supreme for science? An order was given that these questions should be put to the ruler of Kashghar, and that an answer should be brought. On the 21st Gangā Rīshī presented himself at the assembly of the Justice of God (Akbar). He is one of the great Rīshīs, and the people of Kashmīr regard him as a saint. The Prince-Royal invited him to come, and that seeker after God came from a wish to see the Shāhinshāh. On seeing him, he received fresh enlightenment. At this time Shahbāz K. came to court, and was not admitted to the *kornish*. When Rām Cand was sent to recall the Mālwa soldiers, he, of necessity, returned with M. Shahrukh. Near Burhānpūr he learnt that the Prince (Murād) had taken some of his fiefs and given them to others, and that there had been a fight with the agents, and that some had fallen on both sides. His distress increased, and he stopped going further. He sent M. Shahrukh and the rest of the soldiers to the Deccan with Rām Cand and turned back himself (?). For some time he remained in Malwā, waiting for Rām Cand. When the latter died, he went off to Court. He was kept in disgrace and not allowed an audience. When it became clear that his coming was unavoidable, he was allowed, on the 26th, to make the *kornish*. At this time Āṣaf K. got a *jāgīr* in Kashmīr.

[1] B. 506. He was a son of Qoresh Sulṭān and nephew of Muḥammad K.

[2] The Iqbālnāma adds the title Shīrāzī to his name. The letter which Akbar wrote on this occasion appears in the first book of the Inshā. The name, in the Newalkishore ed., is Fattā Ḥā as in text, and he is described as being a merchant and as wishing to go to China. The questions in the text are inserted in the letter.

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One of the chief causes of the ruin of this country was that among the fief-holders there was no great officer whose opinion might be followed by all. For this reason he was sent for from the northern hills. On the 31st he was exalted by doing homage, and the charge of the country was entrusted to him. On 2 Shahrīyūr there was a grand display of lamps. It is an old custom in that country. On the night of the 13th Bhādūn, according to the calculation of the bright[1] fortnight (*Shuklpacha*), high and low lighted lamps, and implored blessings. They related that the river Behat—which flows through the city—was born on this day, and in thanks therefor they held a feast. On this account an order was given that the royal servants should light lamps on boats[2] and on the bank of the lake and the top of the hill. There was a glorious illumination and 733
men who had seen the world were astonished. On this day a delightful palace was completed by the Shāhinshāh's orders. In the Kashmīrī tongue it was called Larī. On the 6th H.M. had a feast there and there was rejoicing. On the 13th it appeared that Ḥāfiẓ Qāsim had out of sensuality stained the skirt of the chastity of a woman. He was castrated, and though he got a little better, he soon died.

One of the occurrences was the death of Durjan Singh. When Lacmī Narain became successful by the help of eternal fortune, 'Īsā K., proprietor (*bhūmī*), collected an army and set out to help Pātkunwar. On hearing of this, Rajah Mān Singh sent off a force by land, and also sent some men by the river under command of his son Durjan Singh in order that the houses of the proprietors might be plundered. Inasmuch as domestic broils produce great injury, one of the double-faced and crooked ones gave information to those men. On the 25th the river-detechment plundered many places, and made an expedition against Katrabū.[3] Six *kos* from Bikrāmpūr 'Īsā and M'aṣūm arrived with a large number of war-boats. They surrounded the river detachment and after a hard contest the leader (Durjan) and many soldiers delivered up the coin of their lives. Some men were

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1 See J. II. 17, and Akbar's fīrmān about reckoning from the increase of the moon.

2 The text has feraz-i-koh *kishtī*. But B.M. MS. Add. 27247 has *u kishtī* "and boats" which makes better sense.

3 Katarabū; and is mentioned as a Dacca estate by Mr. Douglas in a report of 26 May 1790. See my history of Bākarganj, p. 417. App.

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made prisoners, and some escaped. Though there was a disaster, yet the ruler of Koc was saved from injury. 'Isā, from farsightedness, had recourse to blandishments and sent back his prisoners.

On 11 Mihr after 3 hours and 4 seconds a daughter was born in the harem of the Prince-Royal by the daughter of the Mota Rajah, It is hoped that she will become a great lady. On the 20th H.M. entered the Behat through the Dal lake, and from thence proceeded to Shīhābu-d-dīnpūr, where he spent the night. Next morning he hunted and crossed over to Zain Lankā, returning at night to Shihābu-d-dīnpūr. Next day he visited the Lār[1] valley where the wonders of autumn surprised the critical. He received much pleasure and returned to Nāgnagar. The varied colours of the season of the fall of the leaf in this country put to shame the Spring of many other places. Especially the apple, the peach, the vine and the plane (*chinār*) tree.

Verse.

The beauty of decay was not seen save here.
The pomp of Autumn was more full of colour than the Spring.

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[1] J. II. 363. It is there described as bordering on Great Tibet.

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CHAPTER CXXXIII.

Return of the August standards to India and the arrival at Lahore.

H.M. enjoyed himself for three months and twenty-nine days in this country. When the rainy season occurred, it rained here **734** also. The sovereign had varied pleasures and accomplished his devotions to God. His idea was to spend the winter in this delightful locality, but from the beginning of Mihr (10 September) it became very cold. The inhabitants of hot countries became somewhat inconvenienced, and out of graciousness, H.M. announced that his design of remaining was abandoned. He resolved on going to India by the old route of Pīrpanjal, after he had seen the sight of the saffron [1]-beds (in Pānpūr). He gave money to the officers in order that they might make fitting preparations at every stage. On the 25th (Mihr = about 5 October) he embarked in a boat and proceeded towards the exhibition, on his way to India. Next morning he arrived at the saffron-fields. He stayed there seven days, and every day the flowers were harvested. They [2] were divided among the officers in order that they might superintend the cleaning. At the time when the peasants were impressed for this work, and when deficiency (in produce) was punished (?), two *sīrs* were obtained from eleven, and occasionally, from thirteen *traks*. Owing to the great remission (by Akbar) the same quantity was obtained from seven or eight *traks*. The gathering was done quickly and well owing to the numerous gatherers and the supervision, nor did the rain do any harm. When H.M. had enjoyed the sight, he resumed his journey on 3 Ābān and halted at Khānpūr. Next morning the solar weighment took place, and he was weighed against twelve articles. There was proclamation of liberality, and a world enjoyed success.

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1 Stein, J.A.S B. 1899, p. 122 and 167.

2 Cf. the account given by Faiẓī Sirhindī.

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At this stage the troops were divided, and the rules for traversing the mountains laid down. The Prince-Royal took leave as he was to be the last this time. Up to Pushīāna [1] the ladies accompanied. On the 9th H.M. himself set out, and on this day Āṣaf K. returned. On the way there fell some snow and rain, but afterwards it became fine. On the 15th he descended from Bhimbhar to Akbarābād, and crowds of men enjoyed themselves. On the 19th at Gujrāt, Maqṣūd Beg, the paternal uncle of Āṣaf K., arrived from Persia and was admitted to an audience. On the 22nd he mounted an elephant and crossed the Chīnāb while the army crossed by a bridge. He hunted [2] at Gujrāt, Daulatābād and Ḥāfiẓābād. On 3 Āẕar, 13th or 14th November 1597, he arrived at Lahore. He spent one month and ten days on the road, and there were 27 marches. He reposed in the new palace and engaged in returning thanks to God. By his orders the *Daulatkhāna* (hall of audience) and some sacred buildings which had been injured by the fire had been rebuilt.

735 One grievous occurrence was the death of Sulṭān Rustum, the son of Prince Sulṭān Murād. The affectionate sovereign loved grand-children more than sons, and he (Rustum) was habituated to exalted love so that the counsels [3] of father or mother did not become the vesture of his heart. From the beginning of discretion he was indignant at anything improper and any excess of anger made him ill. Great endeavours were made to guard his soul, and the noble [4] lady of the auspicious family cherished him with much affection. Though his age was (only) nine years, three months and five days by the solar calendar, yet he possessed the wisdom of mature

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[1] Stein, J.A.S.B. 1896, p. 78.

[2] Faiẓī has 13 Rabī'-uṣ-ṣānī = 14 November.

[3] The word *dīd* here does not, I think, mean "beholding" but counsel or opinion as in p. 811, line 18. The meaning is that the boy was not influenced by his parents' counsels but by his grandfather's.

[4] Text, Mahīn Bānūī dūdmān-i-s'aādat. There is a word in the MSS. like Bīca or Pīca after s'aādat and they have not the word *bacand* as in text. A reference to Faiẓī Sirhindī, I.O. MS. 192, p. 215b, shows that the person meant is Jījī Anaga, mother of M. Koka. Rustum's mother was a daughter of M. Koka, and consequently Rustum was Jījī's great-grandson. Faizī Sirhindī says she brought him up. He says Rustum died on 29 Rabī'-uṣ-ṣānī = 29 November.

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men. The light of intelligence shone from his brow, and his behaviour showed nobility of nature. On the night of the 7th (Azar = November), after one watch, his stomach became disordered, and he grew delirious. On the 9th, at the third watch of Sunday, this nosegay of intelligence faded, and a world was plunged into sorrow.

Verse.

The worthless, love-severing world is for the base;
Yea, 'tis so that you may not cleave to it, or be oblivious.
Many musky tresses has it laid in the navel[1] of the dust;
Many rose-like (*gul*) faces has it veiled in clay (*gil*).

Small and great uttered cries of grief, and there was universal weeping. What can be written of the faithlessness of fortune, and the jugglery of the spheres? And why should anything be written? For this is to measure water in a sieve, and to catch wind in a net. In this sorrow the wisdom of great and small becomes foolishness. H.M. by the Divine strength hasted to the pleasant abode of resignation, and from abundant wisdom applied balm to the inner wounds. If Time were really in confusion, as some say, this great one would not have attained to the government of the world!

They say that Kai Khasrū out of grief for his son became recalcitrant to wisdom and fell into perturbation. One of the enthusiasts and free of heart had friendship with him and had always access to him. Every now and then he would come from the desert to the city and go to the king's private chamber. On this occasion he went according to his custom to his private chamber and opened his lips in order to strengthen him. Why, he asked, was the king disturbed, and his heart sorrowful. The king told of the death of the darling of his heart (lit. the corner of his liver). The other said, "Did[2] you not expect him to die?" The king replied, "How

[1] The conceit refers to musk being obtained from the deer's navel.

[2] The story is obscurely told, and the darvish seems to have been but a poor adept at consolation. I am indebted to Maulvi Abdul Haq Abīd for a translation of the passage. The point of the darvish's remark is, says the Maulvī, that whether a man live long or shortly, it is all the same seeing that he cannot carry away with him the fruition of his desires. I do not find any mention in Firdūsī of Kai Khusrū's son. He was succeeded by his son-in-law.

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can such a thought be regarded as wise? but I wished him to get some benefit from the world (to taste some of its pleasures)." The other said, "Did he take with him any of the benefits which he had received?" "No," replied the king. "Then," said the other, "Reckon that he got all that he desired seeing that he did not carry anything away with him."

Likewise Alexander the two-horned with all his insight and fortune became confused on the occurrence of a catastrophe of this kind. The tongue of comfort of his intimates became dumb. Aristotle, who knew the condition of the world, went into his private
736 chamber and said, "Do not think that I have come to console you. My sole idea was that at this time which is one of distress for the tranquil and the wise I might obtain a regulation about patience from you who are the assemblage of excellent qualities." He awoke on hearing this and had a meeting of instruction.

On 5 Bahman they let loose a *cīta* against a clever stag. The latter turned and so smote the cīta with his horns that he ran away. The spectators were astonished. Next morning a letter came from the Prince from the Deccan. Some elephants, swords, hawks and wrestlers were sent, and H.M. had some pleasure in their skill.

One of the occurrences was the death of the ruler of Tūrān, 'Abdullah K. He spent some portion of his life in doing justice, but on account of his worship of his son he could not put down his tyranny. The latter, from the idea that he was Regent, hunted the lives of many innocent people, and ruined families. Unmeasured kindness intoxicated that wicked one. He stretched out his arm against the lives, the property and the honour of men. The first duty of a ruler is to inquire from time to time into the characters of his sons, his relatives and his intimates,—for complaints against them are not soon preferred—and in the administration of justice, to make no difference between them and others. He must not slumber over his kingly duties. He ('Abdullah) from excess of affection could not give him paternal counsel, and after a long time he gave him the advices of a mother. Consequently that slumbrous-witted one increased his insolence. The old age of the ruler and the vogue of flatterers withheld him from acting rightly.[1] He regarded the remon-

[1] Probably A. F. was in this sentence referring to the father.

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strances of the right-thinking and honest-speaking—who were not afraid for themselves—as prompted by self-interest. At last he (the son) gradually conceived the thought of attempting his father's life. He lay in wait for an opportunity. One day he ('Abdullah) was enjoying the pleasure of hunting along with some friends. That wicked one quickly proceeded to execute his project (of killing his father). A good man gave information to the Khān, and he speedily came to Bokhara. The wretch was ashamed of his failure and set himself to invest the city. Honest servants and sincere friends soon gathered together, and the worthless fellow withdrew with failure. The Khān set out to punish him. The latter did not find himself able to resist and crossed the Āmū, and destroyed the boats. At this time Toqal[1] Qazzāq came out of the desert (dasht) and attacked. The Khān returned to oppose him, and the latter returned without having plundered Samarkand. 'Abdullah fell very ill in that city and Muḥammad Bāqī Beg and some double-faced intimates (of 'Abdullah) sent for that wicked one ('Abdu-l-Mūmīn). He came quickly from Balkh. When the Khān got a little better, he sent him a message to go back. He did not accept it, but came on slowly. Muḥammad Bāqī—who was the prime minister (*vakīl*)—invited the Khān to an entertainment, and in that house of hypocrisy he died on 14 Bahman, 24 January[2] 1598. Prob- 737
ably that ingrate administered poison in his food, and so garnered everlasting disgrace. In order to refresh the fountain of my words I here record his genealogy.

By sixteen generations he was descended—through Jūjī—from the great Qāān Cingīz K. 'Abdullah K. was the son of Sikandar K., s. Jānī Beg, s. Muḥammad Sulṭan, s. Abu-l-Khair K. s. J. Daulat Oghlān, s. Ibrahīm, s. Pulād, s. Sūrānca Sulṭān, s. Maḥmud Khwāja K., s. Qāan Bāī, s. Rābil Bāk, s. Mangu[3] Taimūr, s. Badaqul, s. Jūjī

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1 Text Noqal, but MSS. have Toqal, or Tawaqal. See also Vambéry, Hist. of Bokhāra, 298, where we have Tökel: see his note, *id.*

2 See Noel's Akbar, translation II. 340 note. Vambéry in his Hist. of Bokhara, p. 294, gives the date 2 Rajab 1006 and then puts in brackets (February 6, 1597), but 2 Rajab 1006 = 30 January, 1598. Faiẓī Sirhindī has 5 Rajab 1006 = 2 February, 1598, Elliot VI. 132.

3 Cf. S. Lane Poole's Muḥammadan Dynasties, table of the house of Jūjī. I have altered the spelling of the names in text in one or two places.

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Būqā, s. Shaiban, s. Jūjī, s. Cingīz K. Jūjī died before the Qāān (Cingīz), and no great sovereign sprang from him, though some were rulers of Dasht Qipcāq. Among these Abū-ul-Khair attained some distinction. Sulṭān Abū S'aīd M. with his help took, after a battle, Samarkand from M. 'Abdullah, s. of Ibrāhīm M., s. of the great ruler Shahrukh M. When he died, there was a great confusion in the Uzbeg tribe. After some time Shaibak K., s. Budāq K., s. Abu-l-khair, took shelter at the court of Sulṭān Aḥmad M., s. Sulṭān Abū S'aīd M., and was rescued from the hardship of fate.

When Sulṭān Abū S'aīd M. died, he raised up the head [1] of independence in Tūrān and after Sulṭān Ḥusain M.'s time Shaibak K. came to Khurāsan, and fought with his sons and took the country. Near Merv he fought with Shāh Ism'aīl Ṣafvī and was killed along with many others. The rule of Transoxiana then fell to Kotchkimji K., s. Abu-l-khair, who is also called Kocam K. When he died, his son Abū S'aīd K. succeeded him. After him came Ubayd-Ullah K., s. Maḥmūd K., s. Shāh Budāq, s. Abū-l-khair K., and Tūrān became somewhat civilised. He had two sons, 'Abdu-l-'azīz K., and Muḥammad Raḥīm Sulṭān. But the sovereignty went to Ubaid K., the son of Kocam K. Afterwards his brother 'Abdu-l-laṭīf mounted the throne. When he died,[2] Borak K., s. Soncak K., s. Abu-l-khair K., became ruler. He prevailed over Turkistan, Transoxiana, and some parts of Khurāsān. When his destiny was accomplished, there were provincial kings (Mulūk Ṭawāīf). Darvesh K. and Baba K., his
738 sons, ruled in Turkistān, and Burhān, grandson of 'Abdullah K., in Bokhārā. In Samarkand there was Sulṭān S'aīd K., s. Abū S'aīd K., s. Kocam K. In Balkh there was Pīr Muḥammad K., s. Jānī Beg K. 'Abdullah K. (his brother's son) was spending his days in his service. By skill and courage he prevailed over his kindred, and he said to Pīr Muḥammad K., "As there is no one in the tribe older than my father, it is fitting that in accordance with the ancestral laws, the proclamation and the coinage (*khuṭba-u-sikka*) should be in his name. Pīr Muḥammad was obliged to agree, and for a while the government was in his (Iskandar's) name while the real power was with

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[1] Text *sir-i-āmbāzī*, but the MSS. have *sir-i-be-ambāzī*.

[2] His real name was Nūrūz Aḥmad and Vambéry says he was a son of Mahmūd K. (the son of Yūnas).

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'Abdullah K. In the 27th Divine year Sikandar K. died and his son 'Abdullah K. had the proclamation and the coinage made in his own name. When he died, his son Abdul-Mūmīn succeeded him.

On the 28th Bahman the lunar weighment took place, and there was a great feast in the quarters of Miriam Makānī. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and various conditions of men obtained their desires.

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CHAPTER CXXXIV.

BEGINNING OF THE 43RD YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT, THE YEAR MIHR OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On the night of Saturday, 13 Shābān 1006, 11 March 1598, after 9 hours, 1 minute, and 37 seconds, the sun entered Aries, and the old world renewed its youth. The seventh year of the fourth cycle began. For 19 days there was great feasting, and small and great received the material of enjoyment.

(*Verse*).

Omitted.

On New Year's day the news of the death of the ruler of Tūrān arrived, and many rejoiced. H.M. was indignant[1] and said that such rejoicing spoke of shortness of vision. He ('Abdullah) always showed himself well-inclined, and never dropped from his hand the thread of management. Even if this had not been the case, rejoicing was unseemly. From the time that H.M. came to the Panjab, his idea was to make an expedition for the conquest of Tūrān. When the ruler of that country had the dexterity to adopt submissiveness, the sovereign who loved to respect honour withheld himself from that purpose. When the tyranny of his son exceeded
739 bounds, for some time the former idea revived, but out of regard to dignity he desired that the expedition should march under the command of the Prince-Royal. That pleasure-loving youth, on account of the foolishness of flatterers, could not wean his heart from India. When the news came of 'Abdullah K.'s death, some leaders were eager for an expedition to Tūrān, but H.M. said, "Now that Tūrān is a seat of turmoil, how does an expedition there agree with our

[1] Cf. the enigmatical remark at J. III. 387. Probably the meaning there is that Akbar would rather have 'Abdullah alive than see him succeeded by his brutal son 'Abdul Mūmīn. If therefore the darvish was one whose prayers were heard, his prayer for 'Abdullah's death would be injurious to Akbar.

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humanity? It is far better that an able ambassador should be sent to offer condolences, and to speak words of counsel. On the 5th Fort Rāhūtara,[1] a dependency of Daulatābād in the Deccan, was taken. M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Shāhī invested it and after a month the garrison capitulated from want of water,[2] and delivered up the keys. On the 7th Mukhtār Beg had an audience. He was the Bakhshī of the province of Bihar. When that appointment was given back to Ulugh Beg Kābūlī, he was called to court. On the 14th Mīr Sharīf Āmulī and M. Farīdūn arrived from their fiefs and performed the *kornish*. On the 25th Sālbāhan was sent to the Deccan. When it became known that Prince Sulṭān Murād regarded the winning of people's affections an easy matter, and went somewhat aside from propriety, and that the Khānkhānān, owing to the ill-success of his evil wishes, had gone back to his *jāgīr*, that conscientious servant was sent off to bring the Prince to court, in order that H.M. might send him back again with good counsels. Rūp Khwāṣ was appointed to rebuke the Khānkhānān and to make him return in order that he might take charge of the army and the country until the Prince arrived. On the 31st 'Ibād Ullah, the son of 'Ahdullah K., was released from prison. In the eastern districts he behaved rebelliously, and after that he was captured and placed in the school of the prison of Kālinjar. As Ḥusain, the governor thereof, reported his penitence he was pardoned and treated with favour. On the 10th Ardībihisht, Khwāja Āshraf and S. Ḥusain came from Tūrān and did homage. The ruler thereof was pleased by their coming and by reading the weighty letter of the Shāhinshāh, and regarded their advent as a mark of concord. He sent Mīr Qoresh with them with valuable presents. He ('Abdullah K.) had sent them back on 10 Amardād, 20 July 1597, of the previous year. On hearing of the misbehaviour of his son ('Abdu-l-Mūmīn) they had turned back in the middle of the road. On 29 Shahriyūr, 9 September 1597, they met in with the Khān ('Abdullah) in Qursī, and took leave to return via Herat and Qandahār. Near Herat they heard of his death. The ambassadors by celerity and courage reached Qandahār, but Mīr Qoresh was not

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1 Text Āhūbara, but the variant Rāhūtara is supported by I.O. 236, and by B. 482, and the Maaṣir U., III. 356.

2 Cf. B. 482, for remark of Maaṣir.

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able to accompany them. On 14 Ardībihisht Abū-l-Qāsim, the son of Mīr 'Ādil, and on the 15th Sher K., the son-in-law of the Khān Kilān, died. Their survivors had the balm of princely favours applied to their hearts. On the 27th Rai Patr Dās came to court
740 from Bāndhū, and was exalted by princely kindness. From the time that he took that fort, he strove to develop the country. When the territory was given to Prince Daniel, he returned and performed the prostration. On this day Zain K. Koka came to Āhanposh[1] and conquered Tīrāh once more. By skill and courage he punished the wicked, and established forts in several places and located soldiers. The Tārīkī tribe retired into the ravines and their leader crept off to Koh Safed. The roads became safe.

One of the occurrences was the increasing of the vision of the writer. His idea was that he held a choice abode in the pleasant land of "Peace with all" and that he would not become agitated by troubles. In his simplicity (*khāmkārī*, rawness) he gathered pleasure from time to time and the hand of favour was stretched over the head of zeal. By good fortune he was awakened by a heart-lacerating blow and took up anew the task of spiritual amendment. Inasmuch as the world's lord kept him much employed, he was unable to attend to other matters. On this account he was unable to perform fully the outward service of attending upon the Prince-Royal and awkward explanations were not successful. From not fully considering the matter he (Selim) became somewhat angry, and base and envious people had their opportunity. The anger of that hot-tempered one blazed forth, and meetings were held for troubling his heart. Many untrue reports were (sold) as truths.

Verse.

The painter is bold, for without fear of God
He limns Phoenix in full when he has never seen one.

Owing to the jugglery of the heavens the enlightened Shāhinshāh gave some heed (to these speeches). On 11 Khurdād, 21 May 1598, my soul was vexed by perceiving this and I withdrew my hand from everything and tucked my foot into my shirt. I shut my door in the face of both stranger and acquaintance. What the ancients

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[1] See *ante*, p. 703.

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used to say, viz. that "Service[1] quickly leads to high dignity, but owing to the triumph of envy even friends[2] rise up as antagonists" and what has not been said, becomes credited. Whenever he (Akbar) summoned me to court, and endeavoured to make me carry on my former duties I replied, "Since by the wondrous working of fortune, his (Akbar's) mystery-knowing heart has become somewhat loaded by the speeches of my old enemies, it is fitting that he leave me to myself, so that I may be lightened of the weight of life. If he[3] hold me captive, willing or unwilling, he will obtain (only) formal service. From the beginning of my years of discretion my mind was not turned to the world; it was princely kindness which bound me to it, whether I wished or not. If he look for the old zeal, let the lord of the world sit in judgment. Let him make a thorough inquiry so that my honesty may be made manifest, and the envious be put to shame. If he forget[4] the enmity of crowds of men and take not into account the old commotion and the new hostility, and base his inquiry upon witnesses, time servers[5] shall regard telling lies in order to injure me as Divine worship. The proper course is that like Siyāwash[6] I and my accuser[7] enter the furnace so that proof's countenance may shine forth. Enviers by profession and the fabricators of stories withdraw from this and set their hearts upon witnesses.[7] After this **741**

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1 *Girau-peristārī.* Perhaps it also means here "betting" or "gambling." B.M. 112, 1116 has *gird peristārī* "the following of service."

2 All the MSS. seem to insert *daulat* after *dostān* "friends of one's fortune."

3 Apparently this obscure sentence means that if Akbar keep him attached to the court, whether he will or no, he will get outward service, i.e. I will do my duty but there will be no spiritual zeal on my part.

4 The text is, "having swept from his mind," and evidently this does not mean to disregard or dismiss from one's mind in a good sense, but means if he forget or take not into account. The MSS. have conjunction after *rufta.*

5 *Nekwān-i-zamāna,* lit. "good men of the age," but here used ironically or as equivalent to the expression *zamānasāz,* i.e. a time-server or opportunist. Possibly A. F. wrote *nakūhān* "slanderers" though all the MSS. seem to have *nekwān.*

6 His story is told in the Shāhnāma. He is the Hippolytus of Persia, having been falsely accused by his step-mother Sūdāba. He was thrown into the fire, but escaped scatheless. He was the son of Kai Kaus.

7 *Badgohar* "wicked one," but I.O. MSS. have *badgo,* and so have B.M. MSS. 1116 and 27247.

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discussion, though H.M. came to understand somewhat their wickedness, yet my levity of mind (my folly) increased. Suddenly, the Divine aid cured my internal commotion. The idea was suggested to me (by the Divine influence, apparently): "If there is a place of repose for mortals, and you can always retire there, why are you so much troubled, and why do you cast away the thread of knowledge? The tongues of ill-wishers cannot be stopped. Do you take the right path so far as you know it. Your choice is to do God's work; what matters it about this man or that man." I came somewhat to myself, and intelligence returned. (But) because my eyes were not opened to my deliverance[1] and the farsightedness of the world's lord, feeling prevailed over wisdom, and sometimes I meditated my own destruction,[1] and sometimes I thought of becoming a vagabond. Suddenly[2] I passed to freedom and enlightenment; my condition changed unconsciously, and I reposed in calm. I said (to myself), "Do not suspect the farsighted sovereign of shortness of view. Your acuteness and steadiness have been impressed on his mind. Win over the hearts of ill-wishers. What are you thinking of that you should go headlong, and trouble yourself unnecessarily. Should you in a dream behold your sovereign and perceive him not to be vexed (with you), accept my (the internal monitor's) statement, and confess your own misunderstanding." The saying came true that very night, and my mental disturbance diminished. At this time I read in my horoscope: "In this year the world's lord became somewhat alienated owing to the false speeches of cotemporaries, but soon the veil over the face of affairs was removed." My distress entirely subsided, and when I read[3] that my sovereign was appreci-

[1] Text *rāstkārī*, "honesty," but I.O. MS. 236 has *rastkārī*, "deliverance," and this seems a much better reading. The text has *darbāzīde* "played with," or "staked" and so has the Newal Kishore edition. Probably this is the true reading.

[2] The sentence is obscure. Possibly the meaning is that A. F. referred the matter to some independent and enlightened soul, and that the result was the advice given in the text.

[3] Ordinarily the words would mean that Akbar sent for him, and perhaps this is the meaning here, but as apparently Akbar had done so before and A. F. did not go, I have thought that the meaning here is that A. F. saw from his dream that Akbar was favourably disposed towards him.

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ative, the image of my former desire was erased, I went to court and was cheered by various favours.[1]

Verse.

You heard how he urged on the steed of love's surcease
And how no dust of reproach rose from under the heel.

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[1] Presumably it was about this time that Prince Salīm showed to his father what he regarded as a proof of A. F.'s hypocrisy, viz. that he was employing forty clerks to make copies of the Qoran and a commentary thereon, while he was professing to Akbar to be a believer in the Divine Faith. See the Māaṣīr II. 610. The same authority says that the courtiers induced Akbar to send A. F. to the Deccan in order that they might get him away from the emperor. The Iqbālnāma says the same thing, and A. F. mentions, infra p. 749, top line, that his enemies procured that he should be sent to the Deccan to bring away Prince Murād. The Iqbālnāma version of A. F.'s disgrace seems to be different from that in the Māaṣīr. The latter seems to say that A. F.'s offence, as revealed by Salīm, was his privately reverencing the Qoran while to Akbar he professed to be a follower of the Divine Faith. What the Iqbālnāma says (under the 43rd year) is that Akbar was displeased on account of A. F.'s having made numerous copies of his father's commentary and sent them to foreign potentates. Akbar had been displeased with Mubārik for writing the commentary without reference to him, or perhaps for not dedicating it to him, and he was again displeased when A. F. sent out copies without permission. Cf. the Darbārī Akbarī, p. 471. If what Badayūnī says be true, B. XI. and Badayūnī III. 74, viz. that the preface to the commentary contained a claim by Mubārik to be the reformer of the Age, Akbar would naturally be displeased at the circulation of the work. The Iqbālnāma says that A. F. was guilty of many acts of presumption against the Prince and that Akbar excluded A. F. from the *kornish* for some days. It adds that Akbar finally had compassion on one whom he had himself cherished, and restored him to his old position of boundless favour.

Apparently A. F. resolved to take an omen, i.e. he said to himself that if he saw Akbar's countenance in a dream and perceived him to be well-inclined towards him he would be satisfied. The word *namūdār* in the text, p. 741, l. 11, has the technical sense of "the scheme of a horoscope." It occurs also at p. 114, line 9, where A. F. describes another dream that he had. See also II. 297 where the word *namūdār* is used with reference to a religious exercise undertaken by his father Mubārik in order to ascertain the future.

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On the 17th Rai Patr Dās was made Dīwān. An order was given that as in the case of Moẓaffar K. and Rajah Todar Mal, he and Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn should help one another in carrying on the work. In a short time the affairs of the Panjāb were left to the Khwāja. Apparently interested motives prevailed and prevented the sovereign from looking closely into the matter. On the 27th Kaliyār[1] Bahādur did homage, and was exalted by royal favours, and received the title of Bahādur K. He was one of the army-leaders of Tūrān. 'Abdullah K. gave Herāt to him. When 'Abdullah K. died, and the old servants became dispersed on account of
742 his son's improper conduct, Kaliyār quickly came to Qandahār, and from there to court, and obtained his heart's desire. On 1 Tīr, Ḥasan K.—who was an old servant—died of illness, and Khwājagī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, the grandson of Khwāja 'Abdullah Marwārīd—who was for some time Ṣadr—died in Delhi. H.M.'s kindness took care of the survivors. On the 5th Jagat Singh, Ḥāshim Beg, and other soldiers from the northern mountains, obtained audiences, and were rewarded for their good service. They brought Malūk Cand, the Rajah of Nagarkot, to court, and he was exalted by gifts and forgiveness.

One of the occurrences was a fresh proof of H.M.'s knowledge of mysteries. During the lifetime of 'Abdullah K., the ruler of Tūrān, when news came of his son's indecent conduct, H.M. said: "If he does not refrain from evil deeds, he will not have any share of youth or of dominion, but will soon go down into the pit of annihilation." When he took to troubling his father, H.M. said, "It is strange that his death is being delayed." At this time that man of crooked ways did die, and heaped up everlasting disgust (for himself). When 'Abdullah K. died, Usbeg K., his cousin, invested Samarkand, and Muḥammad Bāqī defended it. He failed and returned to Akhsī. Tawakal came to besiege Bokhāra, and he, on hearing of the coming of 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn, retired without effecting his purpose. The garrison came out and fought and he was wounded and went off, and died of the wound. Ten days afterwards 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn came with

[1] There is a variant and from the MSS. it would appear that the name is Kulbād Bahādur. Kulbād is a Turanian hero mentioned in the Shāhnāma.

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a large force and sate on the throne in Samarkand, and made Muḥammad Bāqī his *Vakīl*. Qul Bābā, who was his father's *Vakīl*, and whom the son disliked for his honest speech, was seized by his faithless servants and brought from Herat. In consequence of an old grudge he put him to death. He also sent after him (i.e. killed) those who had brought him. Many lost their lives in these disturbances. From there he went to Tāshkend, and put to death Dastam[1] Sulṭān his own uncle with his two sons, who had long been living in retirement. Then he invested Akhsī in order to attack Uzbeg Sulṭān. After three days the latter died of illness. Then he returned to Samarkand and Bokhāra. On account of the heat he marched at night. Some lay in wait for him, and on the 9th (Tīr = 19 June, 1598) they shot him with arrows near Ẕāmin, and Transoxiana became subject to provincial rulers. On the 10th Āṣaf K. arrived. When H.M. was somewhat satisfied about the administration of Kashmīr he summoned him to come post. In three days he traversed hills and plains, and arrived at court, and was received with royal favour. On the 24th Bhāwal[2] Anaga died. She was the daughter of Rai Jogā Parhār. In the time of Firdus Makāni 743
(Bābur) her father sent her to serve Jinnat Ashiyānī when he was in the eastern districts. Her form and manners were approved, and for some time she was exalted by being in the harem. When

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[1] Faiẓī Sirhindī has Dostam and speaks of three sons.

[2] See translation I, p. 130, and Errata and Addenda, p. vi. Here A. F. says that she was the first to suckle Akbar, though at p. 130 he makes her third. Cf. Darbārī Akbarī 749. Bhawāl's husband is there called Jalāl Koka, but Goīnda seems to be the correct title. It is also said there that it was Bābur who sent her to Humāyūn, but it now seems to me that it was her own father who sent her. Would it not be *firistadand* if Bābur were meant, and why should it be said that she was sent in the time of Bābur if it was Bābur himself who sent her. Parihār is a Rājput caste. Tod has given an account of them, and states that they belong to the Agnicula section and that they are scattered over Rajasthan. He calls them Pritihara or Purihara. Their capital was at Mandawar, 5 m. N. Jodhpūr. Perhaps Bhāwal means Bhāwal in the Dacca district, and means that she lived there, or that she was sent to Humāyūn when he was in that neighbourhood. But most probably, the name is Bahāwal, a contraction for Baha Ullah, the value, or the gift of God.

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Miriam-Makāni was married (to Humāyūn) she was united to Jalāl Goīnda (singer or reciter). She was the first to give milk to the world's lord. She spent her life in propriety. H.M. was grieved at her departure, and begged forgiveness for her from God. On the 32nd Jagannāth did homage. He took leave from Prince Sulṭān Murād and went to his own home, and came to court without orders. For some time he was not admitted to an audience. On this day compassion was taken on his simplicity and he was received with favour. In this year Pattan of the Deccan was taken. It is an ancient city on the banks of the Godavery. M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī took it. The enemy fought and then fled. At this time great favour was shown to the cultivators in Afghanistan. On 25 Amardād ⅛th of the rental of Kabul and its dependencies was remitted for eight years, and many men rejoiced. On 31st M. Kaiqubād had a son. He was the elder son of M. Ḥakīm. H.M. married him to the daughter of 'Āqil Ḥusain M., the brother of Muḥammad Ḥusain M. At this time she brought forth a son. H.M. had a feast of joy, and gave him the name of Hormuz. On 1 Shahrīyūr Āṣaf K. returned to Kashmīr, after receiving many instructions. On the 9th Maulānā[1] Shāh Muḥammad of Shahābād died. He possessed a knowledge of rational and traditional sciences. He obtained his heart's desire by becoming a disciple[2] of H.M. On the 18th Sarmast, the son of Dastam K. died. He passed away in his youth from drinking. On the 31st Sher Beg Yasawālbāshī was sent to Bengal in order to get information about that country. He was also to

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[1] See B. 106 and 209. He appears to have translated the Rajah Taranginī from Sanskrit into Persian, and Badayūnī was employed to revise it. Lowe, 386. See also Rieu, Cat. I. 296. The text has some words to indicate what disease Shāh Muḥammad died of. But unfortunately I do not understand them nor does the variant, nor the readings in the MSS. clear up the difficulty. The text has بعدم فلونے *bā'adam falūnī*? and the variant is falaghmūnī. I think that *'ādam* should be *warm* as in an I.O. MS. and that the second word should be balgham or balghamīya and that the disease meant is what the dictionaries call morbus phlegmaticus, or in Arabic امراض بلغمي Meninski says *warm* baghalmak means phthisis. The Newal Kishore ed. has a useful note explaining that the disease is zahrbād i.e. quinsey. The word *falaghmūnō* is evidently the Greek word phlegmonē meaning inflammation under the skin.

[2] Cf. B. 208, 209 and Badayūnī, Lowe, 386.

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choose some of the choice elephants of the officers as presents. In this year and month the folly of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. of Qandahār was again pardoned. As improper Turks opened the hand of oppression it was arranged that he should have a money-allowance instead of administrative power, and his fiefs were made crown-lands. He took leave to go to Mecca and went off. At the first stage he got bewildered by the hardships and his own feebleness, and was ashamed of his volatility. H.M. recognised his rank and recalled him. On 1 Mihr he was exalted by doing homage. On the 11th the fort of Pūnā [1] was taken. It is one of the famous forts of Berār, and is situated on a hill. It has a river on three sides which is never fordable. Bahādur-al-Mulk and some brave men surrounded it. Naṣīb-al-Mulk was aroused by want of food and surrendered the keys 744
and submitted. On the 26th October 1598, Khwāja [2] Ashraf died. He was the son of Khwāja 'Abdu-l-bārī, and by the interval of two generations he is the son of Khwāja Aḥrār. After delivering [2] the message from Tūrān he fell ill, and died. On the 29th Sālbahān and Rūp had the honour of an audience. Prince Sulṭān Murād designed to come to court when he was summoned, but the leaders did not abandon their interested views and petitioned to the effect that the departure of the prince would cause confusion. After this, whatever order was issued would be obeyed, and the Khān-khānān represented that he would return and that the Prince would come. H.M. did not approve and was displeased. On the 30th the solar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. The world rejoiced, and the empty-handed had happy times. On this day Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram came from Agra, and was exalted by favours. In this year and month Partāb Singh, the son of Rajah Bhagwant Dās, became mad and tried to kill himself. He put a dagger to his throat, and his condition became critical. By H.M.'s orders skilful men served up the wound and he recovered.

One of the occurrences was the taking of the fort of Gāwāl. There is not a stronger fort in Berār. It has abundance of good

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1 Panār of the Āīn, J. II. 229 and 233.

2 B. 512. He returned from Turān in April 1598: see p. 739. Probably the meaning is that he was Khwāja Aḥrār's great grandson. Khwāja Aḥrār died in February 1490.

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water and inside are the quarters of the governor. From the time that this country had been added to the empire, it had not been taken owing to the perversity of the generals. At this time Mīr Martaẓā [1] took upon himself to take it by craft. He made his quarters in the neighbourhood, and assumed some of the majesty of eternal dominion. Owing to scarcity of food, his pleasing speeches were accepted, and on the 9th Ābār Wajāu-d-dīn and Biswās Rai delivered up the keys. They received dignities, fiefs and presents and entered on service. On the 10th, near Pathrī, 35 wild female elephants appeared. Sher Khwāja assembled soldiers and captured them all. The strange thing was that their ordinary feeding grounds were 150 *kos* away. On 11th Ajmere was given in fief to Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, and he went off to it. On the 12th the Khān-khanān came to court and was exalted by doing homage. The gracious sovereign forgave his crooked ways and summoned him to his presence. Perhaps counsels might make him straight. Next day Qulīj K. had the bliss of doing homage. He had been somewhat displeased while serving Sulṭān Daniel and had left him. From a desire of justice he was admitted to an audience.

745 One of the occurrences was the arrival of the Persian ambassadors. It was [2] reported that when Ẕīya-al-Mulk, and Abū Nāṣir arrived there, Shāh 'Abbās behaved like a dutiful child and made the Shāhinshāh's slipper—which the ambassadors had with them—the diadem of good fortune. He accepted the regulations (*dastūrnāma*) of the world's commander and gathered bliss by acting in accordance therewith. He sent Minūcihr [3] Beg, who was one of his special servants, with a submissive letter, and despatched choice presents. On the 23rd he had the bliss of an audience, and was exalted by princely favours.

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[1] B. 449.

[2] *Guẕārada āmid.* This expression would seem to imply that A. F. had already mentioned this circumstance but the passage does not occur in the text. The statement about Akbar's slipper seems extraordinary. Perhaps it is metaphorical. Perhaps *guẕārada āmid* only means that it was now reported (by those who came with Minucar) what 'Abbās had done. The letter which Shāh 'Abbās sent with Minuchr appears in I.O. MS. 2067, old No. 379, p. 41. It is very long, very obscure, and uninteresting.

[3] We learn from Du Jarric, p. 77, that he was a Georgian Christian, and that the Jesuits baptised his children.

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There were 101 choice 'Irāq horses, and among them was a horse which was five years old and had come from the sea of Gīlān (the Caspian). It had only two or three hairs on the mane and tail. It was very choice, and its performances were unrivalled, but it died on the way. There were choice mares (*qisrāq*), one of which was valued at 5,000 rupīs. There were 300 pieces of brocade—all woven by the hands of noted weavers—and fifty masterpieces of Ghīāṣ[1] Naqshband, and wonderful carpets, which cost in Persia 300 *tumāns* a pair; also choice coverlets (*takyanamad*), splendid *pāīncas*, also, turkish pavilions, embroidered mattresses, various seeds, and 9 goats (Murgaz) whose fleeces yield wool (*ṣūf*) and silk (*khārā*), as well as other rarities, and 500 Turkamans in rich dresses. There were also numerous 'Irāqī horses in the caravan.

On this day the Prince-Royal introduced Rajah Bāsu, and his wavering was pardoned.

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[1] B. 88.

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CHAPTER CXXXV.

Expedition for the taking of Aḥmadnagar.

The intention of the Shāhinshāh was to send the victorious troops under the command of the Prince-Royal to Tūrān, and to include that ancestral territory within the empire. As that nursling[1] of dominion, owing to the intrigues of some worshippers of India, did not give his mind to this enterprise, H.M.'s idea was that when his other sons should come to do homage, he would send whichever of them showed an inclination for the task. At this time foolish and envious talkers represented that Prince Sulṭān Murād had no intention of coming to court, and they quoted the unbecoming speeches of this and that person. They also pointed out improper behaviour on the part of Prince Daniel, who had already hastened off from Allahabad. H.M. resolved on making an expedition to the south by the route of Agra. If the reports were true, he would first give his mind to remedying matters there, and afterwards would conquer the Deccan, for the troops had long gone there, and the work had been protracted on account of interested motives. Afterwards, if fortune favoured him, he would make an expedition to Tūrān. As it was the
746 fourteenth year since his advent to the Panjab, and numbers of men had become attached to the place, they did not approve of this expedition (to the Deccan). While they made the disturbance of the homeless Tārīkīs a pretext for abstaining from it, and sometimes they brought forward the commotion of the rebels in the northern hills. From the activity of the market of dissimulation, there was some delay, but as Almighty God did not permit what was proper for eternal dominion's being passed over, H.M.'s first design grew stronger, and on 26 Ābān (about 6 November, 1598), after one hour twelve minutes of the night of Thursday, he set off on an elephant,

[1] Cf. Jahāngīr's remarks, Price's Jahāngīr, p. 31, where he says that he derived from his father his inclination to make an expedition to Samarkand.

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Miriam-Makānī, and the other Begams, and Sulṭān Khurram, were left in Lahore. Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn was appointed to look after the court and the province. Mīr Murād was Mīr Bakhshī, and Malik Khair Ullah was appointed to be Kotwāl. On the 30th, Abu-l-qāsim Tamkīn[1] arrived from Kashmīr at the first stage, and had the honour of an audience. On 13 Āzar H.M. crossed the river Bīāh (Beas) on an elephant at Gobindwāl, while the troops crossed by a bridge. On this day the house of Arjun Kūr (Kūrū) received fresh lustre by the advent of the Shāhinshāh. His forefathers had been, one after the other, the leaders of the Brahman caste. He entreated much, and, as his desire sprang from devotion, it was gratified. At this time the fort of Melgarha[2] in Berār was taken. Mas'aūd K. Ḥābshī held it. He also took Sika[3] (?) Jalgāon by craft. First he sent his family inside, and by that pretence conveyed some people thither, and so prevailed over it. Prince Sulṭān Murād sent Sundar Dās with some men. He invested it. On the 19th the garrison capitulated, and delivered up the keys. In this year Walī[4] Beg, the son of Payinda K., came from Bengal, and was exalted by doing homage. Part of his *peshkash* (offering) was twenty-two choice elephants.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Narnāla.[5] Hamān,[6] a native of Zanzibar, held it. He did not accept the persuasions of the enlightened. By the exertions of Rai Gopāl, Dangar[7] K. Gond took the side of concord, and some members of the families of the garrison, who had come out, were seized. He became helpless and made his submission. When the prince came out to see the spectacle of Gārwīl, he passed by that fort (Narnāla), and the governor came out and paid his respects. On the 20th he made it over to the imperial servants. It has few equals for height, strength, capacious-

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1 Should be Namakīn: see B. 470.

2 Sīlgarha in text, but Melgarha in MSS. See J. II. 229 and 234.

3 There is a doubtful word here. Jalgaon appears to be the place in Sarkār Narnālah in Berar mentioned at J. II. 234. For "and Sika" the text has "Wasika." There is also a variant.

4 B. 518.

5 Parnāla in text. It is the Narnāla of J. II. 229 and 234.

6 Or Samān. *Zangī nizād*, a negro.

7 Dongar means a forest: see B. 494 2. 1. Dongar K. is mentioned at J. II. 229.

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ness and quantity of buildings. The Prince went to the top of it, and from there returned to Shāhpūr. On this day the fort of Mānpūr was taken. Mīrzā K. (the Khān-khānān) had invested it for some time, but as he made no special efforts, the Prince recalled him, and sent Nazar K. with some men. Zangū Nānū, Haibat Rāo, 'Alī K., Garz Rai and others, several times came out and fought, **747** but from want of provisions they capitulated.

On the 21st H.M. crossed the Sutlej at Lūdhīāna on an elephant, and the troops crossed by a bridge. Next day M. Shāhrukh did homage. An order had been sent, summoning him, and on 1 Shāhrīyūr he took leave from Prince Sulṭān Murād. On the 26th H.M. halted at Sirhind. Abū S'aīd the collector there had long since built[1] some houses there. He begged for H.M.'s visit, and he accepted and came there at the close of the day. When it became known that he had built them with oppression, H.M. did not remain there long, and though his tents had not been set up, and the night was dark, he went off, and reposed in the fields.[2] Next morning he visited the delightful gardens, and practised both pleasure and piety (*'īshrat-u-'ibādat*). On this day Calabī[3] Beg paid his respects, and was favourably received. His ancestors were the chief men of Tabrīz. In early youth he devoted himself to learning. In Qazwīn he studied with Khwāja Afẓal Turk, who was the unique of the age for intellect—in Shīrāz he studied with M. Jān, who had few equals in philosophy, and acquired much knowledge. When his abilities and his princely lineage were made known to H.M., an order was sent for him to come, together with many presents. He obtained his desires at this seat of dominion, but afterwards old age and love for his home took him back again.

One of the occurrences was the remitting of [the increase of] the ten to twelve to the Panjab. When Lahore was for some time the seat of government, the imperial officers increased the government share[4] in the proportion of ten to twelve on account of

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[1] The Iqbālnāma says the houses were built under Akbar's orders, and the labourers complained that they had not been paid, etc.

[2] Faiẓī Sirhindī tells the story with a little more detail.

[3] The Iqbālnāma seems to call him Jagatī Beg. The text has Calpī. A letter of Akbar's sending for him to his court is the last letter of the first book of the Inshā.

[4] The MS., lithographed and

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the high prices. When it appeared that by the departure of the auspicious standards, prices returned to their former level, the just sovereign remitted the increase, and small and great were much relieved. On 4 Dai Ḥaidarī the son of the Khān-khānān[1] was burnt. He fell asleep in the serai after drinking, a fire arose and on account of insensibility he could not get out. On the 5th, M. Moẓaffar[2] Ḥusain (Akbar's son-in-law) came from Qanauj and obtained his wish by doing homage. As it appeared that from drinking he did not follow the path of justice, he was summoned to the presence to be warned. On the 7th Māh Bānū the sister of the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka died. She was wife of the Khān-khānān, and was distinguished for intellect and purity. Her illness increased in Ambāla, and she was left behind there. The two officers took leave for some days, and in that month and year she died. H.M. was grieved, and interceded for her pardon. On the 8th Rustum M. was wounded while hunting. The hawk[3] belonging to the son of Rai Sāl sate on a tree. The Mīrzā's companions seized it and some Rajputs fought. The Mīrzā went there to quiet matters. Suddenly he was struck on the arm with a sword. He had the 748
intelligence to send the misconducted ones to Rai Sāl. The far-seeing sovereign praised him for his endurance and humanity. On the 19th Abū-l-Qāsim Namakīn received Bhakkar[4] in fief, and was

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printed copies of the Akbarnāma have *dah-doazdah*. In the Board of Examiner's MS. copy, the word *sāla* appears to have been interpolated between *dah-doazdah*, and the following word *Panjab*, but it makes no sense. The original tax was increased by two, i.e. from ten to twelve, which means that the increase was by two-ten, i.e. $\frac{1}{5}$ or 20%. (*Note by Phil. Secretary*).

[1] There is the variant Khān Jahān. Haidarī is not mentioned by Blochmann as one of K. K.'s sons, nor does the Maaṣir Umarā name him. But see Darbārī A., pp. 620 and 645.

[2] This Moẓaffar Ḥusain is called Khwesh in the text to distinguish him from Moẓaffar Ḥusain Ṣafavī. The Moẓaffar Ḥ. of the text was a Timuride and his mother was Gulrukh Begam d. M. Kāmrān. Akbar gave him his eldest daughter Sultan Khānam in marriage.

[3] *Bāsha*. The text prints the word without any *'iẓāfat* as if bāsha was the name of Rai Sāl Darbārī's son. But I think it must here mean a hawk. See the Maaṣir III. 440. where the story is told, and where *bāsha* is printed with an *'iẓāfat*.

[4] Text wrongly has Bihār. See MSS., and B. 471.

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sent off to guard it. On this day S. Sulṭān[1] was hanged. He was one of the learned. The desire of a collectorship made him mad. Thāneswar, which was his home, was made over to him. Owing to the intoxication of the world, he renewed his old grudges and set himself to hurt the good. When H.M. came there, the circumstance was mentioned, and some of his tyranny was proved. He obtained the punishment of his deeds. On the 19th H.M. encamped at Delhi. Next day the desire[2] of S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī was granted. There was an offering of *péshkash* and scattering of money. Some of them were accepted (by H.M.). From thence he went by boat to the tomb of Jannat (Humāyūn) Āshiyānī, and paid the tribute of respect to the jewel of greatness. At this time the government of Delhi was made over to Mīr 'Abdu-l-Wahhāb Bokhārī. As it appeared that Shāham K. had made over the city to some avaricious people, and lived himself at his ease, while the weak were subjected to injustice, he was removed and censured. The Saiyid[3] was brought out from retirement and appointed to this service, and raised to the rank of 500.

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[1] B. 104. The Iqbālnāma calls him a *krorī*, and says the ryots petitioned against him. Badayūnī also says he was a *krorī*. He spent four years in translating the Mahābhārat.

[2] Apparently he was admitted to an interview. He is the Murtaẓa K. of Jahangir's Memoirs.

[3] 'Abdu-l-Wahhāb. He was a learned man, B. 546. Jahangir removed him on account of the misconduct of his subordinates. Tūzuk J. 35, p. 75 of translation. For Shāham K. (Jalāīr) see B. 410.

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CHAPTER CXXXVI.

AGRA, THE CAPITAL, RECEIVES GLORY BY THE COMING OF THE SHĀHINSHĀH.

H.M. marched and administered justice for two months, twenty-one days. From every place he received new grandeur. Three days he halted in order to give men repose. Crowds of men obtained varied joys, and gifts were showered. The appreciative sovereign won the heart of every one by special consideration. He alighted in the august fortress. Everywhere there was feasting and banqueting.

Verse.

See how the victorious standards arrive.
The news of victory and joy have reached the sun and moon.
The sphere-circle rejoices for the moon has come.
The world has got its desire now that the Shāh has come.

His intention[1] was not to enter the city but to proceed on southwards. But as his heart was uneasy on account of the delay in the arrival of the princes, and as praters continually wove new tales, he drew his rein and stopped to reflect. Fresh summons were issued to the princes. Inasmuch as the writer of the noble volume always held to his own opinion without respect of persons, and represented in an eloquent manner what was good for the State, those 749
who sought for an opportunity and were crooked in their ways represented their own interested views. In consequence of their intrigues I was sent off on the 25th[2] (Dai, about 5th January, 1599) to bring Prince Sulṭān Murād. An order was given that if the officers of the Deccan should take upon themselves the supervision of the country, I was to come to court with the Prince. Otherwise I was to send him off and to work in harmony with the others, and to act

[1] Cf. translation in Elliot VI. 96.

[2] In the Āīn J. II. 191, A. F. speaks of being at Ujjain on his way to the Deccan on 23rd Farwardīn of the 43rd year, being a week after the Sipra had flowed with milk. I think this must be a mistake for the 44th year.

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according to the opinion of M. Shāhrukh. On this account the Mīrzā received a flag and a drum and was sent to Mālwa in order that in his own fiefs he might equip the soldiers. When he was recalled to the Deccan he was to go quickly. On this day M. Rustum received Raisīn and its territory in fief and was sent off there. Shāhbāz K. was sent to Ajmere in order that he might chastise the Rānā's officers. Every one of the servants got a choice horse and a special *khil'at*. The writer of the noble volume received in addition a warlike (*mast*) elephant. On the 28th the ambassador of Kashghar arrived. The sovereign (Akbar) had sent skilful men with some presents, but on account of the insecurity of the roads they could not proceed. Muḥammad K. on hearing of this became (lit. grew big) exultant and remembered to return thanks. He sent off Mīr Imām to the court with presents, but on the way he was plundered. He arrived with the letter and was favourably received. On the day S'aīd K. arrived from Behar and did homage. On 1st Isfandārmaz[1] the fort of Lohagarha belonging to Daulatābād was taken. M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī invested it for about a month, and the garrison being in want of food and water, capitulated and delivered up the keys. On the 3rd Mīr 'Ātrif Ardibilī died in Agra. They said he was the son of Sām M. Ṣafavī. He was an ascetic and a solitary. Wonderful tales are told of him. On the 11th the quarters of M. Koka were glorified (by Akbar's arrival), and H.M., by sympathetic words, soothed his mother who was in grief for Māh Bānū and was nearly dying. She had been detained for a while at the place where her daughter died, and now arrived. By the life-giving medicine of kindness she obtained existence.

At this time the Persian ambassador arrived. When the ruler of Tūrān died, Shāh 'Abbās conceived the idea of making an expedition to Khurāsān. He defeated Atam[2] Sulṭān, a relation of 'Abdullah K., in a great battle and took that country. M. 'Alī Beg Yūzbāshī was sent by him to court with a humble letter and some choice horses and other presents. He regarded this victory as the result of the amity of H.M., and recited his thanks. On the 25th he was exalted by performing the prostration, and was gratified by princely favours.

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[1] Cf. translation in Elliot VI. 97. [2] Or Tatam Sulṭān.

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CHAPTER CXXXVII.

Beginning of the 44th Divine Year from the Accession, viz. the Year Ābān of the 4th cycle.

On Sunday, 23rd Shābān 1007, 11th March, 1599, after the passing of 3 hours, 13 minutes, the world-lighting sun cast his rays on Aries. Now, Divine bounty took possession of the old world, and the withered-up earth assumed a new countenance. H.M. adorned the throne with thanksgiving, and sate on the summit of justice and liberality.

Verse.

The old world became young again.
It assumed violet tresses and tulip-cheek.
The ground seemed from the abundance of flowers and verdure
Such that it might be called a sky full of stars.

There was joy upon joy till the day of the culmination (*sharaf*). The hearts of high and low expanded. On the New Year's day Prince Sulṭān Daniel had an audience, and glorified his brow by performing the prostration. He civilised the province of Allahabad by justice and activity, and in accordance with the Shāhinshāh's orders he abandoned drinking, in which he had exceeded. When Fort Bāndhū had been assigned to that nursling of fortune, and he had gone there to see it, and had come from there to Hājīpūr, Dalpat Ujjainiya—who had become rebellious on account of the strength of his place and of his abundant equipment—came forward and paid his respects to him. He presented choice elephants. Then out of smallness of wisdom he took the resolution to fly, but was arrested and brought to court. After this landowner had been put straight, he (Daniel) went on some way to hunt and to put down the rebels. When he heard of the stories fabricated by interested persons, he left off everything and returned and came to court. On 27th Isfandārmaẓ he sent a petition from the other side of the Jumna and did not obtain leave to have an audience. On the beginning of the august

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feast he was summoned and treated with favour. Among the choice presents were 206 noted elephants, nine of which obtained the special rank. H.M. was delighted to see his son and the praters and strife-mongers withdrew their heads into the pocket of shame. Kīcak Khwājah, Iftikhār Beg, Ḥasan Qulī, Walī Beg, and many companions, performed the *kornish*. On this day Lāla, the son of Rajah Bīrbar, came from Bengal. He had been sent to advise some officers and to bring elephants if he found any remarkable ones. He presented 16 choice elephants. On the 6th Rām Singh, the son of Madhkar, glorified his brow by doing homage. He had long been uproarious, but on the arrival of the august standards he awoke and took the path of service, and was treated with favour. On the
751 11th Āṣaf K. was exalted by performing the prostration. In compliance with the august orders he arrived within eight[1] days from Kashmīr and was exalted by princely favours. On this day Rajah Rāj Singh had an audience. He was in the Deccan army. He was sent for, and he obeyed. Also Catar Bhūj obtained this favour. His father Jagman was one of the proprietors of Mālwa. When he died, Catar Bhūj applied to the court and obtained the rajahship in his room.

At this time Kherlah[2] was taken. It is one of the renowned forts of Berār, and is on the border between it and Gondwāna. Prince Sulṭān Murād sent some people under the charge of S. Ibrāhīm, and it was invested. There were great fights. When provisions became somewhat scarce, Saiyid Ḥusain, Biswās Rai, and others of the garrison, awoke from the slumber of presumptuousness. On the 13th (Farwardīn) they capitulated and surrendered the keys. In return they received dignities and estates. On the 14th Samānjī K., Mīr Sharīf Āmulī, and 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, came from their fiefs. On the 19th Jagat Singh came to court from Nāgor, and was received with favour. On the 23rd Qāsim Beg Tabrīzī died. He had undergone great sufferings in spiritual contemplation, and many delightful Ṣūfic expressions

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[1] The text has twenty, but the variant eight is supported by the I.O. MS. 236 and the Iqbālnāma and is no doubt right. Āṣaf K. seems to have been famed for his rapid travelling and twice came from Cashmere to Lahore in three days.

[2] J. II. 229. Cf. translation in Elliot VI. 97.

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fell from his lips. On the 25th the Badakhshān ambassador arrived. When Transoxiana became held by provincial kings, a base fellow of that hill country gave out that he was Muḥammad Zamān, a son of M. Shāhrukh, while another called himself Humāyūn, the son of M. Sulaimān. They interviewed one another and divided the territory. The first sent a supplicatory letter to court by Nʿiamat Ullah. He struck Shahinshāh coins from Kabul[1] gold and sent them with some horses as a present. He explained how he had escaped from the tumult in Kabul and expressed his ashamedness for the catastrophe of Qāsim K. Though many did not believe him and regarded him as an impostor, he was received with favours. On 8th Ardībihisht Nūrāī (?) Aḥadī was executed. He drank wine with an Armenian[2] (?) in the portico of Sharīf. They quarrelled and he went to his house and killed him. He met with his deserts.

One of the occurrences was the taking of Nāsik, which belongs to Aḥmadnagar. Two months previously Prince Sulṭān Murād appointed Baharjeo and some Khāndesh soldiers to that quarter. Azmat K. was appointed the Amīn of the force. He knit together the hearts of the leaders. There were great combats and on the 10th the troops prevailed. On the 11th the writer arrived near Burhānpūr. Bahādur K., the ruler of Khāndesh, received him four *kos* from **752**
Āsīr.[3] He received as a servant the holy *firmān* and the *khilʿat*, and performed the prostration. Though he showed a desire that I should stay some days with him I did not agree. Next day I left Burhānpūr and halted after crossing the Taptī.[4] At the end of the day it blew hard, and there was much rain. Next day I was compelled to halt. Bahādur K. came and spent the day with me. When I[5] had spoken many bitter-seeming but sweetly intended words of guidance about the Deccan expedition, he from self-indulgence proceeded to offer excuses (for not personally taking part in it), and sent off Kabīr K., his son, with 2,000 horse. He wished to take me to his house, and to show me hospitality. I replied that I

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[1] Text *Kāmil*. But the variant Kābul is supported by MSS.

[2] So the variant. Possibly however the name is Sharīf Armanī. Or *Sharif* may here mean the royal portico.

[3] J. II. 223.

[4] The variant is supported by the MSS. See J. II. 223.

[5] Though I have used the first person, the text uses the third.

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would accept it if he accompanied me. When he saw that this avenue was closed, he sent me some presents. I represented that I had made a vow to God that I would not take anything from any one unless four conditions were fulfilled: "1st, Friendship; 2nd, That I should not over-value the gift; 3rd, That I should not have been anxious to get a present; 4th, That I should be in need of it. I grant that three conditions have been fulfilled. But how can we get over the fourth? The Shāhinshāh's kindness has erased the figure of wish. In[1] the market of enlightened action, silver and gold have become a burden." He was astonished at the nobleness of the language.

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[1] The sentence is very obscure, but I think the meaning must be that money is an impediment to good service. B. in his life of A. F. has translated part of the passage. The text has *bār dar bar*, but the MSS. have bazārdar and this seems correct. The reading in text may mean, silver and gold have frequently detracted from good service.

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CHAPTER CXXXVIII.

Death of Sulṭān Murād.

It is a thousand pities that the wine of this tavern contains lees[1] and that the cane of this sugar-plantation is a coating to deadly poison. The intoxication of this joyous banquet is followed by the crapulousness of sorrow, and the wisdom of this feast ends in the vapours of failure. Whose liver does not bleed for this fatal event? Whose eyes do not shed tears of blood? This heap of earth must pass away and be abandoned, and this dark abyss cannot be lighted up. All the links that have been put together must be severed, and all must drink the bitter waters. Shall I rehearse the jugglery of the old world, or the strong-headedness of fate? He was good of action, and a lover of propriety. He had an open heart, and a liberal hand, and had courage along with gravity. He sought to win hearts and searched for inspiration from those who were outwardly dust-stained but were inwardly bright. Owing to the wickedness of selfish and presumptuous men, some vexation arose, and some leaders[2] of the army set themselves to hamper work. He returned unsuccessful from Aḥmadnagar and fell into chronic grief. The brightness of his discretion did not remain, and he gave up to some extent the task of conciliating hearts, and he could not distinguish hypocrisy from humility. When his son[3] died, the jewel of wisdom grew dim, and he set himself down to drink in company with foolish sensual- 753
ists. Excessive drinking brought on epilepsy, and he did not apply his mind to getting better. He concealed his pains and did not digest his food. On 13th Ābān of the previous year he went off to visit Gāwīl, and after seeing it he went to Elichpūr. There he got fever, and this increased when he went to the height of Narnāla. The abdominal pains also increased. His strength and sense dimin-

[1] "Durd" lees. There is a play on the words *durd*, and *dard* (pain). Cf. Elliot VI. 97.

[2] An allusion to the Khān-khānān.

[3] Referring to the death of Rustum in November 1598.

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ished. On 9th Dai he returned to Shāhpūr, and physicians set themselves to treat him, and he got a little better. When he heard of the arrival of the Shāhinshāh at Agra and of his being summoned to court, he became excessively melancholy, for out of shame for his drunkenness he could not make up his mind to kiss the threshold. His officers suggested another course, and when news came of the approach of the writer of the book of fortune, he marched on 9th Isfandārmaẕ towards Aḥmadnagar. His sole idea was to make this expedition a reason for not going (to Agra). The New Year's feast of this year he celebrated at Tamurnī.[1] On the 16th Ardībihisht he was seized with violent fits near Ḍihārī (or Dihbārī) on the banks of the Pūrnā, 20 *kos* from Ḍaulatābād, and on the 22nd he died in an unconscious state.

Verse.

Alas for this painful misfortune destructive of repose.
Alas for the calamity of this worship of the bowl.
A form that was destined for long life he himself destroyed.
A jewel that might have threaded many years he himself broke.

High and low grieved, and sorrow seized friend and stranger. When news came of the illness, H.M. sent off Ḥakīm Miṣrī the Galen of the age, and he also appointed Āṣaf K. in order that there might be no delay on the journey. The envoys heard of the event on the road and returned. I praise the world's lord for that with all his anguish he guarded against being distracted, and because he ministered to his inward grief. By the might of the lordship of the spiritual world he achieved calm, and he administered medicine to the unintelligent. Kaiqubād, on losing his liver-lobe, played away his patience, and gave himself up to impatience. Luqmān the hakīm applied himself to medical treatment and compounded a medicine out of fortitude. He wrote a letter of advice, and represented: "The departure of a child from this dark dustbin to the holy realms is not a grief to the sage, and the severing of the connection should

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1 The Ṭamūrnī of J. II. 237, in Telingānah, or perhaps it is the Tamurnī on the same page, in Sarkār Mahkar. B. 309 says he died at Jalnāpūr. See his preface, page xxii. Price has Khānpūr and the Tūzuk, Jalnāpūr. 22nd Ardībihisht corresponds to about 2nd May 1599. Faiẓī Sirhindī says Murād died on Wednesday, 16th Shawwāl 1007, i.e. on 2nd May 1599.

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not be regarded as sorrowful. The sorrow which has laid hold of me is lest wisdom's child, i.e. patience, should die, and the fulness of the cup of the earthly body cause the extinction of the celestial spirit." This message brought him out of the sleep of neglect. He set about what was proper for the time and exerted himself in self-culture. He spent his time in thanksgiving. H.M. was wont to act the part of the Teacher ḥakīm. Though chained to so many burdens he lived 754
a free man and at the time of sorrow admimistered medicine for the grieved.

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CHAPTER CXXXIX.

The arrangement of the army of the Deccan by means of the wonders of daily-increasing Fortune.

When the writer of the noble volume was sent off, some grandees set themselves to destroy the work, and in consequence of their tales many old comrades separated from me. I was compelled to look out for new soldiers and by good fortune an abundant force was gathered together. Though well-wishers spoke against the system of making loans,[1] I did not withhold my hand from making them. I kept my eyes open to the past disturbances. When I arrived within thirty *kos* of the prince's camp, swift couriers brought letters from M. Yūsuf K. and other officers. These stated that the prince was very ill, and that I should go on to him post haste. Perhaps, the confusion caused by wicked men could be remedied, and high and low be saved from distraction. Their hearts had been chilled by the intrigues of the grandees of the court. Though my companions told wonderful stories in order to keep me back, I hastened forward all the more. My sole thought was that I might spend my life's coin in the service of my benefactor, and express something of my gratitude for favours by the tongue of action. On the 19th I went on faster from Dewalgāon with a few men, and at evening, arrived. There I saw what may no other person see! Things were past remedy, and men were in a state of bewilderment. Troops of them were going off. The anxiety of the leaders was to bring back the prince to Shāhpūr. I represented that in such a confusion, when high and low had lost heart, and there was a great commotion, when the enemy was near at hand, the country was foreign, to return was to cause one's own loss. During this talk that nosegay (Murād) withered, and confusion rose high. Some from wicked thoughts, some in order to protect their homes, and some in order to look after their children,

1 *Wām.* Cf. III. 249, l. 12. Apparently A. F.'s friends warned him of the danger of making advances to soldiers.

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chose to separate. By the help of God I did not take them into account but set myself to put the troops into order, and to do what was necessary for the time. I sent off the body to Shāhpūr in the charge of the house-servants, and it was deposited there. Some Tūrānīs left the camp and meditated sedition. In spite of advice their presumption increased. At this time the troops who were behind, and who were more than 3,000 horse, came up. My words had now fresh importance, and the crooked in their ways listened to counsel. Still small and great wanted to return. They described the death of Mun'im K. Khān-khānān, the reversal of affairs in Bengal, the coming of Shihābu-d-dīn and Aḥmad K. from Gujarat, and the disturbance in that country and the like. As my special reliance 755
was on God, and my eyes were full of light from the fortune of the Shāhinshāh, their words had no effect. A world became displeased and many got angry and went off. I set myself to do what was proper, and the design of advancing occurred to me. On the 27th (Ardībihisht) we marched to conquer the Deccan. This advance gave new strength to hearts. Some counsels were sent to the guardians of the frontiers and the other watchmen of the country. The narrow-minded were succoured. Whatever treasure the prince had, all the goods which were not fit to be sent (to court), and whatever I had myself or could collect by borrowing, were distributed. In a short time those who had gone away returned, and business became active. The whole of the prince's territory was guarded, except Nāsik which was far off, and the news of whose danger was later in coming. The news of the prince's death and of the despair of the officers dispersed the guardians there. Though, on account of the perfunctory conduct of the persons sent, that territory was not secured, yet much land was added to the imperial dominions. Though the intriguers at court did not fully read my report (to Akbar) and with evil intentions concealed those events, yet as I continued in prayer to God, and the attention of H.M, towards me increased daily, the management of the troops was carried on in an excellent way, and beyond the expectations of contemporaries. There was astonishment among far and near. It is beyond the power of mortals to return thanks to God. What can a powerless person like me do?

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Verse.

I did not behave moodily in his service,
For he said "he is worthy of praise."

While indulging in thoughts I continued pious, and returned hearty thanks. Sometimes this occurred to me: "The secret knowledge of the world's lord has again been impressed on high and low. Without my striving and without the recommendation of this one or that one, he took me from the dustheap of obscurity, and brought me out from the lane of knowledge-gathering, and advanced me to high rank." Sometimes I thought how without the favour of this or that man I had been promoted to high executive work, and how silence and repentance had taken possession of the tongues and hearts of the court-witlings. Sometimes it occurred to me that by the efforts of envious people the tongue of suspicion had been loosed against me who only had one object, and they had sent me far away from court, but the true Disposer (God) had made this a source of high promotion, and marked them with enduring shame. The circumstance that without man's help this difficult task had been easily performed by me did not (unduly) elate me, and I prayed to God that this liking for difficulties might not darken my understanding, and that the efforts of private enemies might not work me injury.

756 One of the occurrences was the death of Maṣūm Kābulī. From the time when he became mad from ingratitude, and stirred up the dust of commotion in Bengal, he fell into distress. As the heart-lacerating blows of fortune did not waken him from his slumbers he fell into sicknesses, and on the 30th (Ardībihisht, 10th May 1599) he died.[1] The prosperity of the eastern rebels decayed. On 3rd Khurdād (13th May) a great member[2] of the harem died. The news arrived from Lahore on the 12th, and the royal ladies were seized

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[1] A son of his, by name Shujā', was thānadār of Ghaznī in Shah Jahan's time and had the title of Asad K. Bādshāhnāma I. 451. See Maaṣiru-l-Umarā III. 295.

[2] The name of the lady is not given, but it appears from what follows that she was the mother of Shāhzāda Khānim. *Farzandān* in text should be farzand-i-ān, as in I.O. MS. 236. In Price's Jahangīr, p. 46, the mother of Shāhzāda Khānīm is described as Bībī Selīma Begam, who of course is not the Selīma who had been Bairām's wife. In the Tūzuk, p. 14, the name of Shāhzāda's mother is not given, but she is described as one of the special concubines of Akbar.

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with grief, and Shāhzāda Khānim, the daughter of the lady, was much upset. H.M. soothed her somewhat by sympathy and counsels. At this time Sitūnda [1] was taken. As after the death of Prince Sulṭān Murād, the writer of the noble volume took charge of the arranging of the army, the guarding of the country, and the capturing of places that had not been taken, he appointed Sundar Dās to take fort Taltūm.[2] He dexterously got some of the inhabitants to assist him. One of them called the governor of the fort to his quarters and then informed Sundar Dās. Active men set themselves to take the fort. The garrison made some resistance and then capitulated. On the 27th they delivered up the keys. On the 30th Miriām-Makānī came to Agra. As H.M. was going for some time to the South he sent a loving letter inviting her to come to see him. At the same time he sent for Sulṭān Kharram and many of the ladies. When they approached, the Prince-Royal went forward with some grandees to welcome them. On that day H.M. received them. Up to this day no one had told him of the unavoidable event of Prince Sulṭān Murād. The report of the writer had been represented in a different way. That great lady (Miriām Makānī) conveyed the news to him, and a world was plunged in sorrow. H.M., by dint of the strength of his lordship of the spiritual world restrained his feelings, and administered comfort to the mourning ladies. The assistance of that God-worshipper came into play, and the distressed acquired resignation.

Verse.

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[1] "About 50 m. N.E. Aurangabad." Elliot VII. 25.

[2] Taltam in Bādshāhnāma I. 370.

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CHAPTER CXL.

The sending of Prince Sulṭān Daniel to govern the Deccan.

The cherishing of the weak and the chastisement of the rebellious are the great acts of devotion of just monarchs. The incomparable Creator wills that nothing should be greater for rulers than these two things. God be praised! H.M. holds high rank in the 757
recognition of those two duties. Neither joy or sorrow withholds him from them. In spite of his grief for his dear son and his sympathy for the troops of mourners, he gave his attention to the South in order to assuage the distressed. His heart desired to send the Prince-Royal on this service, but he, at the time[1] for being sent there, was guided by evil-minded persons and did not come to court. As the guarding of the country could not be delayed, he, in that happy hour, appointed Prince Sulṭān Daniel. On the eve of 2nd Tīr he was sent off after receiving weighty counsels. H.M. accompanied him to the first halting place. He spent the night there and occupied himself in fresh supplications and counsels. He favoured the prince by granting him a red tent (*sarāca*) which is only set up for the Shāhinshāh. A *firmān* was sent to the writer of the noble volume to the effect that H.M. desired to summon me to his presence, but that as he was sending the Prince there, I must endure the apparent separation, and must point out to the prince the management of administrative and financial affairs. From the beginning of my understanding I had had a daily-increasing longing for freedom, but by the strange working of the spheres my association with the world had increased. At this time when the brightness[2] of the jewel had

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[1] From what follows it appears that this refers to the astrological hour which was auspicious for sending off the Prince.

[2] Text *roshnī-i-gohar*. But the expression does not seem intelligible and neither the I.O. MSS. nor the Lucknow ed. have *roshnī*. I.O. MS. 236 has *guzashtī* and so has the Lucknow ed., and perhaps the meaning of this is that A. F. had become older. The whole passage is obscure.

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been augmented, I wished deliverance from the burden of existence on account of the intrigues of wicked men, and the currency of liars. (At the same time) I acquired by God's help something of a great name, and my external workshop was raised to a higher rank. During this contention between the spiritual and the temporal, the sublime order came and furnished material for both resolutions. I was bewildered on account of absence from that fountain of intelligence, but I came to myself from thoughts of development (of the country). I resumed my work and waited in expectation of the advent of that jewel of sovereignty's mine.

At this time Saiyid Qāsim Bārha's days came to an end. Prince Sulṭān Murād had previously sent him on this expedition, and sent with him many brave and experienced men. When the prince fell into disorder, he returned rapidly. He entered into engagements with the writer of the noble volume and returned after gaining his desires. He took possession of some cultivated tracts and on the 6th he died of dyspepsia at the town of Kunhar near Daulatābād. On the 8th the writer sent M. Khān with a number of men to Nāsik, and he wrote to M. Yār, who had been sent there, to join quickly with his force. Though on account of his illness he had not a proper equipment, yet no special harm accrued to him from the enemy. On the 15th the mother of Prince Sulṭān Parvez died, and the ladies were grieved. H.M. comforted them. On the 17th Rajah Mān Singh paid his respects and produced a choice set of presents. Among them were fifty valuable diamonds. Bengal had become more quiet and he had an order permitting him to come to court 758
whenever his mind was at ease about the country. As there was some peace in that land he had the bliss (of attending the court), and received favours. On the 28th Qulīj K. came from Jaunpūr, and had an audience. Prince Daniel had been left to take charge of that province. As he was at ease about it he came to court. On 2nd Amardād, Barkhūrdār[1] the son of 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, the son of Muyīd Beg, was sent to prison. Dalpat Ujjainiya had been released and had taken leave to go to his home, after having obtained his desires. Barkhūrdār and some riotous ones fell upon him because his father had been killed in battle with that landholder. The latter cleverly escaped. H.M. censured Barkhūrdār and sent him to prison.

[1] B. 512.

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H.M. wished to bind him and send him to the landholder, but at the intercession of some persons he was released.[1] On the 4th S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān was sent to Daulatābād. As God sent the writer of the noble volume to quiet the Deccan, there was activity everywhere so that by (Divine) help, liberality and bravery the contumacious were set to right. At this time the garrison of Daulatābād represented that if safe conducts were granted them, and a place assigned to them for a residence, they would surrender the keys and accept service. But there were some Abyssinians and Deccanīs in that neighbourhood, and an army should be sent to punish them. On this account I sent off my son—whose forehead showed signs of propriety—and gave him 1,500 of my own horse and an equal number of other soldiers. At this time Āṣaf K. was exalted by being made Diwān-i-kul. H.M. always looked closely into the administration, and never neglected what was necessary. As Rai Patr Dās opened the hand of bribe-taking, and vexed people, he was on the 11th sent to Bāndhū and Āṣaf K. was raised to this high office. Qulīj K. was made Mīr Māl, but gradually he withdrew his hand from this. On the 26th M. Shāhrukh joined the southern army. As a great disturbance had arisen upon the death of Prince Sulṭān Murād, the writer called him to himself. The Mīrzā arranged to come quickly, but foolish talkers prevented him, and the general commotions,[2] which are got up at such times, also interfered. As it was the Divine will that this inexperienced and unassisted one (the author) should become known for ability and that the envious should be put to shame, although I expected that the Mīrzā from his singleness of heart would come at this crisis even if there was not an order for his doing so, yet from the untrue speeches of this man and that man he did not come. And though an order, which had an admixture of rebuke,

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[1] Faiẓī Sirhindī says the affair happened on 2nd Muḥarram 1008, 15th July 1599. Barkhūrdār had gone out from Agra to hunt, and came to hear that Dalpat was having his food on the river-bank. Barkhūrdār and Ḥusain Beg s. Shiroya and a number of servants drew their swords, and went off to attack Dalpat. The latter and his men had stripped and were eating, They swam across the river. Mān Singh, then on his way to court, reported the circumstance and H.M. put Barkhūrdār and Ḥusain in prison.

[2] ارجوفهای عامه *arjufhā-i-'āmma.* I presume this word is a derivative from *rajf.*

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followed, he made excuses and did not arrive. At last Ḥusain was sent as *sazāwal* and made him come, willing or unwilling. He arrived 759 this year with the victorious troops, and I received him and brought him to my quarters. I exulted at the arrival of so brave and pure-minded a man.

On 3rd Shahriyūr[1] Malik Khair Ullah was killed. He was the night watch (*'asas*) of Lahore, and he performed this duty satisfactorily. One day he sent for a noted thief, who was in prison, and was examining him in his private room. That wicked fellow brought in by pretexts some of his companions, and sent out Malik Khair Ullah's servants, and while the latter was alone, killed him as well as his son.

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the disturbance in Bīr.[2] An extensive country is attached to this city, and it contains 1,001 villages, every one of which is like a city. A month before the death of the Prince, Sher[3] Khwāja had taken it with the help of some brave men. When the Prince died, most of the pillars of the State tried to give it up. As to give up a conquered territory without cause was to encourage the enemy, the proposal was not accepted (by A. F.). When things were going on well, envy made many persons mad, and they urged the enemy—who were more than 15,000 in number—to drive off Sher Khwāja during the rains when the river would be full. At the beginning of the rains the enemy assembled. Their idea was that as the imperial troops were not more than 3,000, they would be victorious when the river was in flood and help could not come. On receipt of this information, letters were written to the officers—who could easily join—and great

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[1] Faiẓi S. says the news came on 13th Muḥarram, 26th July 1599. The thieves said they would give information in private, and when they were taken in, they killed Malik Khair Ullah and his son by striking them with the wooden clogs on their arms. At p. 746 Khair Ullah is called the Kotwāl of Lahore.

[2] I.G. VIII. 117. Probably it is the Bīragarh of J. II. 229 and 230 which is described as on the eastern part of Berār. It is to the east of Aḥmadnagar. It is described in the Historical and Descriptive Sketch of Niẓām's Dominions by Syed Hossain Bilgrāmī and C. Willmott (Bombay, 1884, p. 207), where it is called Birh. It lies on the left bank of the Bendsūra river.

[3] The text has the words *ṭarḥ shuda*, which apparently means that Sher Khwāja was with the army, in the reserve.

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efforts were made to cause them to help. Some from ignorance, and some from wickedness made delays so that the rains increased, and the river raged. 15,000 Abyssinians and Deccanīs with 60 elephants approached Bīr. Sher Khwāja who was unique for courage and skill, drew up his forces, and from ignorance and fieryness of disposition hastened[1] forward, passing over streams and broken ground. Though experienced men represented the superiority of the enemy, the advantages of caution, and the existence of heights and hollows, they were not listened to. Owing to this inconsiderate marching, the troops became somewhat disorganised, while the enemy were in good order. The van, which was composed of Rājputs, fought well, and performed prodigies of valour. The centre and the right and left wings did not act well. Meanwhile a force, which was in a hollow,[2] made a strong attack. Jagrūp,[3] son of Jagannāth, Gopāl Dās Rāthor, Sulṭān Bhātī, Muḥammad Amīn Cūlī, and many others, gave their lives in a worthy manner, and the troops were dispersed. The
760 enemy followed them and came towards the city. Sher Khwāja came forward and drove off the foe in front of him. Wafādār K. and a number of able men of the right wing joined. Y'aqūb Beg, Kūcak 'Alī Beg, and some others caused the jewel of courage to shine. When Sher Khwāja returned he found the field full of the fallen. Learning the success of the foe he became very sorrowful, and was compelled to proceed rapidly to the city. Here a hot engagement took place, and Sher Khwāja entered the city, wounded. Just then Bahādur-al-mulk arrived with some brave men and got into the city after performing prodigies of valour. The defeated got fresh courage. He had come instantly from a distance of ten or twelve *kos*, though the Khwāja was somewhat displeased with him. Though he heard that the Khwāja was killed, he did not turn back, but came on all the faster. S'aīd 'Arab and some companions showed great courage. By good fortune the enemy were tired out and did not advance that day or the following day, but looked after their own

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[1] The text has the words *ṭarḥ shuda*, which apparently means that Sher Khwāja was with the army, in the reserve.

[2] *Ghanjī*, said by Vullers to be a mistake for *ghafacī*, a hollow, a place where water collects.

[3] Cagrūp in text. This son is not mentioned by the M'aasir in its biography of Jagannāth, who was a brother of Rajah Bhagwān Dās.

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wounded, and dispersed. Had they pressed on with the same vigour as at first, things would have been very critical. The garrison made a fence (*kocaband*) round the city, and on every side there was fighting.

When the news came a council was held, and high and low were asked for their remedies. There was a great confusion owing to evil thoughts and bad opinions. I turned aside from the others and addressed myself to the True Disposer (God). On 4th Shahriyūr I set out rapidly in heavy rain.[1] I made over the camp, the artillery and the elephants to M. Shāhrukh and Khwāja Abū-l-ḥasan, to be brought after me to Jālnāpūr. I sent for S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān from Daulatābād. My idea was to hasten on to the bank of the Ganges (Godavery) and to collect the troops. If any one of the good servants should have the courage to cross and fight I would send him, and remain myself on the bank, so that the work in front might go on, and that those behind might become composed. Otherwise I would personally go to the relief. As it was not believed that the expedition would take place, few even of the special men came forward. I was obliged to form a camp after marching five *kos*, but went on rapidly myself with a few men to Āhūbara. My idea was that M. Yūsuf K. would show energy in this work. After travelling twenty *kos* I joined him in the first part of the night, and stayed five days in his quarters. Though on the first day I came to despair of him, yet M. 'Alī Beg, and the army of Daulatābād, and other brave men, joined. I engaged in borrowing money for equipping the soldiers, and sent a number to the bank of the river, and got possession of the ford. M. 'Alī Beg took upon himself the guarding and the fighting of the force, and I sent on with encouraging words every one who came up afterwards. When my mind was somewhat at ease about the army I followed up quickly myself. My idea was that as all were not of **761** one mind, possibly an engagement would not have a good result, and so it was better that I should myself come to the battlefield. When the officers arrived, one after the other, on the bank of the river, they were unable to cross on account of the flood. When S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān came to the bank, the Divine aid smote the waves and the river became at once fordable. When the army heard of this, they returned thanks to God, and they crossed over on horse-

[1] Text *garmī-i-bārish*. But I.O. MSS. have *yāzish*.

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back. Old natives of the country were astonished, and thought that it was magic. On the 20th I arrived at the bank of the river, and on hearing the news of the victory I halted. On the 18th when the troops crossed, the enemy—who were near the bank—had fought slightly with the skirmishers and had then fled. They lost heart on hearing that the tempestuous river had been crossed and that the writer had arrived. On the 19th they broke up the siege and went off in a confused state to Aḥmadnagar. Thanksgivings were offered upon the receipt of this news, and there were joyful meetings. The garrison had been in straits for nineteen days. Though on the first day they did not display much courage, yet during the siege they showed great valour, though their condition was wretched, and they despaired of help. Every day there were hot contests. The men had to eat horse flesh, and the horses ate the reed-thatching of the houses. The heroes were nearly slaying their families and coming out by sacrificing their own lives. In spite of the confusion of one's comrades, smallness of means, and the difficulty of the work, the Incomparable Creator produced so delightful a picture, and a world fell into rejoicing. My idea was that on this day when the Niẓāmu-l-mulkī troops were disordered, and many brave men were collected, an expedition should march to take Aḥmadnagar. But the resolution of my companions did not rise to this. Strange to say, they even wanted to abandon Bīr. Some out of evil intentions separated themselves, and a new commotion arose. It was remedied by endurance and forbearance. As the Bīr soldiers had undergone hardships, and were depressed on account of men's foolish talk, I wished to make over the guarding of it to S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān. Sher Khwāja from the goodness of his disposition represented: "As I commenced the work, it is far better that I should finish it, but please place some men in Shāhgarha to help me. Though Bīr has a stone fort, an earthen wall shall also be put round the city." On this account Bīr was left in his charge. The chosen servants there received promotion as well as robes of honour and horses, and suitable presents. I myself made my quarters on the bank of the river in order to encour-
762 age them. By the Divine favour a great disturbance subsided, and the rebels everywhere had recourse to entreaties. There was new fervour in giving of thanks, and there was also acknowledgment of the Shāhinshāh's fortune. There was a wonderful old *nīm* tree in the

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fort of Shāhgarha. Its trunk had two branches, one sweet, and the other bitter. The first was good for preserving health and in leprosy, etc. I reported this to H.M., and in accordance with orders I sent portions of both to court.

At this time the arrival of treasure quickly brightened the face of dominion. As many had not fiefs, and the *jāgīrs* of some others were not in good order, the hall of wishes was opened (i.e. petitions were made). When H.M. heard of this he gave orders that the Gujarat treasure should be gradually conveyed and that more than three *lakhs* of rupīs should be sent from court by way of *hundī*. In this country the rule is that when one desires to have money conveyed without the expense and trouble of transit to distant places, he makes it over to a man of means and he thereupon gives a writing. This is conveyed to the desired place, and the person there pays the money on seeing the document. The singular thing is that seals and witnesses are not required. The writing is called by this name (*hundī*), and in consequence of difference in place and circumstance sometimes it is met at par and sometimes there is profit (?). H.M. distributed the money to the officers and ordered that each should dispatch it according to this custom. In a short time this was done and the soldiers got new support.

On the 21st the daughter of Qulīj K. died. This great lady was in the harem of Prince Sulṭān Daniel. She died near Gwaliyār. H.M. brought the mourners to patience by his exhortations. On this day the fort of Taltūm was taken. It is one of the choice forts of Berar. The writer sent Sundar Dās to take it, and he planted there the foot of courage. There were great fights. One night the garrison was overtaken by the slumber of neglect. The assailants mounted by ladders, Qatlū K. the governor fled and the other rebels submitted.

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CHAPTER CXLI.

Uprearing of the august standards in the direction of Mālwa.

When Prince Sulṭān Daniel was sent off to conquer the South, and delayed somewhat on the road, H.M. conceived the idea of hunting in Mālwa so that he might urge on his son to greater activity in the carrying out of orders. On 6th Mihr, 16th September, 1599, he made over the charge of Agra to Qulīj K., and after 4 hours, 24 **763** minutes, mounted his rapid steed and went off on his expedition to the Deccan. Sulṭān Khusrū, Sulṭān Parvīz, Sulṭān Kharram and many ladies accompanied him. On this day the Prince-Royal obtained leave to go to Ajmere. The gracious sovereign was continually increasing his kindness to him, but he from drunkenness and bad companionship did not distinguish between his own good and evil. On this account he was for some time not granted an audience.[1] At the instance of Miriam-Makānī he was allowed to make the *kornish*. He made fresh promises of discretion and of service. H.M. sent him to chastise Umrā the Rānā, and gave him many instructive counsels. Rajah Mān Singh, Shāh Quli Maḥram and many other officers accompanied him. At the request of the Rajah, his son Jagat Singh was sent off to take charge of Bengal.

One of the occurrences was the death of 'Īsā. He was a great landholder in Bengal. He had some share of prudence, but from somnolence of fortune he did not come to court. At the time when H.M. was marching to the South, Rajah Mān Singh thought in his ignorance that the guardianship of Bengal was an easy matter, and so took it upon himself while living in Ajmere. By wondrous fate that turbulent landholder died, and the thornbush of commotion was extirpated. On the 19th the Khān-khānān was sent to Prince Sulṭān Daniel. When the gracious sovereign learnt that the writer of the noble volume was very sad on account of his distance from the

[1] Possibly this refers to the Anarkalī affair.

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sublime court, he distinguished that great officer—who on account of the occurrences in the Deccan had somewhat fallen out of favour—and the latter made fresh promises of good service. He was allowed to leave at the second stage, and an order was given that when the prince arrived (in the Deccan), the writer should take the opportunity of coming to prostrate himself at the holy threshold. He was delighted at this news, and submitted his humble thanks. On the 22nd H.M. alighted, on the way, at the quarters of the Khān-khānān, and enjoyed himself there till the close of the day. Among the presents offered by the Khān-khānān was a horse which fought with an elephant, and excited astonishment. On the 26th Jagat Singh died. When he was sent off to Bengal he near Agra engaged in preparations for the journey. Suddenly he died, and the Kachwāha tribe was plunged into sorrow. Princely sympathy administered balm to the mourners. His son Mahā[1] Singh, who was of tender age, was favoured and sent off in his room. The garden of a world's hope was irrigated. At this time the capture of the fort of Narnāla brought joy. In old times the ruler of Berar made Taltūm the seat of government. The ruler of Aḥmadnagar conquered it. In the first place the son of Qatlū K.—who held both forts—fell into the hands of Sundar Dās and thereafter conceived a desire to enter service. On this day he through the intervention of 'I'tibār K. chose service and delivered up the keys. Dalpat Rāo, Daulat K. 764
and others of the garrison obtained their desires. On 4th Ābān the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. The court of liberality and of gifts was thrown open. On the 5th the august retinue arrived near Dholpūr, and rested for a while in Ṣādiq K.'s garden. Zāhid his son acquired bliss by distributing money, and by offering presents.

At this time the writer sent to court the ladies of Prince Sulṭān Murād. When he died, some of them, who were with him, were sent to Shāhpūr. They were now all collected and sent with honour under the charge of suitable persons. The treasurer (*taḥwīldār*), the accountant, and the dārogha were sent with them, and a list was made of the properties. On account of the insecurity of the roads,

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that though Mān Singh had other grown-up sons, yet according to Hindu custom the son of the deceased got his appointment.

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and a shortness of money, there was some delay in the dispatch. Now that their minds were at ease, they were sent off on the 15th. The corpse was also sent. As wicked men intended war, and there was a great report of a forthcoming battle I retained one half of the 400 elephants. Rai Dūrgā, M. Farīdūn and other officers and *aḥadīs* were appointed to escort the ladies. I was relieved of a heavy responsibility. They joined the court in Mālwa. By H.M.'s orders the body of the forgiven one was conveyed to Delhi. On the 20th, H.M. halted at Gwaliyar, and he ascended the fort, and passed the night there. Rāj Singh [1] the governor paid his respects, and received honour. Next day he descended and visited the dwelling of S. 'Abdullah K. On the 26th Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai was sent to the Prince-Royal. As it was reported that he was loitering on the way, Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai was sent to him with counsels. As Rajah Mān Singh was discomposed by grief for his son, a horse and a robe of honour were sent to him, and consolatory messages addressed to him. On 1st Āẕar, 11th November, 1599, Shāhbāz K. died. He was addicted to the use of quicksilver. When he was over seventy, he got pains in his arms and loins. He got a little better, but in the city of Ajmere the illness returned, and the fever increased. The remedies of the physicians restored him to health, but in this year and month he suddenly died. He had few equals in every kind of service, and in the management of troops. If he had given up bigotry and had controlled his tongue, he would have possessed the embroidery of wisdom.[2]

At this time the writer proceeded towards Aḥmadnagar. Cānd Bībī had raised Bahādur, the grandson of Burhān, to the throne and

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[1] Cf. Faiẓī Sirhindī's account. He says that the governor spread carpets from the gate of the fort to the rooms which Humāyūn had occupied in the beginning of his reign. He also says that H.M. visited the tomb of Muḥammad Ghauṣ.

[2] There is a Shahbāz K. mentioned by Jahāngīr, Price 35, but though there is a resemblance in the characters of the two men, this Shahbāz K. can hardly be the man who died while Jahāngīr was still only Prince Royal. Faiẓī S. says Shāhbāz died on a Friday in Jamāda-ṣānī. The Maaṣir says Jahāngīr took possession of all Shahbāz's property and went off to Allahābād. If the Shahbāz mentioned in Price's Memoirs be really the Shāhbāz of the Akbarnāma, the mistaken account of him in the former work is strong evidence of its spuriousness.

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was living there. She thought it was a strong place, and a protection for herself. Some soldiers were favourably disposed to her. Outside, Abhang K. the Abyssinian (zangī) was, along with many others, making a disturbance. Though the boy was considered as the ruler yet secretly that chaste lady was ruler. She continually 765 sent conciliatory messages to the army, and also at the same time affected friendship with the Deccanīs. She[1] practised the same methods towards the author of the precious volume. He replied, "If from foresight and a happy star you bind yourself to the sublime court, what can be better! You must observe whatever agreement you make. Otherwise it is improper to utter words to which acts do not correspond. The path of sending and receiving messages is not clear." When the wickedness of those inside became patent to her, and she came to understand in some measure the good intentions of this person (A. F.), she sent well-wishers and confirmed the relationship of friendship, and in the treaty written with her own hand she inserted true oaths. She represented that "when Abhang K. was punished she would surrender the keys of the fort, but asked that Bīr might be made her fief. She also asked that she might be allowed to go there and take some repose, and said that thereafter she would go to court whenever it was wished, and would send Bahādur to wait upon H.M. From the upsetting of plans and the vexations of companions there would be some delay."

When the stay in Shāhgarha had been somewhat prolonged, and some had gone away, and the report of the coming of the Prince died down, evil thoughts came into the head of Abhang K. He brought Sham-sher-ul-mulk, the son of Miyān K.—who was formerly the governor of Berar—out of prison and gave him position. He also gave him an army in order that he might go from Daulatābād to that country (Berār). As the families of the soldiers were there, the imperial army got perturbed, lest at this time he might prevail. As I knew for a long time of this evil intention, I sent M. Yūsuf K. with a large force to remedy matters. The Mīrza treated the affair lightly

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[1] In the first letter of the 2nd book of the Inshā A. F. reports the arrival of Cānd Bībī's messengers and of her expressing her regret at Prince Murād's death, and of her describing her circumstances. The messengers arrived on 14th Khurdād 1007=24th May, 1599.

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and fell into the slumber of negligence. He (Shamsher) came to Berar, and a great commotion arose. Many of the defenders of the country took to flight, and a number went off, without asking [1] leave, to comfort their families. By the help of able men I formed the idea of proceeding to Aḥmadnagar, of punishing the wicked who were inside, and of testing the words of Cānd Bībī. I set off on the 12th, and summoned to myself the brave men from every quarter. When I had advanced several stages, the enemy turned back from every place, and collected at Aḥmadnagar. At this time came the joyful news that Shamsher K. had fallen. The commotion awaked M. Yūsuf K. and he followed him (Shamsher) quickly. He also sent on in advance M. Khān, M. Lashkarī, 'Aādil K., Sundar Dās and others. Shamsher made an attempt on Elichpūr. The men sent in advance arrived, and he, on receiving this intelligence, became be-
766 wildered and went off rapidly. They at the guidance of some land-holders loosed their rein (i.e. pursued him). On the night of 7th Āẕar they fell upon his quarters from every side and poured in arrows. There was a slight battle, and suddenly he was killed by an arrow. The success of the wicked departed, and the drum of joy beat high. On the 27th the august standards reached Bhilsa, and M. Rustum arrived from his fief, and did homage.

At this time the writer abandoned his intention of proceeding to Aḥmadnagar. On 5th Dai he came to Mūngī [2] Patan, and wished to cross the Ganges (Godavery). There he received the orders of Prince Sulṭān Daniel to this effect: "Your energy is impressed upon every one. Your desire is to take Aḥmadnagar before we arrive, but you must restrain yourself from such intention. After this, there will be no delay on the road."

On the 9th H.M. mounted his horse, and a world rejoiced. For some days he had pains in his stomach, and had proceeded in a litter. From God's kindness to mortals, he got well near Sajāwalpūr and returned thanks. At this time a fresh disturbance broke out among the soldiery. When the Prince arrived at Burhānpūr, Bahādur K. did not come down from his fort to meet him, and refrained

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[1] Text *nā rasīda*. But the variant *nā parsīda* is supported by the I.O. MS. 236.

[2] A large town on the east bank of the Godavery forming the residence of Salivahan who defeated Vikramāditya (Tiefenthaler I. 487).

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from the auspiciousness of service. The Prince conceived the design of punishing him, and sent for M. Yūsuf K. who was about to go to Pattan. On seeing this, other men went to that quarter, and many left the writer. The enemy—who had been in trepidation—on seeing this inopportune delay and dispersion, made several night attacks, and failed. I continually exerted myself to put matters straight. Brave men set their hearts upon fighting, and fought well. Owing to the Divine protection, and one victory after another, the rebels dispersed, and Abhang K. took to supplications and flatteries. On 15th Bahman the lunar weighment took place at Ujjain, and H.M. was weighed against eight articles. There was a general proclamation of liberality, and crowds of men had their desires satisfied. On the 25th H.M.'s stomachic pains were somewhat troublesome, but after four days he recovered his health. High and low returned thanks, and there were joyful assemblages.

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CHAPTER CXLII.

Expedition of H.M. for the taking of Āsīr.

On the 29th the great tent was erected at Ujjain. H.M.'s intention was to remain for some days in Mālwa and enjoy hunting, so 767
that the soldiers might set themselves energetically to the conquest of Aḥmadnagar. When the news came that Bahādur K., the ruler of Khāndesh, had, in consequence of the strength of his fortress and the amount of his equipment, not paid his respects to the Prince, and that the latter thought of taking the fort and of punishing him, an order was issued that he should proceed with his expedition against Aḥmadnagar. "Perhaps Badādur's not paying his respects was not the result of rebelliousness. Perhaps his intention was first to pay his respects to ourselves (Akbar). Otherwise the august standards will come to Burhānpūr and get to the bottom of the affair." The Prince obeyed the order and went on. Bahādūr K. offered choice presents, and sent his son Kabīr K. with some men to accompany him (Prince Daniel). First, Khwājāh Mawadūd went from the court to give him advice. He sent four unsuitable elephants and made false statements about not paying his respects. Then Mīr Ṣadar Jahān was sent to give advices, and after him Peshrau K. Bahādur in his want of wisdom fell into absurd thoughts. As his ancestor (his father) had ended his life in obedience and service, H.M. had favoured him from afar and had given him his kingdom. From ill-fatedness he did not march with the army of the South, and did not wait upon the princes. H.M. was always making[1] allowances for him. Now when the august standards had arrived near at hand, and Bahādur did not accept advice, he unavoidably proceeded to punish him and to take his country from him. He marched by the route of Dīpālpūr and Dhār to Burhānpūr. On the 11th

[1] Apparently the literal meaning of the original is "was always furnishing a support for his stumbling (feet)."

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Isfandārmaz, Sālbāhan, the son of Mandī (?), S., Farīd[1] Bakhshī Begī, Hāshim Beg, Qarā Beg, Qāẓī Ḥasan, M. Yūsuf, Bāz Bahādur, Muqīm K., Bahādur K., Tolak[2] K., M. Barkhūrdār, 'Ulugh Beg Badakhshī, Raḥīm Haravī, Mīr Jalāl, Qazal Abdāl, 'Alāu-d-dīn Ḥusain, Bikramājīt, Lakhmān Sen, Bhangan (?) K., and some Saiyids of Bārha and many other brave men, were sent off to besiege Āsīr. On the 21st Fatḥ Ullah[3] Sharbatdār (butler) died. He was a good servant and right-minded. He was placed in a confidential position on account of his good service. He fell into habits of drinking, and was sent to the Deccan in the hope that the pain of separation might be medicinal to him. He had the auspiciousness to give up the habit, but suffered severe pains, so that physicians came to despair of him. The gracious sovereign called him to himself, and he got a little better. He went to visit Māndū, and suddenly died. On the 23rd H.M. arrived at the Narbada. Next morning he enjoyed swimming[4] therein. On the 26th he crossed the river and arrived at Bījāgarha. The New Year feast was celebrated in that delightful place.

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[1] Faiẓī Sirhindī gives a list of names, but it does not agree altogether with A. F.'s. He mentions Gulbād, Bahādur Uzbeg, Hāshim who, he says, was the son of Qāsim K. Mīr Bahar, Muqīm the son of Shujā'at.

[2] Faiẓī has Būlaq the son of Tolak.

[3] Faiẓī S. also notices Fatḥ Ullah's death and says he was a pupil of his father's and that when he came to Mandū and saw the tombs there he expressed a wish to die there.

[4] Text *ābbāri*, but I.O. MS. 235 has *ābbāzī* which seems right. It may mean swimming or any aquatic amusement.

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CHAPTER CXLIII.

Beginning of the 45th year from the Accession, to wit, the year Āẕar of the 4th Cycle.

On the night of Monday, 4th Ramẓān 1008, 10th March 1600, after 8 hours 40 minutes the world-lighting sun cast his rays upon Aries, and the 9th year of the 4th Cycle brought news of joy. The world put on the joy of youth from the air of Spring and the breeze of the morning. Thanks were rendered, and prayers offered up that there might be a new revolution of the heavens, and new delight to mortals.

* * *

The wise sovereign gave his mind to embellishment. He distinguished between Spring and Autumn and set himself to entertain the new arrivals. As an expedition was contemplated, he attended less than usual to outward decorations. On 5th Farwardīn he marched, but as many endeavoured to keep him back he halted at Kargāon Bījāgarha. On 10th Farwardīn, 20th March 1600, the writer paid his respects at this place, and obtained the desire of his heart by beholding the Shāhinshāh. When the Prince passed Burhānpur an order arrived that I should make over the soldiers to M. Shāhrukh and proceed to court. I was delighted. I went to the Mīrzā and held a council, and read the order. As on account of the proceeding of men to Burhānpūr some dispersal had arisen, the Mīrzā and the leaders of the army objected and represented that they could not manage this tumultuous place. I went sorrowfully back to my quarters and remained in expectation. When some time had passed, and things had quieted, and the Prince had come nearer M. Shahrukh, Mīr Martaẓā, Khwāja Abu-l-ḥasan and others took upon themselves the charge of the camp. I made over the treasure, the artillery, etc., but by the royal orders I took with me the elephants. I set out on the 12th Isfandārmaẕ and on the 17th I met the prince near Āhūbara, and stayed there three days. Meanwhile another

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order came, viz. that when I came to Burhānpūr, if Bahādūr should 769
on my counsels choose to come with me, I should give him the news of pardon and bring him with me, otherwise I was to leave the troops and the elephants there, and to come on more quickly in order that he might consult me about advancing and about going to Gujrat. When I came there (Burhānpūr) Bahādur came and saw me, and accepted my advice and became disposed to accompany me. When he went back to his house he fell into crooked ways, and sent an improper reply. According to the royal order I left the troops and the elephants and hastened forward. In a fortunate hour I rubbed my forehead at the sublime courtyard, and was exalted by princely favours. He repeated this verse with his pearl-laden tongue.

Verse.

Serene be the night and pleasant the moonshine [1]
That I may talk with thee on every subject.

As the august standards had nearly come up, and an army had gone off to take Aḥmadnagar, it seemed good to advance. On the 21st Burhānpūr was made illustrious by the holy advent. From Agra to this city there are 226 *kos* and they were traversed in 69 marches in the course of 195 days. On the 22nd the Khān Ā'ẓim, Āṣaf K., S. Farīd [2] and the author were sent to besiege Āsīr and to establish batteries. In a short time the orders were carried out, and many soldiers were left to carry on the siege (?). The army, which had been sent under the charge of S. Farid Bakhshī Begī to take Āsīr,

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[1] Ramẓān, the day on which A. F. arrived, would be a moonlight night. The Iqbālnāma has a different reading. For *Mahtābī*, moonlight, it has tahanāī, solitude. The couplet is quoted in the story of the two pigeons in the introduction to the Anwārī Suhailī. The reading there is somewhat different.

[2] Apparently, this Farīd must be a different person from Farīd the Mīr Bakhshī, for the latter had been sent to Āsīr in the previous year, viz. 11th Isfandārmaẕ 1008, 22nd February 1600. See ante, p. 76. We see too from the sentence that follows, that Farīd Mīr Bakhshī's force had not attempted to take Āsīr, but had halted some six miles away, and that on this account Akbar had been displeased till A. F. explained matters. However the S. Farīd mentioned as now accompanying Akbar may be the Mīr Bakhshī as he may have returned from camp. Faiẓī S. has a long story about negotiations between Farīd and Bahādur.

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was small in numbers, while the enemy was numerous. It therefore acted with forethought and turned back when within three *kos* of the place. Some envious people gave another colour to this, and made H.M. rather vexed. When the writer had an audience, he represented the real facts, and H.M. was satisfied. On this day the charge of guarding Khāndesh was entrusted to the writer. On the 23rd[1] men were appointed in two places. From one side my honoured brother S. Abu-l-barkāt was sent with some experienced men, and from the other my son S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān was sent. By the energy of the servants of God the rebels were soon chastised, and many submitted and enjoyed themselves. The soldiers of Khāndesh chose service, and the husbandmen were soothed, and engaged in agriculture. On 7th Ardībihisht Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. was sent to Lalang. As near there Fūlād K. Ḥabshī, Rūp Rāi, Malik Sher and some other Khandesh leaders spoke of submitting, Rai Durgā, Rai Manohar, Khwājagi Fatḥ Ullah, Mīr Zāhid, Mīr Gadai, Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai and many others were sent there under the charge of the Mīrzā. If they (the Khāndesh leaders) received words of counsel, they were to be sent to court, and the Mīrzā was to address himself to the taking of the fort (Āsīr). Otherwise he was to punish them.
770 By the excellence of fortune Rūp Rai died, and got the retribution of his crooked ways. He was distinguished in Khāndesh for his bravery and for the number of his followers. Before the imperial army arrived there, Fūlād K. separated from him in order to proceed to the holy threshold. When the writer was in Pattan, he guided him towards obedience, and made compacts with him. At this time he sent him a letter of advice and summoned him. An order (of Akbar's) was written to encourage him. On account of this document he came out from among the rebels. Masa'ud Beg was conveying one hundred of the Shāhinshāh's elephants to Gujrat, and he

[1] I.O. MS. 236 has a different reading here, and so, it appears, had Chalmers. They have, instead of 23rd the date, the statement that A. F. established 22 posts. The Lucknow ed. has also this. The Maaṣir also, II. 613, speaks of A. F.'s establishing 22 thanas. It says A. F. sent his men with his son and his brother and established 22 posts. The Iqbālnāma says, apparently, that Akbar distributed the lands of Khandesh among his troops, and gave the produce to A. F. so long as H.M. remained in the country.

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(Fūlād) joined him. Rūp Rai hastened to attack Fūlād K. When his words to him about going back had no effect, a fight took place. Rūp Rai was wounded and had to fly. His elephants and other property were seized, and he shortly afterwards died. The good service [illegible]d K. was manifested.

[illegible]is time there was some disturbance in Bengal. Rajah Mān [illegible]ntly continued to have charge of Bengal, while staying [illegible] of Ajmere. He thought the sedition-mongers there [illegible] left them in that distant country to their own de- [illegible] Sajāwal and other turbulent Afghans, who pretended [illegible] raised the head of sedition. Mahā Singh and Partāb[1] [illegible]ought this could be easily remedied, and came out to fight. A [illegible] 18th (Ardibihist=May 1600) there was a hot engagement in [illegible]rak, and the imperial troops were defeated. Though Bengal [illegible] not lost, yet some portion of it was seized.

At this time Moẓaffar[2] Ḥusain M. took to crooked ways. H.M. [illegible]d not take his former slips into account, and exalted him by several favours. He from an evil nature took to drinking, and the brightness of his intellect did not remain. One day he quarrelled with Khwājahgī Fatḥ Ullah, and used violent language. In this year when the officers were four *kos* off from Lalang they started off to see that fort. Moẓaffar thought he had got his opportunity and went away into vagabondage. Owing to the discord among the soldier[illegible] no one pursued him. Dalpat, the son of Rai Singh, went off on p[illegible]tence of seeking him, but really went to his own home and proce[illegible] to stir up strife. After three days Khwājah Wais[3] went [illegible] search for him. As that wicked fellow (Moẓaffar) had g[illegible] rapidly towards Gujarat, his companions fortunately deser[illegible] gradually. His aims were upset, and he failed. He was c[illegible] to disguise[4] himself as a devotee (as a qalandar) between [illegible] Baglāna. While he was in this bewilderment the Khwā[illegible]).

[illegible] XIII.

[1] Mān Singh's brother and in charge of Mahā Singh. B. 516. The Iqbālnāma remarks on this occas[illegible] that the earth of Bengal was leav[illegible] with the water of sedition. [illegible]ently Mahā Singh was t[illegible] 15 or 16, for accordi[illegible]

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seized him on 5th Khurdād. On this day Rajah Partāb, the Zamīndār of Baglāna, came to do homage and was honoured, and rewarded by princely favours. He was raised to the rank of 3,000 and after re-
771 ceiving a flag and a drum was allowed to go to his home. At this time Bahādur K. came forward with excuses and asked for the When he emerged somewhat from somnolence of understn the by the instrumentality of some double-faced persons at side my his grandmother[1] and his young son together with experienced He represented that "he had become terribly frighas sent. By of his backsliding and so was kept back from kissinn chastised, He wished that he might be left for some time to do roreigs of at court) service, until his fears should pass away and then l en- come to court with the evidence of good service. He was vas over his daughter (in marriage)[2] to Sulṭān Khusrū, and was sek abundance of presents." His sole idea was that as provisions dear H.M. would forgive him on receipt of this entreaty, and wc march on. The reply was that nothing would be accepted from hi unless he paid his respects. He should rely on a true promise and get rid of his fears, and come and serve.[3] At this time Ibrāhīm received the retribution of his deeds. When the management of
770 E Khāndesh was entrusted to the author he had sent Sundar Dās and ot many others to take the fort of Sambal[4] Dol, and Jāmū. That bra wicked fellow (Ibrāhīm) fought, but by God's help he was defeated army a d made prisoner. Many brave men were wounded, and Sundar to the h bravely yielded up his life. On the 10th that turbulent one met him toward the punishment of his deeds. On the 12th Fūlād K. had an he sent him ce, and was exalted by princely favours. He obtained the Akbar's) was 1,000 and a cultivated fief was given to him. ment he came veying one hun

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[1] I.O. MS. 236 has a ext. ls her the mother only means reading here, and so, it appears, had hādur Chalmers. They have, instead of 23rd the date, the statement that A. F. established 22 posts. The Lucknow ed. has also this. The Maaṣir also, II. 613, speaks of A. F.'s establishing 22 thanas. It says A. F. the Akbar may represent either an S or a P. Khandesh od is the proper name. We are gave the pro ld any particular as to who as H.M. remained hīm was. Apparently he eath.

[3] The grandmother and the son were sent back (Iqbālnāma).

[4] The Pīpalḍol and Jāmod of J. II. 224. The dots below the first letter

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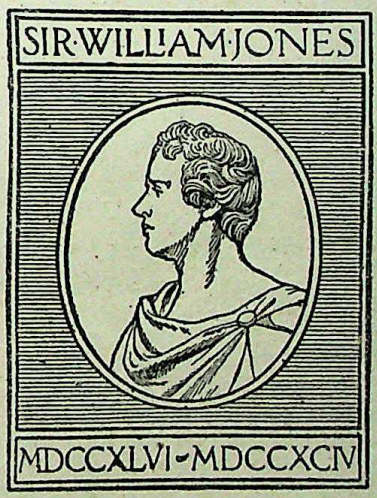

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One of the occurrences was the death of Bīca Jīo.[1] Though she was the mother of the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka, yet she also held a maternal relation to H.M. On the 16th she died after much suffering, and the world's lord was sad. In his grief he shaved his head and mustaches, and though he tried that none should shave except her children, his faithful servants followed suit. H.M. carried the bier for some distance on his shoulders. While old, she had a youthful mind. She was very well-disposed, and gracious of heart. On the 17th Moẓaffar Ḥusain was brought to court. His shortsightedness was pardoned, and he was sent to the prison of instruction. When it became known that the officers had not actively pursued and searched for him, they were censured, and Rai Durgā and Rai Manohar were appointed for this duty. Khwāja Wais had arrested him and brought him to Sulṭānpūr, and they too came there. Near Coprah[2] Khwāja Nāẓir, 'Ambar Ḥabshī and other Khāndesh rebels rose up to fight. By God's help they were discomfited and disgraced. On the 25th (Khurdād, 5th June 1600) the writer of the noble volume was raised to the rank of 4,000, and many sate down in the blackness of envy. On this day Ṣardār[3] K. came and did homage, and was raised to the rank of 1,000. He was the grandson of Rajah 'Alī K. and the sister's son of the writer. H.M. summoned him from Agra in order that he might favour him. The soldiers of the landholder of Khāndesh joined[4] him. On the 32nd the troops took the summit of the hill of Sāpan.[5] It is very high and difficult of access. The garrison of Āsīr used to come out to it and do damage. Qarā Beg, M. Yūsuf, M. Tolak, Raḥmat K., S. 'Allāu-d-dīn, Khwāja Abū Nāsir, Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, Shihāb Qandahārī, Niẓāmu-d-dīn Ḥaidar, and others stood firm in battle, and gradually drove off the enemy until they entered the fort (Āsīr). A grand victory was won. Qarā

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[1] This is Jījī Anaga, the wife of Shamsu-d-dīn, and not Pīca Anaga who was the wife of Khwāja Maqṣūd. The Iqbālnāma calls her Jījī Anaga. It says Akbar shaved his hair, his eyebrows, etc., according to the rules of Cingīz Khān.

[2] J. II. 224-25. The Chopda of I.G. X. 327. t had a temple of Rameshwar at the confluence of the Girnī and Taptī.

[3] B. XXXIV.

[4] Presumably on account of his relationship with the Khāndesh royal family.

[5] Sāpan is referred to, later on, at p. 777. It was a hill to the S.-W. of Āsīr, and one of its outworks.

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Beg and some others took charge of it. Things became somewhat difficult for the garrison (of Āsīr). In the beginning of Tīr Shāham K. Jalāīr had an audience. He had been summoned to this expedition. He arrived after providing equipment, and was exalted by princely favours. On the 3rd Nāsik was taken. When S'aādat K. submitted, the base Rājū,[1] his servant, enticed his followers by intrigues, and seized elephants and other things, and prevailed over that country. On receiving this news the Prince sent 5,000 men under the command of Daulat K. to punish him. Rajah Sūraj Singh, S'aādat Bārha, Rustum 'Arab, Shamsher 'Arab, Shahbāz K., Burhān-al-mulk and many others went with him. Able men showed a good fight, and by God's favour a victory was obtained. In this year Khwāja Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī died. He had been left in Lahore to manage the crown-lands of the Panjab. He did the work in whole and in detail, and in that city he died. He was one of the singular of the age for success, truthfulness and courage. His knowledge had the glory of corresponding action. Contrarieties did not disturb him. H.M. grieved at the departure of this able man, and implored pardon for him from God, and showed suitable favour to his survivors. He appointed his younger brother Mūmin, who was distinguished for propriety, to the same office. On the 27th those who had capitulated were sent to prison. When the victorious troops invested Aḥmadnagar, S'aādat K., Farhād K., Shuj'aāt K., Sharẕa K., 'Abdu-ṣattār and many Abyssinians and Deccanis made agreements and did homage. The dust of dissension subsided. The enemies who had passed themselves off as friends became mad, and set themselves to destroy the work. By dexterous means they excited the Prince,
773 and at their instigation he arrested many people. Farhād K. and others, who under the guidance of M. Khān were serving peaceably,

[1] Evidently the Rajū who afterwards gave so much trouble. He is called Rājū Deccanī and Rājū Mannū. Ferishta says in his account of the Niẓāmshāhī dynasty that two men of no family—'Ambar the Abyssinian, and Rājū—preserved the dynasty from the Moghuls. A. F. never calls the scion whom they raised up anything but the son of Shah 'Alī. Ferishta calls him Murtaẓa Niẓām Shāh. Rājū and 'Ambar were on bad terms with one another, and the K. K. made use of this, and sent an army under his son to attack 'Ambar. A great battle occurred at Kharkī in 1010 A.H. and Īrij was victorious (B. 491). Afterwards, the K. K. was on good terms with 'Ambar.

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took to flight. A cry that promises were being broken was raised and every one who wanted to come in turned back.

One of the occurrences was the improper conduct of the Prince Royal. When that nursling of dominion was sent to punish the Rānā, he from self-indulgence, wine drinking and bad company spent much time in Ajmere. Afterwards he hastened off to Udaipūr. The Rānā came out on another side, and increased his disturbance. He plundered Mālpūr and other cultivated places. He (the Prince) sent Mādhū Singh and a body of troops in that direction, and the Rānā returned to the hills. In his retreat he made a night-attack on some soldiers. Reẓa Qulī, Lāla Beg, Mubāriz Beg, Aliph K. stood firm and he retired without success. Before the Prince had accomplished his task in a proper manner, he at the instigation of evil persons showed a disposition to behave in a self-willed manner. He wished to go to the Panjāb, and he indulged his disposition somewhat. Suddenly, there was a loud report of the disturbances of the Afghans in Bengal, and Rajah Mān Singh pointed out to him that he should go there. On 1st Amardād he crossed the Jumna, four *kos* from Agra. Miriam-Makānī was astonished at his disobedience and at his not coming to pay his respects (to her?). In her loving kindness she followed him for some distance, thinking that she might by her counsels guide him to the path of auspiciousness. On becoming aware of this, he left the hunting-ground for his boat and went rapidly down the river. That great lady returned with a sorrowful heart. He went on to Allahabad and confiscated men's fiefs, and laid hold of the Bihar treasure, which was more than thirty *lakhs* of rupis. He also assumed the name of king. H.M. from his abundant loving-kindness and the views of tricksters did not believe everything. The grandees too indulged in the same language. When a *firmān* was sent inquiring about his misconduct, he dexterously spoke about his submissiveness and called himself innocent and expressed a desire to kiss the threshold.[1]

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[1] Salīm had been for a good while on bad terms with his father, and it appears that he never had a separate command, or was entrusted with much power until he was sent to Ajmere. The inscription on Anarkalī's tomb (Murray's handbook for the Panjab, 186) bears the date 1008 (1599-1600) in letters and figures. But this cannot be the date of her death, for Akbar was not at Lahore in that year. He left it for Agra on 26th Ābān 1007=6th November 1598. Either the story about her being

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On the 4th M. Rustum was sent to the Deccan. As the capture of Aḥmadnagar was delayed, and the army was in some distress from the dearness of provisions, the wicked raised their heads here and there. The Prince (Daniel) asked for reinforcements. Accordingly Bāz Bahādur, Khān Qulī, Raḥīm Dād, Payinda Beg, and many others, were sent under the command of the Mīrzā. Many good advices were given to him, and one *lakh* of *mohars* was made over to Iftikhār[1] in order that he might convey them to the Prince. On the 22nd Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah together with Zāhid, Mīr 'Abdu-l-ḥai and others had an audience. When they went on the expedition against Lalang, the garrison capitulated on account of want of food and delivered up the keys. He (Fatḥ Ullah) brought Malik Sher and some Khāndesh soldiers—who sought to submit – to court after having made treaties. Every one of them received suitable favours.
774 At this time Nāsik fell out of the hands of the imperial servants. The troops were exerting themselves to take Aḥmadnagar. Some Bījāpūr troops came to protect their boundaries, and this caused much anxiety. Interested persons, who were lovers of commotion, represented that their coming was for a different motive, and the imperialists were nearly retiring from the siege. Fortune prevented this, but they inopportunely recalled the Nāsik army, and so the conquered country had inevitably, and in the most disgraceful manner, to be abandoned. On the 14th they joined at Aḥmadnagar. On 5th Shahriyūr Shāham[2] Jalāīr died of diarrhœa. H.M. prayed for forgiveness for this old man and ancient servant.

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buried alive is untrue or the date is not that of her death, but of the building of the tomb. The Iqbālnāma makes excuses for Salīm. It says nothing about his wanting to go to the Panjāb and says Mān Singh begged him to go to Bengal on account of the recent defeat of the imperialists. As Salīm's servants' *jāgīrs* were near Agra he exchanged them with those of Aṣaf K. and others who had lands near Allahabād. Though some servants, and especially those who had lands in Allahabād, put a wrong colour on Salīm's proceedings, Akbar behaved lovingly and sent a kind letter of advice to Salīm by Khwājah 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad.

[1] B. 516. Probably this is the son of Bayāzīd Biyāt, the writer of memoirs.

[2] B. 410. The statement there and in the Maaṣīr-u. II. 605, that he died in the last month of 1009, May-June 1601, seems incorrect. According to A. F. in the 2nd month of 1009, it was August 1600. It was his father who lost his life at the battle of Chausa when trying to save Humāyūn's queens.

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CHAPTER CXLIV.

The Capture of the Fort of Aḥmadnagar through the Fortune of the Shāhinshāh.

Assuredly, dominion comes unsought to those rulers with whom increase of territory brings increase of humility and devotion. And what they desire is carried to the height of fulfilment in spite of thousands of stones in the way. The account of this great victory is another instance of this. The idea of those who had been sent on this duty was that they would give their minds to it after the rains. H.M. continually ordered exertion and his standards arrived at Burhānpūr. So they were compelled to undertake the work. Cānd Bībī made the same propositions as she had made to the writer, whilst Abhang K. came to the top of the hills with a large force of Abyssinians and Deccanīs and meditated fighting. On the eve[1] of 26th Farwardīn (about 5th April, 1601) the day of Fortune manifested itself gloriously. Dissension broke out among the Deccan soldiers, and this one and that one declared that some of the leaders were treating with the imperialists. The leader (Abhang) lost courage and disbanded without a battle. Next morning the Pass was crossed and a camp formed near Aḥmadnagar. On 2nd Ardibihisht (about 12th April) the batteries were distributed. First, there were the special servants of the Prince; secondly, Shāhrukh M., the Khānkhānān, M. Yūsuf K., Mīr Martaẓā, Jagannāth, Sher Khwāja, M. 'Alī Beg, Khwāja Beg, M. Iftikhār[2] K., Kīcak Khwāja, Muḥammad

[1] Ferishta's account is that Abhang (called Nihang by Briggs) had 15,000 horse, and was guarding the mouth of the Pass, but when he heard that the imperialists were approaching Aḥmadnagar, and were devastating the country, he burnt his tents and fled to Janīr. Cf. Meadows-Taylor's A Noble Queen, chapter on the second siege. It would seem that Abhang gave up the defence because he learned that some of the other leaders were intriguing with the imperialists.

[2] The MSS. have I'tibar. But the Iqbālnāma has Iftikhār Beg.

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K. and other brave men. Cānd Bībī renewed her promises. On hearing of this Jītā[1] K., the eunuch, with some evil persons inside (the fort) put to death that choice lady, and with the help[2] of the 'Itibār K., Mīr Ṣafī, Mīr Taqī and Ḥājī Muḥammad they proceeded to fire the cannon. Owing to the love for delay of some of the leaders, an easy task became difficult, and several sallies were made from the fort, but they returned without success. By the energetic endeav-
775 ours of the Prince, able servants set themselves to make a glacis (khākrez). So they filled up the moat and came close to the walls. The moat was from thirty to forty yards broad, and seven deep. The wall was of bluish stone (basalt?) and twenty-seven yards high. Though great efforts were made (everywhere) yet there was especial activity in the batteries of the Prince and of M. Yūsuf K. Mines were made in several places, but the garrison found them out and filled them up. Strange to say, they made a shaft from within and set fire to the mine, but it became extinguished in the glacis, and no harm was done. The explosion (*sust-paiwandī rāh yāft*) split a tower of the fortress. When this was discovered, they[3] (the enemy) tried

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[1] Text Ḥabsha K., i.e. the Abyssinian Khan, but the Lucknow ed. I.O. MS. 236 and Farishta call him Jīta K., and this seems the correct reading. It was very easy to mistake جیتہ for حبشہ. See also Blochmann 336 note. Briggs calls him Ḥamīd K.

[2] The sentence is obscure but it appears from the Iqbālnāma that these persons were Deccanis and that after they killed Cānd Sultan they proceeded to fire at the imperialists. Neither Abul Faẓl nor the lithographed (Lucknow) edition of Ferishta gives the date of Cānd Sultan's death, but a MS. of Ferishta in my possession says she was put to death in the beginning of Muḥarram 1009. This would be 3rd July, 1600. Her death was not immediately followed by the storming of the fortress, for that did not take place till 16th August.

[3] The sentence is obscure. In Elliot VI. 100 it is rendered: "efforts were made to clear out the chasm, and this being effected, 180 *mans* of gunpowder were placed therein." The text and the MSS. say the attempt to clear out the place did not succeed. I think that the words *khālī sākhtā* must mean the same thing as the *tahī karda* of p. 700, line 13. A. F. writes elliptically and possibly a word has been left out in his MS. Some mines were destroyed by the besieged, but with one, or perhaps with the chasm caused by the explosion, they failed. This was then filled by the imperialists and exploded. Cf. Faiẓī's account, I.O. MS. 192, p. 245, which is fuller and better than A. F.'s

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to empty it (the mine), but as the crack was in the skirt (of the bastion) they did not succeed. 180 *mans* of gunpowder were put in and on 6th Shahrīyūr,[1] 16th August, 1600, at breakfast time, they were fired. Much of the tower—which was known as Lailā—and 30 yards of the wall were blown up. By the wonders of fortune the stones crushed the enemy to pieces and did not injure the besiegers. Active men entered by this route, and many penetrated from the batteries of M. Yūsuf K. 1,500 of the garrison were put to the sword. Some were saved by the instrumentality of their acquaintances. Bahādur, the son of Ibrāhīm and grandson of Burhān,—whom they had made Niẓāmu-l-mulk,—was captured. Valuable jewels, embroidered articles, a noble library and many other things, and 25 elephants, were obtained. The guns and powder were beyond computation. One of the wonderful things of fortune was that during the time of the siege—which was the rainy season—no rain fell, and the glacis was easily made. On the day after the victory it rained. The fortress was taken after four months and four days, and the drums of joy beat high. In two days[2] the news was brought to Burhānpūr and there was much giving of thanks. Bulletins of victory were sent everywhere, and there was a daily market of joy.

On the 8th the disturbance in Kashmīr subsided. When H.M.

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account. Faiẓī uses the word *surang* "a mine." B.M. MS. 27247 has a slightly different reading. It has *chūn az īn shigāf gāh ke dar dāmna būd niyārastand yāft*. Perhaps the meaning is that the fissure in the base of the tower prevented the besieged from crossing in order to destroy the mine. There is a full account of Aḥmadnagar in Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer, but apparently it is not stated of what kind of stone the fort wall is composed. The fort is situated half a mile to the east of the city.

[1] Faẓīī Sirhindi seems to have 8th and says about 70 yards of the wall were thrown down. He adds a chronogram made by M'āṣūm Bhakkarī. "*Dānyāl Aḥmadnagar ba namūd fatḥ* (1009)." Instead of 8th Shahriyūr, Elliot VI. 145 has 20th, but *hashtam* and *bīstam* are much alike in Persian. Faiẓī also says id. 144 that the fort was taken on 18th Ṣafr, i.e. 19th August, 1600.

[2] Faiẓī S. says the news was brought to Burhānpūr on 21st Ṣafr, 22nd August 1600, after three hours of the night. The fortress had been taken on 18th Ṣafr. He calls Cānd Bībī Cānd Bāī. Faiẓī's account may be compared with A. F. Elliot VI. 144. But the translation there is not complete. Farishta assigns the chief merit of the capture of Aḥmadnagar to Khwājah Abūl Ḥusain (Āṣaf K.) the dīwān of Prince Daniel.

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marched to the Deccan, some turbulent fellows in that country raised up Ab-yā Cak, the son of Ḥusain K., and filled that pleasant land with vapour. 'Alī Qulī, the son of Muḥammad Qulī, Kalb 'Alī, Shāh Beg Nakdarī and other good servants fought a battle at Phāknagar,[1] and were victorious. So also a sedition was raised in Kamrāj. Jamāl Beg and some brave men punished them in Tīlagāon,[2] and that delightful country had repose. On the 12th Amān Ullah, the son of Saif K. Koka, died in Burhānpūr. That excellent youth, from observ-
776 ing the ways of his contemporaries, fell into drinking habits, and threw away his life in that way.

One of the occurrences was the death of Jalāla Tārīkī. The Loḥānī tribe practised buying and selling in Ghaznīn. Before this, the Hazāras lay in wait and attacked them. For seven days they stood firm and fought. They were overcome by thirst and turned back, and sought help from the leader of the Tārīkīs. On the 9th he came as a merchant to Ghaznīn. The servants of Sharīf K. and the peasants made some fight and then withdrew. That wicked one set himself to practise trickery, and gathered many goods under the pretext of purchasing them. On the 16th he wanted to take the things home. Shādmān Hazāra and others opposed him, and after a little fighting were victorious. The Tārīkīs took to flight, and that illfated one was wounded and went to the hill of Rabāṭ. Murād Beg and some others came and finished him. The great material of sedition was easily disposed of. For a long time numerous soldiers had been appointed to punish him, and some years before this, Zain K. Koka and many brave men had made an expedition against him. By the strength of Fortune some unknown men did his business. In this year Bhān,[3] the son of Sujān Singh, died in Burhānpūr. He was a landholder in the eastern countries (*khāwarī mirz*), and was distinguished for bravery. An old servant of his had become mad, and at a time when he (Sujān or Bhān) was naked and had no

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[1] Text Bhāk. See J. II. 369.

[2] Probably this is the Telkām of J. II. 371.

[3] I think that the text is corrupt. The sentence is certainly obscure and I am not sure if I have understood it. The MSS. say nothing of Bhān. According to them it was Sujān who was killed. What they say is, "In this year and month Sujān was killed." The variant also leaves out the name of Bhān.

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weapon with him, the servant struck him some blows with a sword, and in a short while he died of his wounds.

In the beginning of Mihr Sādāt K. came to court. For some time no messages came from the garrison of Āsīr. By H.M.'s orders the writer wrote some counsels to Bahādur K. He sent that saiyid —who was his sister's husband (*īzna*) and chief swordsman (*mīr shamshēr*)[1]—with ten elephants. He obtained an audience, and made the same statement as before. As it was untrue, it was not accepted. An order was given for sending back the presents, and it was said that "the governor of the garrison has not awoke from his slumber. It will be well for him to come out of his sleep soon. Blandishments are of no use." Sādāt said, "With great difficulty have I brought myself out of those difficulties, and have long had a desire to serve the sublime court." As his speech had the glory of truth, it was accepted, and he was raised to the rank of 1,000. Shaikh Pīr Muḥammad Ḥusain, one of his companions, carried back the reply. On 3rd Ābān Akhairāj came from Aḥmadnagar. He had conveyed an order from H.M. The Prince (Daniel) sent some of the Niẓām-ul-Mulkī ladies with him, and every one of them received suitable favours. On the 5th the feast of the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed against twelve articles. High and low had 777
their wishes gratified. On the 23rd the troops arrived at Junair.[2] That city was the abode of the Niẓām-ul-Mulki's ancestors. The fort is called Bīr.[3] When Aḥmadnagar was conquered, M. Khān was sent there. Burhān-ul-mulk, 'Imād K., Ḥabīb K., 'Alī Sher K., and others accompanied him. By God's help it was taken without a contest. No long time had elapsed when the Hindia landholder and some other ignorant persons had come to fight. They were punished. The garrison proposed capitulation and the delivery of the keys. On the 8th Āẕar H.M. visited the tomb of Bīca (Jījī). As the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka was sending the body to Delhi, the appreciative sovereign came there and begged forgiveness for her. From there

[1] Apparently means his best officer.

[2] The Joonair of Meadows-Taylor, the Djounar of Reclus and the Junnar of the I.G. It is 56 m. north of Poona.

[3] So in text, but evidently this is wrong. Probably Shivner I.G. XXII. 294 is right. There is the variant Sīr. Shivner is the birthplace of Sīvajī.

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he proceeded to Lāl Bāgh and took some repose. As the charge of that flower-garden was with the writer he made some humble representations, and the door was opened to auspiciousness.

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CHAPTER CXLV.

THE CAPTURE OF MĀLĪGARH BY THE MIGHT OF DAILY-INCREASING FORTUNE.

Āsīr is a choice fortress, and unequalled for height and strength. In its waist (*kamargāh*) on the W. and somewhat[1] to the N. side there is a noted fort called Mālīgarh. Whoever desires to enter the great fortress must first pass by Mālīgarh. Separate from it on the N. and N.E., there is a Mālī, and that they call Jūna Mālī. But the wall of it had not been completed. From the E. to the S.W., there are smaller hills. To the S. there is a high hill called Korhī (Koḍhī). To the S.W. there is a high hill called Sāpan. The wicked rebels had made all the places strong by means of guns and men. The last[2] (Sāpan) had been previously captured. Shortsighted persons thought that the place could not be taken. On account of the dearness of provisions and the distance from their homes, high and low were dejected. The scattering of gold by the garrison had seduced

[1] It appears from the I.O. MSS. and from B. XXIII and the Maaṣir II. 614 that the text of the Bib. Ind. is corrupt. Not only is the word *lakhtā* "somewhat" missed out, but also it appears that what A. F. wrote was that there were two forts or outworks, viz. Mālī and Antarī Mālī, and that whoever wished to get to Āsīr must first pass through these two forts. Cf. II. 223 where it is said that Āsīr is encompassed by three other forts. The third fort, apparently, is Jūnī or Cūnī Mālī. But perhaps it is Korhīh. Faiẓī S. has a very long account of the siege of Āsīr, but he dwells chiefly upon the exploits of Farīd Bakhshī, and says nothing about A. F.'s capture of Mālīgarh. See Elliot VI. 132 *et seq.* which however is not a complete translation. See also the account of Āsīr in Noer's Akbar, English translation, II. 353 *et seq.*, and in the I.G. Ferishta in his chapter on the kings of Khāndesh has a description of Āsīr from personal observation, and Tiefenthaler has a notice of it, accompanied by a rude drawing of Burhānpūr and Āsīr. The best description occurs in Campbell's Bombay Gazetteer, volume for Khandesh. At p. 576 there is a plan of the fort. The name is there spelt Asīrgad.

[2] See p. 772.

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some of the intimate courtiers from their duty. One of the garrison joined Qarā Beg and pointed out a secret path by which one could come over the wall of Mālī. As there was no enquiry into work, no attention was paid to this. When the matter was reported to H.M. the informer was regarded as being mad, and by representing that many men would be killed they prevented H.M. from giving permission (for the expedition). Occasionally he sent the writer to look after the batteries. However much I tried, the men would not give their minds to the subject, and from an ill-timed humility I did not reproach or censure them. On 17th Āẕar I was sent back to that employment. As I knew something of the essence of the matter
778 I had got permission to the effect that whatever I should determine should be carried out by the others. When I came there, Qarā Beg described the path, and fresh vigour was imparted to my resolutions. I arranged with the commanders of the batteries that within this week they would turn their face towards the True Disposer (God) and would run to the taking of the fort. When the sound of the drum and trumpet reached their ears, every one was to come with the ladders, and beat the drum loudly.[1] Though they agreed, *nolentes volentes*, yet many thought it was madness.

On the night of the 18th (28th November, 1600), which was very dark and rainy, select men were told off and assembled on the top of the hill Sāpan. At midnight I sent off Qarā Beg first with a body of men. Similarly I sent off men gradually from the batteries, and also my own servants. At the latter part of the night some of the first body entered upon the secret path, and broke open the gate of Mālī. Many brave men entered the fort and sounded the drums and the trumpet. On account of the delay in the coming of the men (i.e., the men whom A. F. had ordered to follow), the garrison gathered together and stood to fight. On perceiving this, I myself followed. While traversing the hill the guide made some mistake. In the heat of the battle, and the rain of cannon-balls, at dawn[2] I mounted the scaling-ladder, and the imperialists, who had been in difficulties,

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[1] Cf. B. XXII.

[2] The passage is a difficult one, and I am not sure of the meaning. The I.O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have *farogh* before *subahgāh* or *ṣubahgāhī*, but this does not seem important. I suppose that *ṭanāb* must here mean rope-ladders, especially as there already had been an order about bringing ladders (*zīna*).

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acquired fresh vigour. In a short time the enemy retreated and fled in confusion to Āsīr. The True Disposer granted a great victory, and this weak and humble individual acquired a great name. When the glory of the sun took possession of the world, the men of the other batteries came from all sides. Peshrau[1] K., Mīr Qāsim Badakhshī, and Jagdeo displayed activity and took possession of Korhī. Āgā Mullā also followed up in a proper manner with the men of Āṣaf K. The men of Farīd Bakhshī Begī, Bahādur K., Raḥmat K., Siyām Singh, the sons of Samānjī K. (B. 441) and other heroes acted quickly and took possession of Jūna Mālī. Owing to daily-increasing fortune a great victory displayed her countenance, and many fell into the tortures of envy.

Verse.

Morning came with blessing.
The dark night of sorrow ended.
Victory came from six sides.
Dominion uttered gratulations on two sides.

Where can I have the strength to return thanks to God? How can I set about doing so? 'Tis better that like guilty implorers I prostrate my heart's forehead in supplication, and that in acknowledgment of the Divine decree I abstain from associating myself with the Creator.

God be praised! The penetration of H.M. was again impressed on high and low, and the pearl of vision acquired fresh lustre. As 779
it was not imagined that the ruler of Khandesh would shut his gates in the face of the World's ruler, a siege-train had not been brought. Though, after arrival, by a thousand efforts some guns were brought

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I am not sure whether *bar shud* means arriving with the ladders or mounting on them. The Darbárí Akbarí, p. 481 top, makes A. F.'s conduct even more heroic than A. F. himself makes it, for it makes A. F. the first to enter the fort, saying the others then followed him like ants. It also apparently says that A. F. had the ropes or ladders put down on the inside of the wall. Apparently A. F. means to signalise his own bravery by saying that he mounted or arrived during the rain and the cannonade, and while the morning revealed him to the enemy.

[1] Possibly this is Asad Beg, the author of the Wiqāya, though according to Elliot VI. 150 he did not get the title of Peshrau K. till Jahāngīr's reign.

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from Parnāla, Gāwāl and Aḥmadābād, yet from inattention they were not of much use. In spite of this, H.M. was continually saying, "This fort will soon be taken." And many accepting the soothing words continued to slumber. On the 27th Mīr Murtaẓā came from Aḥmadnagar and was exalted by doing homage. His good services were rewarded by a flag, a drum and a fertile *jāgīr*. On the 29th the Khān-khānān paid his respects and he brought Bahādur,[1] whom they had raised to the Niẓāmu-l-mulki. Kabīr K., the son of Bahādur K., Khwāja Abu-l-ḥasan, Kāmal-al-mulk, Wazīr K., and some headmen of Khāndesh—who were in charge of the Deccan—had an audience, and received favours.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Bahādur K. On the same day that Mālīgarh was taken by God's help, he awoke from his somnolence, and sent an ambassador to the author. He spoke of capitulating and of paying his respects (to Akbar). I did not accept the statements and made no reply, but at his earnest entreaty I sent on the envoy to court. On 23rd Āẕar H.M. sent Rām Dās to him and on the fourth day he brought with him Muqarrib K., who was a chosen servant of his. The purport of his message was that if the fortress and the country were restored to him, and if the prisoners were released, he would hasten to submit. It is a custom of long standing that one of the Farūqīs sits on the throne, and the others—brothers and relatives—remain in confinement. They spend their days in obscurity with their families. H.M. accepted the proposal and granted life and honour. Next day the Abyssinian returned and petitioned. "Now his (Bahādur's) request is that the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka would take his hand and bring him to court." This was agreed to and he (M. Koka) came to Mālī, and Bahādur K. descended from Āsīr. On the 30th he rubbed his forehead on the threshold of fortune, and obtained deliverance from various sorrows. His two young children, Afẓal K. and Khudāwand K., and many others, had an audience, and they were allotted a place in the advance-camp (*peshkhāna*) of S Farīd Bakhshī Begī. An order was given for keeping them under supervision. On 17th Dai S. 'Abdullah K. and Rajah Rāj Singh came from Gwaliyar, and Mīr Sharīf Āmulī from his *jāgīr*, and Sher Beg from Bengal. Every one of them was

[1] He was sent to Gwaliar and he was there when the last Niẓām Shah was sent there in 10 43, 1633. See Elliot II. 43 and Badshāhnāmah 540.

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gratified with princely favours. On 4th Bahman the feast of the lunar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against eight articles, and high and low gained their desires, and there was renewal of joy.

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CHAPTER CXLVI.

The Capture of Āsīr by the help of Fortune.

780 There is no other instance of a fortress which had such abundance of stores, such numbers of guns, so many defenders, and other materials of defence. The extraordinary thing is that although H.M. had no equipment for a siege, yet he addressed himself to the capture. After the fortress had been invested for some time sickness broke out in it. Every day there were many deaths. When such mortality occurred among the commonalty, it did not awaken the great men of the garrison from their lethargy. From time to time they devised new stratagems. By the taking of Mālīgarh exit and entrance were stopped, and they were aroused somewhat. At last, at the instance of some servants of the Shāhinshāh, an agreement to this effect was made[1]: First, Bahādur should appear at court. Second, H.M. should restore to him the fortress and county, "otherwise, said Bahādur, the garrison will not submit to my proposals." When the idea became fact, and a petition was made in accordance with what he (Bahādur) had learnt, the writer obtained leave to attack the fortress. This suppliant at the court of God proceeded to do this, and made supplication to God his forefront. Though exertions were made to push on the batteries from near Korhīaīh, and leave was obtained for the bringing of great guns, yet secretly all men engaged in enticing the garrison. By soothing words they drew their hearts towards them. The latter represented that some writing[2] of Bahādur should be obtained, addressed to such and such an one, so that no stain of a bad name might fall upon them for delivering up the fort. They also asked for a firmān from H.M., securing them their lives, their property and their honour. This was granted. Bahādur K. for some time hesitated to write, and made untrue remarks.

[1] Apparently it ought to be "proposed."

[2] It will be remembered that by this time Bahādur had personally surrendered, and was in Farīd Bakhshī's camp.

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When pressure was put upon him, he was compelled to write, and to put his seal on the writing. H. M.'s order was sent into the fort along with this writing, and the terrified ones had repose. I myself sate at the gate, and in four days 34,000 persons came out with their families and goods, and conveyed themselves to a place of comfort. On 5th Bahman Ikhtiyār K., Ulugh K. Ḥabshī, Marjān Zangī and others, who were the centre of the garrison, came down and were kindly treated. On the 7th I sent my son, 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, with some able men up to the fort, and the men inside surrendered the keys. A glorious victory adorned the face of fortune. Fifty-three persons,—learned men, brothers and sons of Bahādur,—some old, and some young, and some of the tender age,—came down. All who were considered fit were sent to court. There were seven sons of Mubārik K. who was formerly ruler of Khāndesh, viz. Dāūd K., Ḥāmid 781
K., Qaiṣar K., Bahrām K., Sher K., Ghazni K., Daryā K. The first had two sons, Fatḥ K. and Muḥammad K.; the second had one son, Bahādur K.; the third had three sons, Lāṭif K., Dilāwar K., Murtaẓa K. The last of them had two sons, Ḥabīb K. and Ibrāhīm K. The fourth had three sons, Ā'ẓim K., Mūsā K., Jalāl K. The fifth had two sons, Ism'aīl K. and Aḥmad K. The sixth had one son, Aḥmad K. The seventh had three sons, Muḥammad K., Maḥmūd K., Moẓaffar K. The eighth son, Ṣāhib K., who had died, had two sons, Ṭāhir K. and Ṣadaq Ullah. Sikandar K. and Ibrāhīm were the sons of Ṭāhir. Altogether the descendants of Mubārīk were twenty-eight persons. The descendants of Muḥammad K., who was the ruler before Rajah 'Ali K., were Ḥasan K., with his two sons, Qāsim K. and Ibrāhīm K. There were six sons of Rajah 'Alī, viz. Bahādur K.—who already had the blessing of presenting himself—with his five sons, Kabīr K., Muḥammad K., Sikandar K., Moẓaffar K., Mubārik K. 2ndly Aḥmad K. with three sons, Moẓaffar K., 'Alī K., Muḥammad K. 3rdly Maḥmūd K. with two sons, Walī K., Ibrāhīm K. 4thly Ṭāhir K. 5thly Mas'aūd K. 6thly Muḥammad K. There were also Dilāwar K., the daughter's son of Mubārik K. and his son Tāj K., the grandson of Farīd K. There were also Walī K., Nasīr K., Saiyid Ism'aīl, the three sons-in-law of Rajah 'Alī K., Muḥammad K., the son-in-law of Cānd K., 'Alī K., the son-in-law of Ḥasan K. H. M. presented them all with robes of honour and choice horses, and made over each of them to the hospitality

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of one of his servants. He issued an order that they should always perform the *kornish*. His idea was that he would test them and appoint them to offices. The treasure, the jewels and other properties were securely guarded. By the divine favour the work which had been undertaken was brought to a beautiful termination. The near and the remote had joy. Though there were many batteries, yet the most choice were those of the Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka, Āṣaf K., and S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī. High and low worked properly and got their reward. The treasurers (*ḥawālāladārān*) and the accountants of Bahādur K. were left in the fort, and able men were appointed to every place. When my mind was at ease I prostrated myself at the holy threshold and received princely favours.

This unwise hill-man had conveyed more than 100,000 souls to the top of the fortress. On account of the crowd of creatures the
782 atmosphere was affected, and a great sickness ensued. 25,000[1] persons died. Owing to daily-increasing fortune there was some delay in the rains, and corn was collected from all sides. This was a comfort to the victorious troops. The batteries were advanced, and owing to the marvels of fortune no injury was done to any person of note by the firing of cannon night and day. Only 'Ullugh Beg Badakhshī and Saiyid Abu Isaḥaq Ṣafavī were killed by musket shots. Looking to the rain of bullets it would not have been wonderful if more than a hundred persons had been killed daily. But the Divine protection guarded them, and was a source of wonder to the experienced. A wonderful thing was that near the time when victory declared itself, the lofty wall of the fort fell[2] down. The sound was louder than that of cannon. H.M. when he first came to Burhānpūr engaged in special acts of devotion, and took to repeating the Great Name.[3] He gave an order to the writer to send him at the end of

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[1] Ferishta, who visited Asīr in 1013 A.H., says in his account of the rulers of Khāndesh that he was told by Āṣaf K. and another that after the fortress was captured 80,000 persons—men and women—came out of it, and that 40,000 persons had died of the plague during the siege.

[2] Cf. Elliot VI. 143.

[3] For an account of the Great Name see Hughes' Dict. of Islām, 220*b* and 226*b*. Cf. also Badayūnī, Lowe, 203, and B. 170, where it is said "H.M. passed whole nights in thoughts of God; he continually occupied himself with pronouncing the names Yā hū and Yā hādī." The Lucknow editor says that the

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every session varied sweetmeats, and to keep an eye on the arrangements of fate. This was excellently observed. At the end of the first session (*khatam*) was the capture of Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. Similarly, every time news of victory was brought to his hearing. There was the victory of Aḥmadnagar, the death of the ringleader of the Tārīkis, the taking of Mālīgarh, the conquest of Āsīr.[1] Whoever considers the disinterestedness and piety of the world's lord will not be surprised at these marvels, and will know a little out of many.

At this time, ambassadors were sent to Bījāpūr, Golkanda, and Bīdar. 'Ādil K., the ruler of Bījāpūr, first sent a valuable ruby and used supplications. So also did Quṭbu-l-mulk and Malik Barīd take to humble language. All their desire was that some persons might be appointed from the court to soothe their minds. Though during the disturbance caused by the death of the Prince, the battle at Bīr, and the investment of Aḥmadnagar, the Niẓāmu-l-mulkī people asked them for help, they did not cast away the thread of loyalty and paid no attention to their request, though many of the imperial servants sought a cause for the returning of the august standards. Their (the Deccan powers) petitions were accepted and on the 12th Sharīf Sarmadī was sent to 'Ādil K.; Mas'aūd Beg to Quṭbu-l-mulk, and Mūmin to Malik Barīd. Excellent counsels were sent by the tongue of the pen and by the ambassadors.

One of the occurrences was the death of M. Jānī Beg, the ruler of Tatta. He had some external knowledge, and was versed in Persian prose and poetry and in music. From the time that he came to

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name is the name of God, and that the custom is to repeat verses of the Qoran for the destruction of enemies, and that this is done, either alone, or with 3 or 4 persons up to 40, and that perfumes are burnt and sweetmeats are distributed. Apparently it was for these ceremonies that A. F. was told to bring sweetmeats (*halwā*). Cf. Badayūnī, Lowe, 205: "Quantities of perfumes were used." It was, perhaps, in connection with these incantations that the word Arnās, "destruction of enemies," was used for presents made to Amirs and troopers.

[1] A. F. does not mention the picturesque story told by Faiẓī S. about the suicide of Muqarrib K. Elliot VI. 146. Faiẓī adds in the original (I.O. MS. 192, p. 248*b*) that Sīdī Yā'qūb, the father of Mubārak, afterwards poisoned himself. The story seems referred to in the Darbārī Akbari, p. 481, but it is told in a different way.

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court, loyalty shone from the forehead of his words and acts. His manners showed discretion and calmness. But from childhood he had been addicted to wine. It was extraordinary that it did not lead him into any impropriety, and that both in his acts and speech
783 he kept control over himself. In the privacy of his house the draining of cups was carried to excess, and as there was no one to advise him he did not refrain.

Verse.

Why do you take a thing by imbibing which
A reed shows like a cypress, a cypress like a reed ?
If you're merciful, they say it is the wine and not he.
If you're violent, they say it is he and not the wine.

That pure thing (wine) stained the limpid waters of life. That material of joy caused loss of life. Excess in wine made him ill, and he became paralytic and delirious. On the 13th (Bahman, 1009, 23rd January 1601) he packed up his goods from this caravan. Strangers and acquaintances regretted him.[1] The appreciative sovereign privately restored his territory to the son M. Ghāzī, and sent him a diploma and a valuable robe of honour.

One of the occurrences was the departure to the other world of Ḥakīm[2] Miṣrī. He had an unique knowledge of external and spiritual matters. He had such a knowledge of medicine that if medical books had disappeared he could have written them out from memory. He had gathered the pleasing language of Ṣufism. Openness and cheerfulness adorned his brow. Friends and strangers benefited by his kindness. He did not withdraw himself from any sick person but maintained an open brow and endeavoured to cure them.

Verse.

He needs a panegyrist like himself.
At this time where is there one like him in the world ?

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[1] B. 361 and Maaṣir III. 302. He is said to have offended Akbar shortly before his death by saying that if Āsīr had been his, he would have held it for a hundred years.

[2] Faiẓī S. gives the date, Monday, 1st Shabān, 26th January, 1601.

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Though he had reached eighty years, the head of youth boiled within him. He was attacked by a sudden chill, and he shrunk up. Fever increased, and on the 13th at midnight he became occasionally delirious. When he came a little to himself, he sent for the writer. I came to his pillow, and lost my senses on beholding him. Conscious and while remembering God he closed his eyes on this spot of trouble. Small and great were plunged into long sorrow.

Verse.

Rise up that I may weep and lament.
I weep abundantly, and lament.
Sorrows lacerate my liver.
When I end, I begin again to weep.

The appreciative sovereign was grieved, and implored forgiveness for him.

On the night of the 23rd the writer was nominated to Nāsīk. From the time that those who had surrendered were in custody, from time to time disturbances increased owing to the want of care on the part of the administrators of affairs. Though by the marvels of fortune, Aḥmadnagar had been conquered, things went somewhat backward. High prices destroyed the troops. The self-willed men of the Deccan assembled together, and raised the head of disturbance. They elevated to the supremacy ʻĀlī, the son of Shāh ʻAlī, 784
the uncle of Murtaẓā Niẓām-ul-mulk. They made that vagrant pauper the means of their own success. Though the whole affair was not disclosed to H.M., yet the wickedness of Shāh ʻAlī's son and sedition-mongering of Rājū were current talk. On this account the Khān-khānān was in the first place sent to Aḥmadnagar to remedy matters, and the author was sent to Nāsīk. He obtained leave for that purpose this year. He was exalted by receiving [1] a choice robe of honour, a special horse, a flag, and a drum. Rai Raī Singh, Rai Durgā, Rai Bhoj, Hāshim Beg, Tolak, Muqīm K., Fūlād K. Kamal-ul-mulk and many others were nominated to accompany him. Next morning H.M. came to inspect Āsīr. On the way he granted leave

1 Faiẓī S. gives the date, viz. the night of Monday, 8th Shabān, 1009, February 1601, and says that 100 officers were put under A. F. He also calls him Nawāb.

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to the Khān-khānān and the other servants to go on the above-mentioned service. He, during four days, inspected [1] the fortress and the spoils and then returned to Burhānpūr.

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the sedition-mongers in Bengal. It has been mentioned that the Afghans made Qatlū's son an instrument of commotion, and raised up the head of strife. Several times Rajah Mān Singh's people led out their forces and were defeated. Mīr 'Abdu-r-razzāq M'amūrī—who was the Bakhshī of the army—was made prisoner. When the Rajah came to Allahabad with the Prince-Royal, he took leave to go to Bengal, and stayed for some time in Rohtās, making preparations. From there he went to punish the evildoers. Near Sherpūr 'Aṭāī he met in with the enemy. Both forces made forts and encamped opposite one another. On 1st Isfandārmaẕ they drew up in battle array, and after a slight engagement the enemy was punished. By the might of fortune a noted elephant of theirs was struck by a bullet and in his agitation he rushed into his own army and threw it into confusion. Many were killed. As the day was at its close they pursued for four *kos* and then turned back. Mīr 'Abdu-r-razzāq [2] Māmūri fell into their hands with a collar round his neck and chains on his feet. He had been mounted in this condition on an elephant, and a man had been appointed to kill him in case of defeat. Suddenly the man was killed by a bullet and the Mīr escaped from death. By God's favour the insurrection subsided, and the servants were exalted by favours.

On this day the intuition of the Shāhinshāh was made clear. The son of Shams Cak wickedly fled, and coming to the hill-country of Kashmīr stirred up sedition. H.M. said, "His head will soon come rolling down from the top of the mountain, and he will receive the retribution of his ingratitude." In this year and month that unworthy one came down from the top of the hill, and was broken
785 to pieces. On the 5th an order came to the writer to the effect that many men had joined the son of Shāh 'Alī, and that it was right

[1] Faiẓī says such a crowd followed Akbar that H. M. had personally to keep them back with a stick.

[2] Cf. Stewart's Hist. of Bengal, 189. Sherpūr Aṭai is in the S.W. of the Murshīdabad district and in the Kāndi subdivision. See Masnad of Murshīdabad 268.

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that I should return and go in that direction, and in conjunction with the Khān-khānān bring the affair to a successful termination. As many brave men had chosen to accompany me, and the materials for conquering the country of Nāsik and for punishing the rebels had been collected, envious people induced the sovereign to recall me. I do not know whether it was that the circumstances were not known to him, or that he was unduly influenced by complaisance (for his adviser). I was a little astonished at the pranks of fortune, but in accordance with the Shāh's order I set out for that quarter (Aḥmadnagar) from the town of Rānwar.[1] On the 7th Ḥasan the son of M. Shahrukh absconded. He was with his father in Aḥmadnagar and from weakness of character he became discontented. He joined in with a Kashmīrī and went off.

One of the occurrences was the coming[2] of Prince Sulṭān Daniel to court. From the time that Aḥmadnagar had been conquered, he had a great desire to kiss the threshold. By the royal order he made over Aḥmadnagar to M. Shāhrukh and some servants and proceeded to court. On the 10th he did homage, and was exalted by various favours. Āsīr was presented to him together with much property, and Khāndesh was given to him and received the name of Dāndesh.[3] On the 13th Daulat K. Lādū died of colic. He had an abundant share of courage and ability. For some time he served M. Koka, and he was much with M. Khān the Khān-khānān. Prince Sulṭān Daniel had made him his own servant, and had advanced him to the rank of 2,000. When the Prince came to court, he left him in Aḥmadnagar to assist M. Shāhrukh, and there he died. On the 20th Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah was sent to Nāsīk. As Sa'ādat K. had retired in consequence of the breach of agreement, he[4] begged that he might be brought to court by means of an able

[1] Rānū in text. Cf. J. II. 225, but there is a variant.

[2] Faiẓī S. gives the date, 26th Sh'abān, 18th February, 1601, and says that Akbar took the prince in his arms and involuntarily danced. He afterwards took him into the harem.

[3] Apparently a pun was meant. The name Dāndesh was given both on account of the Prince's name being Daniel and because Dān means a gift.

[4] Perhaps the meaning is that A. F. begged that he might be brought to court. The breach of the agreement probably means A. F.'s failure—on account of Akbar's commands—to go to Nāsīk.

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man. Accordingly Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah was appointed to this service. On this day Khwāja Malik 'Alī bakhshī of the camp obtained his wish. He had for some time been censured for tyranny, and Bābā Nāṣir had been appointed to the office. On observing signs of repentance, he was ordered to be received into favour. On the 22nd Bahādur K. was sent to Gwaliyār in order that he might get some enlightenment in the school of the prison. Out of kindness, his family was sent with him. Walī Beg, Sām Beg, Abū Nāṣir and some soldiers accompanied him. On the 29th Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Husain Injū was sent off to Bījāpūr. As 'Adil K. wished to make over his daughter[1] to the harem of Prince Sulṭān Daniel, the Mīr[2] was sent with the bridal presents.

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[1] Ferishta calls her Begam Sulṭān.

[2] The Mīrzā of text seems wrong.

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CHAPTER CXLVII.

BEGINNING OF THE 46TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION, TO WIT THE YEAR DAI OF THE FOURTH CYCLE. 786

At this time, when the world had assumed a fresh appearance from the sway of H.M., and he was earnestly returning thanks, the heavens attired themselves, and the earth engaged in adornment. On the night of Saturday, 15th Ramẓān, 1009, 10th March, 1601, the Light-giver glorified Aries, and the tenth year of the fourth cycle began.

Verse.

Spring compounded the earth's dust with musk.
The clouds freshened the running streams with wine.
You'd say, "Spring has united with love."
You'd say, "God has produced love out of Spring."

By orders of the world's ruler, great preparations[1] were made and delightful exhibitions took place. From the entry of the sun into Aries to the culmination, the arrangements of each day were committed to one of the royal servants, and there were times of joy. On 8th Farwardīn Rai Patr Dās was raised to the rank of 3,000. On the 10th Tātār[2] Beg was made guardian of Sulṭān Khurram (Shāh Jahān). Skill and watchfulness arrived at their destination, and propriety raised her head. On this day the news came of the success in Bengal, as has already been mentioned. Thanks were returned to God. On the 11th, Sher Khwāja and M. 'Alī Beg Akbarshāhī—who had done good service in the Deccan—received each a flag and a drum, and so got the reward of their good deeds. On the 13th M. Yūsuf K. had an audience, and was delivered from much grief. When Shāh 'Alī's son became prosperous, and the road

[1] Faiẓī Sirhindī says that the illuminations at Lahore and Agra could hardly be equalled.

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Tātār Beg Safarcī.

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to Aḥmadnagar became closed, some men awoke from the sleep of neglect, and set themselves to remedy matters. M. Rustum, M. Yūsuf K., and many others, were sent to cross the Ganges (Godavery) and station themselves at Shāhgarha, so as to make the road safe, and to restrain the hands of the wicked from attacking the country. The proper thing was for the troops to have gone to Dhārwār [1] and to have overset that compound of sedition. But strife-mongers did not permit this. The Mīrzā was stunned on receiving [2] the news. He had neither the courage to report what he had learned nor the strength to carry through the work. He was continually begging to be allowed to come to court, and representing that he was disgusted with the Deccan. H.M. accepted his petition and summoned him to come quickly. On this day Akhairāj [3] suddenly died. He was distinguished for discretion among the Kacwāh clan. On the 14th, Jagannāth [4] was raised to the high office of 5,000, and Mīr Khwāja,
787 the son of Sulṭān Khwāja, was raised to the rank of 500. On the 16th, Bahādur K. Gīlānī was defeated. He had been left with a small equipment in Telingāna. 'Ambar Jīū attacked with a large force of Deccanīs and Abyssinians. He made little fight and then retired. As the fact was concealed owing to interested motives, that evil disposed Abyssinian collected a number of presumptuous men, and the prosperity of the rebellious increased. At the festival of the culmination Prince Sulṭān Daniel gave a great feast and presented valuable jewels, which had been taken at Aḥmadnagar. They were

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[1] Text wrongly has Dhār. The place meant is the Dhārwār of the I.G. and the Dhāror of J. II. 234 in Sarkār Narnālah. The I.O. MS. 236 has Dhārwar.

[2] The I.O. MS. 236 has *basīa* before *agahī* and apparently the meaning is that the Mīrzā lost his head. The word *azīn* "from this" is not in the said MS.

[3] Faiẓī Sirhindī I.O. MS. 192, p. 250*a*, says that on this day (that on which M. Yūsuf arrived) Bānkī Rai, the grandson of Rajah Bihārī Mal, and cousin of Rajah Mān Singh, suddenly died. Up to midday he was in the Darbār and was playing *chaupar* (draughts), when suddenly there was a change. He was taken to his quarters, but died on the way. This must be the person called in text Akhairāj, and he must be the Bānka Rai of B. 495, who served in Kabul. But the name in Bib. Ind. ed. is Balka, though there is the variant Bānka. The Iqbālnāma has Akhairāj, or perhaps Ughrāj, for there are no vowel points.

[4] B. 387. He was a son of Bihārī Mal.

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accepted. Though he produced bits of stone, which by the marvels of fortune have a great value, yet he brought to market the precious jewel of sincerity, which does not come within the mould of price. On this day the loving sovereign brought out Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. and Afrāsyāb from prison and treated them with favour. High and low were astonished at this graciousness. On this day Manūcihr and M. 'Alī, the ambassadors of Persia, obtained leave. They were to go on in advance and make preparations in Lahore. An ambassador was to go afterwards from court, together with presents, when arrangements had been made for their going to that country.

One of the occurrences was the vagabondage of 'Alī,[1] the son of Walī K., one of the former Amīrs of Barīd. He was living at Bījāpūr and indulging in thoughts of greatness when some people sent for him to the city of Bīdar and kept him concealed. At the time when Mūmin[2] went from court, for the purpose of conveying counsels, 'Alī came out of the fort with the idea of being received (by Mūmin), and remained quietly in the city. On the 20th, rebels and slaves of money brought him[3] in and raised a tumult. 'Alī was helpless and went off by way of Narwān (?) to Golkonda with his wife and family. Evil-disposed persons came after him, and seized his mother and some of his other relations, and wickedly put them to death. As his supplications to the sublime court had not the glory of deeds (i.e. were not accompanied by acts), his days became thus clouded, and the world had warning. On this day Jānish[4] Bahādur died of diarrhœa. He was a distinguished soldier. He was in Rāmpūri. On the 22nd the eastern rebels submitted. When Rajah Mān Singh

[1] The MSS. vary and the text is probably corrupt. The Barīd princes were, some of them, called Amīrs. Perhaps the 'Alī here mentioned is the person who in 1010 became king of Bīdar under the title of Mīrzā 'Alī. See Ferishta's account of the Barīd princes, and Tiefenthaler I. 493. Ferishta speaks of M. 'Alī as reigning in 1018 (1609).

[2] See p. 782.

[3] *badarūn* but I.O. MS. 236 has *badān*. I.O. MS. 235 has, rebels brought in people from the fort and made a disturbance.

[4] The passage about Jānish Bahādur is in neither of the I.O. MSS. Faiẓī S., I.O. MS. 192, 250*b*, says that Jānish died on 4th Shawāl, 29th March, 1601, and that on 1st Zil q'ada 24th April, and on the same day as M. Shāhrukh presented himself, Janish's ten sons appeared before H.M. The eldest of them was only twelve.

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gained the victory, he pursued the enemy, and did not turn back till he came to Moheshpūr near Bushna and Jessore. The Afghans chose a strong position. As on every side there were marshes and it was impossible to reach the place easily, the Rajah appointed active people (to watch them) and addressed himself to opening out the country, and increasing cultivation. On the 22nd Shujāh, the son of M'aṣūm K. Kābulī and S'aīd, the son of Lācīn[1] and others capitulated and came in. They presented elephants, etc. After M'aṣūm K. had died, a purchased slave of Moẓaffar K.—a Qalmāq—
788 had made himself a name by the sword, and had taken the name of Bāz Bahādur. He had won over all the rebellious Tūrānīs. At this time he, from a happy star, sent them and his son, and he himself made firm promises. The Rajah showed kindness to them all, and the commotion in that country diminished. On the 23rd twelve accountants (*bitikcī*) were appointed to the charge of the special cavalry. Each had the charge of 1,000 horse. On the 26th, Dar Jūdhan, the grandson of Rām Cand, was made a Rajah. The command of the fort of Bāndhū was given to him and Bhārtī Cand was appointed the guardian of that youth.

At this time the writer went off to remedy the affair of Shāh 'Alī's son. It has been mentioned that this duty had been regarded as more important, and that I was kept back from going to Nāsik. In the end of Isfandārmaẓ of the previous year I joined the Khān-khānān near Barangāon.[2] Suddenly news came that Wankū[3] (?) landholder had come to Aḥmadnagar as he had quarrelled with 'Ādil K. Bījāpūrī. Though he put forward the pretext of being obedient, yet there was no security that he would not play tricks. He is a great proprietor and has lands in Aḥmadnagar. He had 5,000 horse and 12,000 foot. In that year he (the Khān-khānān) considered that it was indispensable to soothe him at Jālnāpūr and so separated and proceeded thither. I was sent off to put the affair of Shāh 'Alī's son to rights. On the 27th I arrived at the bank of the Ganges. M. Rustum, Mīr Martaẓā, Bahādur-al-mulk, M. Lashkarī, together with many servants of M. Yūsuf K., Shuja'at K., and other servants who had previously been appointed to this work, joined me. On the

[1] The Iqbālnāma has Lācīn Qāqshāl.

[2] In Dandes, J. II. 225.

[3] Cf. 794, 7 lines from foot. The Iqbālnāma seems to call him Waskūī.

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29th the fort of Gālnah[1] was taken. It is one of the choice forts of the district of Aḥmadnagar. Sa'ādat K. held it. For a long time he had been anxious to enter service. When Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah came to that fort, he properly came forward and saw him, and made over that skyey fortress.

On 3rd Ardibihisht two *lakhs* of *mohurs* were given to Prince Sulṭān Daniel, and the power of conquering the country was increased. On the 4th 'Alī (B. 496) Mardān Bahādur was made prisoner. He was the commander of the Talingānah troops. He had come to Pāthrī to help Sher Khwājah. When he heard of the defeat of Bahādur K. Gīlānī, he went back to that quarter, and foolishly engaged without proper preparation. Most of his men fled without fighting. He stood firm and was captured. On this day the news came that Datman[2] Dās was dead. He was the son of Rām Dās, and had gone to his home without leave, and had proceeded to vex the weak. At the request of his father an order was sent, and the servants of Shāh Qulī K. brought him to court. The turbulent fellow engaged in battle and lost his life. That chosen servant (Rām 789
Dās) was grieved on account of his child. H.M. went to his antechamber (*peshkhāna*)[3] and administered consolation, and applied balm to the inward wound.

One of the occurrences was the sending of S. 'Abdu-r-rahmān to Telingāna. The author's idea was that he should punish the son of Shāh 'Alī. When what has been described happened to 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, and Telingāna was lost, and commotion rose high, I wished to send M. Rustum to that quarter. He at the guidance of crooked-minded persons refused. I was compelled to send my son on that service. I sent with him 1,200 of my own horse. Bahādur-al-mulk, Rustum 'Arab, Shamsher 'Arab and some servants of the

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1 Kālna in text. It is the Jālna of I.G. XIV. 29 which says that Abul Faẓl resided there for some time. Perhaps this statement is borne out by A.F.'s mentioning at p. 794 that he repeopled Jālnāpūr.

2 Variant Dīman, but the MSS. seem to have Damman.

3 The I.O. MSS. have teshkhāna, which I do not understand, and the Iqbalnāma has *ātashkhāna* "fire-temple." The Maaṣir II. 157 calls the son Taman, and has the variant Naman which B. 483 adopts. Most of the MSS. seem to have peshkhāna. The word occurs again at p. 799, line 16.

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Shāhinshāh were enrolled in this force. I also sent comforting letters to Sher Khwāja and to some who were in Pāthrī (Patri of the maps), and made them eager for battle. On this day S. Daulat had an audience. He had done good service in the Deccan army. He had been vexed by the carelessness of the administrators of this country and begged to be allowed to come to court. His request was granted and he was summoned.

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CHAPTER CXLVIII.

The return of H.M. to Agra, the Capital.

Before the taking of Aḥmadnagar, the imperial servants—some from love of their homes, some on account of the high prices, and some from a spirit of competition (*dukān ārāī*)—tried hard to induce the sovereign to return without taking Āsīr. H.M. silenced every one by his replies. When that fortress had been taken, they increased their intrigues. The sole idea of the Shāhinshāh was to clear the territory of Aḥmadnagar of the weeds and rubbish of rebellion, and then to prevail over Bījāpūr, Golkanda and Bīdar, so that the rulers of these places should make binding treaties of obedience. Meanwhile supplicatory letters from them came to court, and those who were urging departure got strong documentary support. H.M. had no mind to leave before the return of the ambassadors. But owing to the urgent endeavours of high and low he left on the 11th [1] (Ardibihisht, 21st April 1601). In spite [2] of the daily market of intelligence (of Akbar) the position was not understood. On the eve of the 12th many left the writer without asking permission. For a long time, on the report of the Shāhinshāh's march, their faces had been turned towards Hindustan. When the report became loud there was a wonderful turmoil. The Deccan rebels rose up in insurrection, and there were daily fights. J'afar, the son of M. Yūsuf K., fell into the hands of the Deccanīs at this time and this was a cause of making them presumptuous. Also the Prince's sending for his ladies from Aḥmadnagar increased the confusion. M. 790
Rustum went off with the soldiers of M. Yūsuf K., and H.M. on hearing of this debarred him for some time from the privilege of the

[1] Faiẓī S. gives the corresponding Ḥijra date 26th Shawal, 20th April, and says Akbar left Burhānpūr at breakfast time, and halted after marching one *kos*.

[2] The sentence is obscure and I.O. MS. 236 has *tā* instead of bā. Possibly the meaning is that Akbar's departure was not known till the market day.

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kornish. Inasmuch as my heart was turned towards devotion to God, I did not take these things into account, and always had a victorious countenance (?). On the 14th, Rai Durgā Rai and Bhoj joined this army. Rai Rai Singh and these two and many others had been directed to join the author. There was some delay at their request (?) and the first-mentioned heard of a commotion in his quarters and took leave to go there. Though they had not energy, yet their joining me was a source of strength. On the 15th, M. Shahrukh paid his respects to H.M. The Prince had left him in charge of Aḥmadnagar. When the Khān-khānān went there, he came to court by H.M.'s orders, and had his heart satisfied. On this day Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain was raised to the rank of 1,000. He is the younger brother of Qāsim K., and has few equals for truth and honesty. He was made superintendent of the kitchen (*bakāwal begī*). On the 20th, Kharram, the son of M. Koka got leave to go to Jūnagarh. This was because that country had been given to the kokaltāsh in fief. On the 25th, Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī, who had done good service in Bangash, was raised to the rank of 2,500. On the 26th, twenty elephants and a like number of elephant guns (*hatnāl*) and ten horses and some presents were given to the author. This was a source of victory. On the 28th, Prince Sulṭān Daniel received leave at the Narbadda [1] to go to Burhānpūr. H.M.'s idea was to take this nursling of dominion with him elephant hunting. As some dispersion among the southern soldiers was reported to H.M., he was sent back. M. Shāhrukh, M. Rustum, M. Yūsuf K., Yūsuf [2] Barkhūrdār, Shihābu-d-dīn Qandahārī, Mas'aūd K. Ḥabshī and 3,000 Badakhshī Aimāqs—who had recently come from Tūrān [3]—and many servants were sent along with him, and the commotion somewhat diminished.

On this day Fort Trimbak [4] fell into the hands of the imperial servants. It is one of the choice forts of Aḥmadnagar. The fountain of the Ganges (Godavery) rises up in it, and it is regarded as a

[1] Faiẓī S. says at Ghorgāon.

[2] Son of Ḥusain K. Tukrij a (Iqbālnāma).

[3] They came now from Lahore and Agra. Akbar told them they would have to serve for one year in Deccan, and that after that their stay would be optional (Faiẓī).

[4] J. II. 228 and note. It is in the Nāsik district and about 50 m. from the Indian Ocean.

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great place of worship. S'aādat K. held it. As he had come in and submitted and had made over Gālnah, envoys were sent there, and that fort, together with 15 noted elephants—which were kept in it—were given as *peshkash* to the sovereign. The leaders of the soldiers were disgusted, and did not arrange to hold the fort and returned and so Rājū came there with a large force and made war. Every time that there was a battle, he was defeated. Rājah Baharjī, **791** Hāshīm Beg, Fūlād K., Malik Sher, the Bārha Saiyīds, and 'Aẓmat K. performed great feats. Every one went off to his fief, and that turbulent one returned and prevailed over the fort.

One of the occurrences was the victory of S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān.[1] When he was sent to put down the commotion in Telingāna, Sher Khwāja soon joined him and celebrated the banquet of concord They made skill act together with courage. Shāh 'Alī's son sent off Farhād K., and other Ḥabshīs and Deccanīs, and there was an active movement of rebellion. The imperialists knit their hearts to God and drew up properly in battle array. In the centre were S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, Mīr Hazār, Mīr Muḥammad Amin Maudūdī, Mīr 'Abdul Malik, Bijlī K., Yūsuf Jajhār, Saiyid 'Alī, and some *manṣabdārs*. In the van were Sher Khwāja, Bāz Bahādur, Ẓahīru-d-dīn, Saiyīd Lād M., Kocak 'Alī, Raḥīm Dād, Bābā Yūsuf 'Alī, Yáqūb Beg, Khwāja Bāqī K. Mīr Ḥāj, Ḥasan 'Alī Andijānī, and some able men. On the right wing were Ḥamīd K., Ḥaidar Dost, Muḥammad Ḥusain, Ghāzī K. Ghakkar, S. Quṭb, Adam K. On the left wing were Bahādur Almulk, Bahādur K. Gilānī, Muḥammad K. Turkamān, Saiyid Karm 'Alī, Rustum K. 'Arab, S'aīd K. 'Arab, Zāl Beg, Budāgh Beg, and others. They crossed the Ganges (i.e. the Godavery) near Nānder, and marched on. Near the river Mānjarā[2] the enemy arrived with a large force. 'Ambar[3] Jīū was in the centre. On the right wing was Farhād K. Zangī, and on the left Manṣūr K. Ḥabshī. On Sunday 6th Khurdād, 16th May 1601, after midday the fight began. There was a hot engagement. Owing to daily-increasing fortune a victory was won. High and low were astonished. The imperialists drew

[1] B. XXXV.

[2] I.G. XVIII. 355. On left or north bank of the Godāvarī and 174 m. from Hyderābad. It is famous as the place where Gurū Govind was assassinated. The Manjarā is a tributary of the Godāvarī, and flows northwards.

[3] This is Malik 'Ambar.

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up their forces before the enemy did so. After much delay the latter came on with the impetuosity which is characteristic of the country. Many gave way, and some baggage was plundered. Those whose dependence was upon God stood firm. They were somewhat astonished at the enemy's coming back to the attack several times after being repulsed, and there occurred some confusion in the order of battle. At this time the centre advanced and distinguished itself. The enemy yielded and fled. 400 of them fell on the field, and many were wounded. Many elephants and other spoil were captured. By good fortune no person of note was killed. Rustūm K., Zāl Beg, Budāgh
792 K., Mīr 'Abdul-mulk, Mīr Ḥāj and Saiyid 'Alī were slightly wounded, but got better. Many horses, however, were killed. As little of day remained, they followed the enemy a short way and then returned, and offered up thanks. Though many of the royal servants did good service, yet Sher Khwāja, Bahādur-ul-mulk and Ḥamīd K. did especially well. Though the enemy was more than 5,000, and the imperialists were 3,000, such a difficult work was made easy by the help of the Divine favour. On the 9th, when the royal standards (i.e. when Akbar was there) were at N'alca, Kīcak Khwāja died. He was one of the chosen servants of Prince Sulṭān Daniel, and led a dignified life. On the 10th, Rai Cand won a victory. When the soldiers of Pāthrī went to Telingāna, some wicked Niẓām-ul-mulkīs went there (to Pāthrī) to make an attack. I gave[1] that choice servant of my own 100 of my own horse and sent him with the troops. He fought well and won a victory. At this time M. Khān came from Junair. On account of the high price of provisions, the soldiers were discontented. The proprietor of Hindīā came with Sarwar Ḥabshī, Muḥammad K. Zangī and other evildoers, and made a disturbance. From want of energy, the high price of provisions, and emptyhandedness, he went on—fighting by the way—to Aḥmad-nagar. On the 11th he[2] arrived at that city and took his ease.

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[1] The I.O. MSS. and the Lucknow ed. say that Abul Faẓl sent 300 of his own horse.

[2] This is the Khān-Khānan. Cf. B. XXIV. It is curious that this passage about M. Khān does not occur in either of the I.O. MSS. The passage occurs in the Lucknow ed. III. 854, but the name Junair is not clear there. The text however seems right for at p. 777 we are told that M. Khān took Junair. Apparently he resided there from 23rd Ābān 1009, i.e. from first week of November

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At this time Badakhshān assumed the glory of the Shāhinshāh's name (*Khuṭba*). An unknown person gave himself out as Humāyūn, the son of M. Sulaimān, and took possession of that hill-country. M. Badā'u-z-Zamān, the sister's[1] son of H.M. and son of Khwājah Ḥusain, came with a few men from Hiṣār, and fought with him on the 13th and was victorious. The pulpit and the gold and silver were adorned with the great name (of Akbar). He sent a petition apologising for the little service he had hitherto rendered. H.M. received the messenger kindly and sent presents and implements of war.

One of the occurrences was the fawning of the son of Shāh 'Alī. When H.M. was at Burhānpūr, he sent able men to court and spoke of submission. Those[2] who wished H.M. to march sold what had occurred at a high price and obtained a soothing *firmān*. They sent this off with Harbans. When the report of the march became current the ambassador stopped in bewilderment at Bīr. He did not go forward (?) and he did not communicate the answer. When the writer came to the bank of the Ganges (Godavery) and meditated going further he set himself to inquire into the matter, and summoned the ambassador. The latter told many untruths. Suddenly the Telingāna commotion, the capture of 'Alī Mardān Bāhādūr and of the son of
793 M. Yūsuf K., the report of the march of H.M.. and the departure of many men from the victorious army, became current, and that short-sighted and wicked man (Shah 'Alī's son) again rebelled. He sent some vagabonds to the camp, and stirred up commotion. As the eye of my zeal was directed towards the True Disposer, I continually gathered the joy of victory. Suddenly the report of the defeat of the Telingāna rebels filled the world, and the wind (of pride) went

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1600 to May 1601. Perhaps Hindīā bhūmī, pp.777 and 792, means Hindīa, the proprietor, i.e. the Zamindar of Hindīā.

[1] Son of Akbar's half-sister, the daughter of Cūcak Begam.

[2] The sentence is very obscure, and perhaps the text is corrupt. Apparently what is meant is that those who wished Akbar to return to Agra set great store on the report that they made to him of Shāh Alī's son's submission. If "bought" instead of "sold" could have been read, the meaning might have been clearer, and I.O. MS. 235 seems to say that Shāh 'Alī's son's ambassador sold the report to those who wished Akbar to start. The son of Shāh 'Alī had been made Niẓām Shāh. He was the uncle of Martāza Nizām Shāh (B. 336).

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out from the head of that presumptuous one. He had recourse to lamentation and excuses, and showed a fawning spirit. He received proper replies. He told the tale of his ashamedness, and sent back the envoy[1] with honour together with the son of M. Yūsuf K. On the 20th they came to the camp. Abū-l-ḥasan, Tīmā[2] his son (?), Wafā K., and his confidential servants delivered up the son of M. Yūsuf K. It was agreed that when they should bring 'Alī Mardān Bahādur and execute a treaty of service and ratify it by stringent oaths, Sarkār Uḍesa,[3] Dhārwar and part of Bīr would be left to him. He was to undertake service, and never to rebel. On the 30th Rai Durgā and Rai Bhoj went to their homes without asking leave. Such improper proceedings were the result of the carelessness of the administrators and of the casting away of the thread of fears and hopes. On the 11th Tīr Hasan[4] Beg died. He was in charge of Harsūl[5] Daulatābād and led a good life. He was seized with severe abdominal pains and died. He was a Turk of the Bahārlū tribe. He was acquainted with history and could rhyme. On the 16th[6] H.M. crossed the Cambal. As the river was in flood, and boats were

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[1] Presumably this is Akbar's envoy Har Bans.

[2] This name is very doubtful. I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Tīmā Deo Rais.

[3] Uḍesa or Orissa is clearly wrong. I.O. MS. 236 has Sarkārs Ugār and Owsa اوسا Ferishta mentions Ausa اوسا as a fort belonging to Malīk 'Ambar. Possibly what is meant is the fort of Odgir, but more probably it is Owsa.

[4] The MSS. call him Ḥasan Beg Shukr 'Alī and so does the Iqbāl-nāma which also says that he was a relation of the Khān-khānān.

[5] Text has *har sūī Daulatābād rā pāsbān būd.* This seems nonsense, and the I.O. MS. 236 has Harsūl. Harsūl is the name of a suburb of Aurangābād, and famous as the site of a great victory obtained by the Moghuls over the Mahrattas in Aurangzeb's reign.

[6] Faiẓī, p. 249*b*, last line, says, Akbar arrived at the Cambal on 10 Tīr, or 1st Moḥarrum 1010 = 22nd June, 1601. The river was fordable then and the emperor's peshkhanā (advance-tents) and a few men crossed. At night the flood came down and the river ceased to be fordable. There were only two small boats and these could only hold 10 or 15 men. The rain continued and the waters still rose. The people were greatly distressed by this obstacle so near their homes and when they had been so long away, and many flung themselves into the river and were drowned in trying to cross. The waters however subsided owing to the marvels of Akbar's presence, and to the wonder of the inhabitants.

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very few, the camp suffered much. From the time H.M. had begun his homeward march, no such difficulty occurred. On the 22nd Jagannāth came in accordance with orders from Burhānpūr, and had an audience. On the 31st Sirāndāz K. was made kotwāl of Aḥmadābād and sent off. On 3rd Amardād H.M. went to the top of Rantanbhor, and Jagannāth obtained auspiciousness by scattering money, and by presenting *peshkash*. On this day Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram and Mihtar K. came from Agra to meet H.M. and had an audience. On the 4th H.M. crossed the Banās. On the 5th Jagannāth obtained leave. On the 6th Luṭfāī Shīrāzī died. He was acquainted with astronomy, old events, and poetical composition, and was known for his witticisms. On the 9th Taqiya obtained an audience. He was the bakhshī of the Cabul army. He came by the royal order and gathered bliss.

One of the occurrences was the cessation of Rājū's commotion. When Daulat K. was inopportunely turned back, he opened the hand of success, and took Nāsik and some other places. When Khwājagī 794
Faṭh Ullah went to that quarter and returned without effecting his object and when many soldiers deserted to Rājū, the latter became still more wild. At the time when the administrators of the country were indulging in the sleep of carelessness, and the writer was somewhat ill, that wicked one came by the route of Daulatābād, and seized the country up to Jālnāpūr.[1] Though he had been appointed to another duty, and was somewhat distant from the site of the disturbance, he in spite of his weakness undertook, trusting in God, to punish him. He set off on the 11th from the bank of the river, where he had built quarters near Ḥasanābād. He left Mīr Martaẓā, Wafādār K., Mīr Hazār and some other brave men there lest Shāh 'Alī's son should break his agreement, and raise up a commotion on that side. When he quickly came to Āhūbara, Rājū doubted the fact, but when he was convinced of it, he returned. He (the author) repeopled Jālnāpur and the neighbourhood which were nearly deserted. On the 15th S. Khalīl was released. He was the son of S. Ibrāhīm

He crossed on an elephant on 14th Tīr. Farīd Bokhārī distinguished himself by his exertions to cross the people. The roads were terribly muddy, and there was rain and lightning and some men and elephants were killed by the latter.

[1] Apparently this is the Jālnah of I.G. and which A. F. has previously called Gālnāh.

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Fatḥpūrī. Though from his early years he was blind, he played chess and draughts well, and did many things that seeing people do. He desired to be made a collector of the exchequer lands, and his carnal desires resulted in his being sent to prison. The good services of his ancestors pleaded for him and the great kindness of the Shāhinshāh released him. On the 16th the writer came to Daulatābād. When news came that Rājū was in the vicinity I left my family in Āhūbara and went off to chastise him. He withdrew to the hills, and settled in a bewildered state near the tank of Qatlū. When the victorious troops came to the foot of the pass, he left Daulatābād and went off towards Nāsīk. On the 22nd the writer traversed the passes and came near the tank. His idea was to come to close quarters with him and to punish him. The various opinions of his companions restrained him.

On the 23rd [1] H.M. came to Fatḥpūr, and the venerable eyes of Miriam-Makānī rejoiced. That great lady wished to come further to meet him and to delight the eyes of her heart, but he restrained her from the idea. On the 24th the children of Wankū were seized. It has been mentioned that he had sought shelter in Aḥmadnagar from the oppression of the Bījāpūr soldiers. From the excess of his desires and wickedness he fled. When he thought that his own country was clear, he came there and set about working the leaven of rebellion. The same men came to take his life, and by hard endeavours he got back to near Aḥmadnagar, and set about fawning and begging for protection. The Khān-khānān accepted the proffers and sought to make his eagerness a means of capturing him. He out of farsightedness drew rein somewhat and sent his eldest son Bābājī ahead with his brother Dhār Rāo in order to ascertain his (the Khān-khānān's) intentions from the lines of his forehead, and to test his language. In this year and month when they came to the
795 fort of the city, the commander put them in chains, and sent many men to seize the landholder. He also followed them in person. Though from the slugglishness of some and bungling of others he

[1] Faiẓī says on 20th Amardād = 11th Ṣafr 1010, 1st August 1601. He remained there eleven days and then went on to Agra. On the way he was entertained by Salīma Sulṭān Begam at the garden which Khwāja Ṣandal had laid out for her.

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was not caught, yet 29 elephants and much property were taken. That wicked one went to the son of Shāh 'Alī, and the latter put him in prison. On this day Hāshim Beg came from the Deccan, and by a happy star he on the same day performed the *kornish*. On this day Mīr 'Abdu-l-Wahāb Bokhārī came from Delhi and Muḥammad Khūbānī from his fief, and had their desires gratified.

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CHAPTER CXLIX.

The arrival of H.M. at Agra.

After passing Dīpālpūra,[1] six *kos* from Ujjain, he left the Sarangpūr route and proceeded towards Rantanbhor. He traversed 228½ *kos* in 48 marches, and made 60 halts. Loyal servants came continually, one after the other, and gathered auspiciousness, and had audiences. At Bīāna Qulīj K. and many other servants had their joy fulfilled. On the 31st, when it was a favourable hour, he made Agra, the capital, happy by his holy advent, and small and great had their wishes. On this day Zain K. Koka had an audience at Mandhākar. He had been in service at Tīrāh. When the ringleader of the Tārīkīs met with his deserts, and the commotion of Afghanistan subsided, he by the royal order took up his quarters at Lahore. On this occasion H.M. summoned him to his presence. Part of his *peshkash* was a choice ruby. On 2nd Shahrīyūr Payinda[2] K. died. He was the son of Qutluq Qadam K., and had his share of courage and enlightenment.

When the writer delayed somewhat at Qutlu's tank, fear fell upon the Daulatābād garrison, and they thought that the firing of cannon would be a means of their deliverance. In that year and month they fired a great gun and two men lost their lives at once. To one fine fellow it happened that his abdomen was torn and his bowels came out. From fulness of courage he did not lose his fortitude and died at midnight. Next day Rājū received some

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[1] I.J. II. 198. A.F. apparently repeats the account of Akbar's march. In the last chapter he speaks of Akbar's reaching Fatḥpūr and now he brings him back to Rantanbhor.

[2] This is not the Payanda of B. 387 but the son of Qutluq mentioned at p. 432 *id.* B. and the Maaṣir III. 52 gives the name as Asad K. An Asad K. Turkamān is mentioned at A. N. III. 309. Possibly it was this Payanda who translated Bābar's Memoirs. The MSS. have various readings and the text seems corrupt. B.M. MS. Add. 26 207 seems to have "Three large cannon were fired."... That lion-hearted man did not give "way and died on 21st Shábān."

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punishment. He was on the point of going to Nāsīk. Some double-faced men kept him back from doing so. He went by another road and passing Daulatābād, he plundered Satāra and some other places In the morning the writer came down from the hills and went to attack him. As the country was hilly, it was impossible to march rapidly. As many said that he had turned back, the writer pitched his tent at Catwāra[1] (?). At the end of the day, when the men were engaged in the descent, Rājū appeared with a force. I reposed my 796 confidence in God and came out to fight, and though my troops were not drawn up in battle array, some active men engaged. Rai Gopāl displayed valour, and though the enemy was more than 5,000, and the imperialists about 3,000 and they too unarranged, victory showed her face, and great joy seized the world. As day had become night, no pursuit was made. On the 8th Rājū again came to fight, and this suppliant to God also came forward. The active men of the van, viz. I'tibār K., 'Aādil K., Rai Gopāl fought, and he according to his practice made war consist in flight. M. Zāhid, M. Nāṣīr, Mīr Gadāī came from the right wing and fought. Rājū's horse stumbled and he fell. Some well-wishers caught the horse; and with great difficulty he escaped. Kajkana and some brave men of the right wing put their hands to the work. They fought for three *kos* up to Daulatābād. The garrison then came to Rājū's help. The victorious warriors were nearly being defeated. But the writer came up, and the enemy was dispersed. As the day was at an end we returned and halted for a little. Again the wicked poured in from every side, and though there was no arrangement (*tūzuk*), there was a great fight. Several of the enemy were killed, and some were captured, and victory showed her face. I engaged in returning thanks to God. After that Rājū could not show himself for some time. He spent his days in bewilderment under the protection of the for tof Daulatābād. On the 15th he came with a large host, but was put to flight after a short contest.

One of the occurrences was the commotion of Telingāna. When S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān gained his victory, he returned after leaving on guard Ḥamīd K., Bāz Bahādur, Bahādur-al-Mulk and other brave men. Inasmuch as the slumber of neglect had seized the administra-

[1] Called Katak Catwārā in Maaṣir III. 615.

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tors, and the writer was somewhat far away, 'Ambar Jīo fell upon the country of Barīd, and though the soldiers of that country had little assistance, yet in the pride of courage they stood firm. In this year and month a battle took place on the bank of the Mānjana. The imperialists were nearly victorious, but by heaven's decree they were defeated. Bahādur-al-Mulk with difficulty crossed the river and obtained protection. Ḥamīd K. and Bāz Bahādur were caught. The fertile land of Telingāna went out of hand once more. The wicked disturbed places which had been quieted.

On the 22nd (Shahrīyūr, 1st September, 1601) Tulsī[1] Dās came from his house and had an audience. On 6th Mihr Zain K. Koka
797 died. Success led[2] him into drinking. When he was summoned to court, he gave this up somewhat and fell ill. His heart and eyes failed. Apparently[3] there had been a rift in the joints of his service and so fortune prepared for a day of retribution. H.M. protected his honour and showed kindness to his survivors. He gave his son an office of 700.

One of the occurrences was the disgrace of Rājū. On the 14th that wicked man again prepared to fight, and fled after a short engagement. On the 16th he with some bands approached the camp. In order that the troops might be drawn up in battle-array they withdrew into the protection of a small hill. Some retreated and went off rapidly to Daulatābād. It was reported that Rājū was advancing. I went there myself and appointed troops to chastise the others. Many fought and were defeated, and some returned without having come to close quarters. Some active men of the writer fell on the enemy and came to the city, and returned victorious. At the end of the day I returned to the camp. In the middle of the way it was reported that Rājū and some others had gone off to plunder (?) (the camp). Maḥasan, the son of Ghāzī K., who was coming to the camp, fought and was made prisoner. Now advance was being made

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[1] This does not seem to be the poet, but the Tulsī Dās mentioned at pp. 424 and 437. B. 502. He was a Jādūn.

[2] The text omits the preposition before *maīgusārī*.

[3] The Maaṣir II. 369 says Akbar was displeased with him because he had sent many horses from Kabul to Selīm who was in rebellion in Allahabad. Akbar also cherished a dislike of him on account of his having been accessory to the defeat and death of Bīrbar.

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to Daulatābād by the skirt of the hill, and I was obliged to go there. M. 'Alī Beg Akbar Shāhī, Qāsim Khwāja, M. Zāhid, Tāsh Beg, Rai Gopāl displayed activity. They fought and came to Daulatābād. They were nearly taking it. Rājū craftily threw himself into the moat, but his goods and chattels were plundered. Nearly 500 horses and much property were taken. A wonderful thing was that in that rain of cannon-balls no injury was done to the imperialists. When I approached, they fired a great cannon which carried balls (*tīr*) of ten *mans* weight. The same moment, it burst, and by the concussion part of the wall of the fort fell down. The garrison cried out for quarter. As the day was near at an end, and from caution, I returned to the camp. That base one, after his punishment, remained under the protection of the fort and spent his days in straitened circumstances. Numerous persons left him. He fell into fear. If the administrators of the country had been energetic, that thorn bush would have been rooted out. On the 21st the writer went to the Khān-khānān. When 'Ambar Jīo took possession of Telingāna, and showed a disposition to advance, the son of Shāh 'Alī sent Farhād K. and a number of others against Sher Khwāja. The Khān-khānān came out of Aḥmadnagar and having crossed the Ganges came to Jāīgīr [1] (?). He repeatedly wrote to me and asksd me for help. As he had excused himself for not looking after the administration, for staying long in Aḥmadnagar and for not sending assistance, I accepted his apologies and proceeded towards him. I left M. 'Alī Beg, Akbar Shāhī, the Saiyids of Bārha, the sons of Ḥasan K. Miyāna,[2] the brothers of Jānish Bahādur and others to guard against Rājū. 798
By the jugglery of the heavens, the capture of Rājū, who was at his last gasp, was delayed. On the 30th (Mihr), October 1601, Mīr Murād Juwaīnī [3] Cūlī died. He had been left in Lahore as bakhshī of the Panjāb forces. He died of fever. On 6th Ābān the solar weighment took place, and H.M. was weighed in the dwelling of Miriam-Makānī against twelve articles. There was a wide field for enjoyment, and the needy gained their desires. On the 9th Rajah Rāj Singh came from Gwaliyār and did homage. On this day S. Ḥusain

[1] I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Jāmgīr and N. 235 seems to have Khāmgarah.

[2] B. 506,

[3] Text Chūlī, but the variant Juwaīnī is to be preferred. See Blochmann 498.

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was sent to take charge of the bounteous tomb of Khwāja M'uīnu-d-dīn—may his grave be hallowed! He was regarded as descended from his daughter. On account of improprieties he was for some time placed in the school of the prison, and for a time he trod the desert of misfortune. At this time he received favours and was sent to his old home. He was appointed to look after the recluses at the tomb and to arrange for the distribution of food. On the 11th Rai Rai Singh came to court and was treated with favour. He had been appointed to the army of the Deccan along with the writer. When news came that his son Dalpat had gone to his home and was behaving oppressively, he took leave in order to remedy matters. That turbulent one awoke somewhat from his somnolence, and showed a desire that H.M. would recall his father to court, and asked that an order of forgiveness might relieve him from fear so that he might hasten to court. His request was granted and he was summoned, and that presumptuous one acted according to his words, and emerged from eternal ruin! On the 16th Qulīj K. obtained leave to go to the Panjāb. As there was no great officer there, this chosen servant was appointed there. It had been proposed that the government of Kabul should be entrusted to Shāh[1] Qulī K. Maḥram. He (Qulīj K.) asked for the charge of both places (the Panjāb and Kabul), and this was granted, and an order issued. In this year and month Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah returned without having effected his object. When he came back from Nāsik, re infectâ, the Prince sent him there again. S'aādat K., Fūlād K., Malik Sher, Saiyid 'Alī, Saiyid Jalāl and other fiefholders of Dāndesh and Nadarbār were sent with him. The soldiers were collected with delay. When he came to Bābil, Rājū came out to fight, and they could not stand their ground. They fought and retired to the fort of Sūngar. He invested it for a short time. Then he left it and opened the hand of plunder. In Pāthrī he laid hold of the family of S'aādat K., and got a large amount of property. His strength having been increased, he returned to attack the fort. At this time there was a loud report that 'Azmat K. was coming with some soldiers of Baharjī
799 (of Baglāna). 'Inayat Ullah came with some men from Burhānpūr. People also spoke about the writer's returning to that quarter so he (Rājū) was obliged to leave the fort and to proceed towards Daulatā

[1] He died in this year.

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bād. He took Gālnah (Jālnah). Khwajagī Fatḥ Ullah had made it over to Y'aqūb Beg Shighālī, and S'aīd Beg Badakhshī. When he was besieged (in Sūngar), he applied to them for help. The agents of these two basely and avariciously took 2,000 *hūns* and delivered up that choice fortress.

One of the occurrences was that Farhād K. made a night attack and had to retire unsuccessful. Sher Khwāja, M. Yūsuf, M. Kocak 'Alī, Y'aqūb Beg, Muḥammad K., Burhān-al-Mulk, Abu-l-ḥasan and many other servants were assembled in Pāthrī (?). When the writer joined the Khān-khānān at Parnūr,[1] and the soldiers were very busy. The mad Abyssinian who was facing Sher Khwāja with a number of wicked men, formed long schemes. He did not think that he had the strength to fight by day, but on the night of the 18th he attacked and fought hard but had to retire. On the night of the 20th Ḥusain Qulīj K. was married to the daughter of Āṣaf K. Two lakhs and 50,000 dāms were bestowed for the marriage-celebrations. On the 29th H.M. embarked on a boat and gave glory to the house of Zain K.'s sister, and brought her out of her sorrow by cordial words. On 12th Āẕar the daughter of Rām Dās was married to Siyām Singh. H.M. went to the ante-chamber (*peshkhāna*) of the bride's father and bestowed favours, and presented five lakhs of *dāms* for the marriage celebrations. On the 18th Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram died of diarrhœa. He had an abundant share of courage and honesty, and kept a youthful heart in old age. He was continually on horseback and enjoying the pleasures of the chase. H.M. soothed the survivors by princely favours. Oh the 21st Amba Cokā was taken. The writer wished to go with a number of active men from Parnūr to punish Farhād K. The evil thoughts of some of his companions prevented him. When the soldiers after long delay crossed the Ganges, there was a severe engagement between them and that Abyssinian. He (the writer) left Barelī, traversed the hills and sate down at Amba[2] Cokā, which has a choice fort. That fertile country came into possession. On this day Sālbāhan came from court. He brought a special shawl[3] (*parm*) and good news of H.M. This good news encouraged me, and increased my energy. Many of my companions from

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[1] Apparently Parner 20 m. S.W. Aḥmadābād.

[2] Apparently the Ambād of the I.G., in the Haidarābād territory.

[3] B. 90 I.O. 236 has *parm narm*.

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shortness of thought did not wish to advance. By great efforts a
800 forwardmovement was made. On the right wing were M. Zāhid, Mīr Gadāī and some other brave men. On the left wing were Bahādur-al-Mulk, Kackana, and some others. In the van were Sher Khwājā, with a party of noted men. When we had emerged from the passes, the advance-guard of the enemy, who were more than 4,000, dispersed after a short engagement. Although, on account of the approach of night no pursuit was made, yet the fort was taken and that populous city plundered. The soldiers got abundant booty. The same night, news came that the son of Shāh 'Alī who had thought that the fort of Dhārwar would be his protection, and who had collected an army, had entered the hill-country of Ousa. My idea was that next day I would punish that bewildered one. Owing to the duplicity of some persons this did not occur. In a short time the rear force came up, but the son of Shāh 'Alī, who had been presumptuous, became submissive, and sent apologetic letters. At this time Ḥamīd K. and his son Yūsuf arrived. After the defeat in Telingānah, he by great efforts got out and by ability collected some men. He (Yūsuf?) fought many engagements with the rebels there, and from want of strength he joined the victorious troops with 150 men. When his father was made prisoner, the son of Shāh 'Alī invited him to join him, but he from a happy star declined. Shāh 'Alī's son kept him under surveillance. At night he came out on foot. On the 26th by the guidance of the landholder he joined the army. By much questioning[1] (?) he gained his end. On the 28th M. Yūsuf K. died. When disturbances rose up on every side the Prince sent M. Rustum, M. Yūsuf and some others to render assistance. When they came to Jālnāpūr that good servant died of a tumour (*dard-i-dambal*). On 9th Dai the festival of the lunar weighment was celebrated, and H.M. was weighed in the house of Miriam-Makānī against eight articles. There was a daily market of liberality, and high and low obtained their desires.

One of the occurrences was that the victorious troops returned after having made a peace. Some by love of sedition, some by shortness of thought and some by simplicity were led into the sleep of neglect by the artifices of the son of Shāh 'Alī. When they

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[1] *Parsish*. Perhaps here means "trouble."

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came to the bank of the Mānjara, that plotter increased his entreaties. The death of M. Yūsuf K. and the disturbance of Rājū and the Fārūqī[1] youth (?) increased their wishes. The administrators of the country had seized the fief of one Qāsim—whose father had fallen in good service. Owing to the pains of ill-success he joined Rājū. He gave him a body of men and sent him to the country[2] of Dāndes, and followed after himself. They were compelled to agree to a peace on the terms that Bāz Bahādur, 'Alī Mardān Bahādur and Hazāra Beg should be released, and that he (Shāh 'Alī's son) should not withdraw from obedience, and that some territory should be left **801** to him. On the 11th he brought, at the distance of five *kos* from the camp, I'tibar al-mulk, the brother of Tanīg[3] Rāo, and some others. Mīr Murtazā came from this (the imperial) side and received the document of the treaty and gave a *firmān* of security.

On this day Bhagwān Dās Mastaufī died in Agra. He was very clever among the accountants (*batakcīān.*)

Next day the imperialists returned. When they came to Rāmpūrī, the taking of Telingāna and the guarding of that country were made over to Mīr Martaẓā. Bahādur-al-Mulk, Rustum 'Arab, Shamsher 'Arab, S'aīd 'Arab, Burhān-ul-Mulk and others were sent with him and obtained *jāgīrs.* On the 18th the Mīr took his leave, and it was arranged that the Khān-khānān should take up his quarters at Parnūr[4] to encourage the soldiers of Pāthrī and Telingāna. The writer went back to punish Rājū. M. Rustum, Rajah Sūraj Singh and Muqīm K. with the brothers of Rajah Bikramājīt and others were appointed to help him. M. 'Alī Beg, the Saiyids of Bārha, the brothers of Jānish Bahādur and 'Aādil K. with his brethren and some others who were in Jālnāpūr were also appointed to accompany him. Some money and horses were also spoken[5] of (?). On the 19th

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1 Apparently by the phrase Fārūqī *pisar* is meant Bahādur K. Fārūqī, the young king of Khāndes who had surrendered Āsīrgarh.

2 *Gird.* I.O. MS. 236 has *bagazand* "to injure."

3 I.O. MS. 236 seems to have Patang. The Iqbālnāma refers to this treaty and says that it is plain from the Akbarnāma that A. F. disapproved of it. It adds that the eighteen years which have passed since prove that his opinion was right.

4 There is a Bānora, variant Pānora, in Sarkār Telingāna. J. II. 237.

5 *Nām bardand.* I.O. MS. 236 has *yām bardand*, post-horses?

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he went off. On the 29th Lāla took leave to return into private life. He was the eldest son of Rajah Bīr Bar. From violent passions and self-will he was extravagant, and formed wide desires. Failure led him further astray, and he got this idea (of retiring) into his head. H.M. regarded this severance[1] as the remedy for his bewilderment.

On 2nd Bahman the writer came to Burhānpūr, and had the good fortune to pay his respects to the Prince. When he came to Jālnāpūr on the expedition against Rājū, envious people fell into evil thoughts. By pretexts they took the fiefs from the auxiliaries and baulked their energy. I left the camp and proceeded there quickly, thinking that I might get leave from the Prince and go to court, and be somewhat rid of the trouble of envy. At this time Mīr Martaẓā Qulī came from court, and conveyed princely favours. Among them were two special horses, one for the writer, and the other for his son, 'Abdu-r-raḥmān. At the end of the day twenty more horses came. At this succession of favours my withered heart bloomed again.

On the 8th it came to H.M.'s notice that some avaricious persons did not abstain from levying dues. He committed the charge of the empire to some well-intentioned and moderate persons. Agra he entrusted to Āṣaf K., the routes to the Deccan and Mālwa to Rām Dās, the Gujrāt routes to Kalyān Dās, the Lahore routes to S. Farīd bakhshī. The disturbance of cupidity was diminished somewhat, and there were meetings to return thanks. On the 12th Dalpat, the son of Rai Rai Singh came to court. His apologies were accepted and he was forgiven. On the 13th the daughter of M. Koka was
802 married to S'aad Ullah, the son of S'aīd K., and there was rejoicing. On the 24th a son was born in the harem of the Prince (Daniel) by the daughter of the Khān-khānān. He soon went to the other world. On the 25th S. Mūsā[2] Qādirī was killed. Maḥmūd Langāh with the son of Nāhir K. fell upon him in the town of Ūch in Multān, and that brave man fell fighting. He was one of the learned men who loved a monastic life and became an Amīr by his devotion to H.M. On this day Muḥammad K., the son of Daulat K., took a strange madness into his head. He by his own efforts brought him-

[1] B. 405. The Iqbālnāma says he ostensibly left in order to retire from the world, but in reality he went to Allahabad and entered the service of Prince Selīm. He was a commander of 200.

[2] B. 544. Younger brother of 'Abdūl Qādir.

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self to death. He became bewildered by the heats of youth, and desires, and even became mad. By treatment he became better. At this time he came out to hunt, and at the end of the day got separated from his companions. In the town of Pāl[1] he got into an engagement with the Kolīs, and fought and was killed.

On 1st Isfandārmaẓ (about 15th February, 1602) the writer was sent to Nāsīk. When he waited upon the Prince (Daniel) and brought forward his wishes, they were not accepted and he desired me to chastise Rājū. I replied that I would not depart from orders, but that the jewel of the diadem of the Caliphate did not apply himself to the work of administration, and that he left this to some avaricious, shortsighted people. How could work go on in this turmoil of carelessness and envy? He understood this somewhat, and undertook to work himself. He gave a horse and a *khilāt* and sent me off there. At the first stage he honoured me by coming. He presented me with a special dagger, and a noted elephant. On the night of the 4th an inner[2] servant (of Akbar) died. He managed the treasury well, and H.M. had much confidence in him. On the 14th Gangādhar had an audience. He had been sent to give counsels to Sar Jeo, the zamīndār of Cāndā.[3] He received them and sent him back with 14 elephants. On the 25th Bahādur[4] K. came and did homage. On account of his refractoriness and the intrigues which he practised in the delivering up of Āsīr he was for a time placed in the fort of Gwāliyār. The great kindness of H.M. soon recalled him.

NOTE.

The 46th was the last year of which A. F. wrote an account. He was killed in the 47th year on 4th Rabi' I. 1011 A.H., 12th August 1602. That year began on 26th Ramẓān 1010, 11th March 1602, and so he was killed five months after it had begun. The Bib. Ind. ed. continues the history to the end of Akbar's

[1] Text Māl, var. Tāl. Maaṣir II. 8 has Pāl and so has B. 503. There is a Pāl in Kathīwar. I.O. MS. 236 has Pāl.

[2] Darūnī. But there is a town in Persia called Darūn or Andarūn, and perhaps Darūnī is a man's name, meaning that he was an inhabitant of that town.

[3] In the Central Provinces.

[4] This is Bahādur Fārūqī. He was also called Khiẓr K. He died in Jahangīr's reign. Du Jarric calls him Miram and Miran. Ferishta (lith. ed.) says that Bahādur was taken to Lahore by Akbar and that he had a pension and died a natural death in Agra in 1033 (1624).

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reign and there is no note to the text to indicate when A. F.'s writing ends, and Muḥibb 'Alī's begins. But a sentence at the end of the editor's preface to the third volume states that A. F. wrote the history to the end of the 46th year, and that the continuation is the work of Muḥibb 'Alī K. Chalmers, and Elphinstone after him, give the name of the continuator as 'Inayat Ullah or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. Blochmann XXX says that in two MSS. which he has seen, the name of the continuator is given as 'Inayat Ullah Muḥibb 'Alī. At the end of Chalmers' translation the continuator is called 'Inayat Ullah or Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. See Elliot VI. 115.

The two I.O. MSS. Nos. 235 and 236 and the B.M. MS. Add. 26, 207 (Rieu I. 251) give, in addition to the 46th year, the heading of the 47th, some poetry and a long khāṭima, or conclusion. This conclusion is also found in the 3rd book of the Inshā, ed. Newal Kishore, p. 223, and is presumably genuine. Abul Faẓl appears to have written it because the 46th year completed or nearly completed the second qaran, or cycle, of thirty years, reckoning from Akbar's birth. As a fact, the cycle did not finish till about the middle of the 47th year. The conclusion appears in a very abridged form at the end of the Lucknow edition and at p. 843 of the Bib. Ind. ed. It is as follows:

CONCLUSION.

Verse.

In the name of God! Hail, acute intelligence:
In that thou hast given a new ending to words,
The pen has at once rested from movement
For the second[1] volume has been completed.

Inasmuch as intellect assisted, and there was true devotion, wakeful fortune, and help of auspiciousness some thing of the events of the second cycle, which is conjoined with eternal dominion, has been written down. By the help of the glorious authors (the Fates) my energy has been in some measure lightened of its burden.

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[1] Text "third" but it is "second" in the I.O. MSS. and in the Inshā, and this is right. The historical part of the Akbarnāma is considered by A. F. to consist of two volumes—at least till the end of the 46th year or end of the second* *qaran*. The third volume is the Āīn. But he also had another division in his mind. He believed, or affected to believe, that Akbar would live 120 years, i.e. four *qarans*, see J. III. 416, and that he too might live to write the account of four cycles, In all he would write five books. In the verse he congratulates himself on having finished one half of his task, i.e. two *qarans*, and promises that if life be granted to him he will write the account of the other two cycles.

* The second *qaran* apparently did not end till about the middle of the 47th year! Akbar was born in October 1542 and so the sixty years of his life did not expire till October 1602. By that time Abul Faẓl was dead.

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Verse.

When a brilliant half was completed
Half the world came into my hands.
If life be granted for the other half
I'll write it in such an instructed manner
That readers will be aroused from sleep
And that the fishes will dance in the water.

I shed many drops of sweat[1] from my intellect's brow into the skirt of hope in order that half a drop of the river of enlightenment might refresh me! How the heart-fumes rose up in order that the ears might so far be enlight- 844
ened! May it confer a great name by being accepted of hearts! May I be made an eternal entertainer!

Verse.

From my life I gave it flight
May God give it a place among lives.

Hail the noble work of disposition, and the wonders of the pen! He who is bound in humanity's prison takes his flight towards the sky, and in the artificiality of the market-place of affairs he shows a desire for the holy hour of joy. The exchanging of the coin of celestials is performed in the assay-place of mortals, and Divine secrets adorn the stations of service. The strains of detachment are sung amid the troubles of association.

Verse.

Our eyes are opened to the spectacle of truth.
Primal reason fears the standard of our audacity.
I lower my head and look into the fold of the two worlds,
Mayhap Love has fashioned our robe of the woof of vision.

I[2] hope that the thread of the description of events will not be broken and that from time to time the office of thanksgiving will acquire new lustre, and that many wondrous events will be handled by the truthful pen—whose slit is the dawning of the heart, and that a treasure-chest of auspiciousness has been filled and will be a present to future students, and that connoiseurs of jewels will have joy.

Verse.

Verily, while on this earth there is the beauty of order
May there be from spirituality a lofty name to words.

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1 Text wrongly has *jūihā* instead of *khūihā*.

2 The Lucknow ed. has a sentence before this, and it occurs also in the I.O. MSS. It is "The crooked, carnal, chameleon-like spirit has sought out a remedy and addressed itself to the work and has prepared itself anew for this great task.

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May the order of speech be in accordance with Thy words
May the ornament of spirituality be in Thy name.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ABOUT THE NAME OF THE AUTHOR OF THE SUPPLEMENT TO THE AKBARNĀMA.

In the preface to the 3rd vol. of the Akbarnāma, p. 3, the editors say that the author was Muḥibb 'Aiī Khān. The B.M. has three copies of the continuation, viz. Nos. Or. 1854, 1858, and 3271. All three correspond with the continuation given in the Bib. Ind. (Rieu. III, 929 and 1031 and Supplement, p. 52). The India Office has two copies, Nos. 260 and 261 of Ethī. The Bodleian has two copies, see Nos. 200 and 208 of Cat. In the account of No. 200 a reference is made to Aumer's Cat. of the Munich MSS., p. 90, Aumer states that the continuation was written in the time of Shāh Jahān as the preface contains the praises of that monarch. In the prefaces as contained in I.O. MSS. 260, 261 I do not find any clear indication that the reigning sovereign was Shāh Jahān. The phrase Ṣāhib Qirānī is used, but it has not the addition of the word Ṣānī, and the whole phrase is "Lamp of the family of Ṣahib Qirān." Here Ṣāhib Qirān means Timūr and the phrase is applicable to any of his descendants. But it is clear from the disparaging way in which Jahāngīr is spoken of that the continuation was not written in his reign. It is also clear that the continuation is a copy, and often a verbal copy of the Iqbālnāma of M'utamid K. The latter wrote, as he tells us in his preface, in 1029, 1620, which, as Gladwin remarks, is only fifteen years after Akbar's death. In one place M'utamid in treating of the death of Prince Daniel speaks of his widow, Jānāra Begam, as still alive. In the continuation in the Bib. Ind. ed., p. 838, she is mentioned as having died. This shows that the continuation was at least written after 1029, but apart from this, it is clear that the continuator could never have written of Jahāngīr as he has done during his lifetime, nor could it be Jahāngīr who ordered him to write. In all probability the Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ of Chalmers is identical with the Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū who wrote the 'Amal Ṣaliḥ which is sometimes called the Shāhjāhānnāma. See Rieu. Cat. I. 263. His work was finished in 1070, 1660, or a year after Aurangzeb had begun to reign in fact, though while Shāhjahān was still alive. In the preface in the I.O. copy of the 'Amal Ṣāliḥ No. 332 of Ethé, the author calls himself Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ and adds that he is commonly known as Kamāl Hamadānī. In the colophon of the 2nd vol. of 332 he is called Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū. The circumstance that the author of the continuation is sometimes called 'Ināyat Ullah and sometimes Muḥibb 'Alī may be due to the fact that there are more than one continuation. The continuation as given by Chalmers differs considerably from that in the Bib. Ind. ed. and the continuation in Nos. 260 and 261 of the I.O. differs from both of them. But evidently all the continuations are more or less reproductions of the Iqbālnāma. The Bib. Ind. continuation differs chiefly from the Iqbālnāma in being shorter in places and in the different view that it takes of the characters

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of A. F. and Prince Salīm. Possibly the name 'Inayat Ullah may be accounted for by the fact that Muḥammad Ṣaliḥ had an elder brother named 'Inayatullah who was also a historian. See Rieu. l.c. Perhaps he was the author of the continuation, or of one of them. See Rieu's description of the three MSS. of the continuation.

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CHAPTER CL.

BEGINNING OF THE 47TH YEAR FROM THE ACCESSION TO WIT THE YEAR BAHMAN OF THE FOURTH CYCLE.

On the night of Thursday, 26th Ramẓān, 1010, 11th March 1602,
803 after 8 hours 42 minutes, the fountain of light passed to Aries, and the eleventh year of the fourth cycle brought glory.

Verse.

The New Year came and grief left the world;
The dew on the leaves was like pearls in the shell;
The Shāh on the throne of glory granted abundance;
Behold: the Sun is in the house of exaltation.

In accordance with H.M.'s orders, the palace of fortune became rose-coloured, and exhibited an entrancing spectacle. From New Year's day up to the day when the Sulṭan of the East (the sun) arrived at his culmination, there was a time of liberality and a daily market of gifts and pardons. The Eyes of the State and the Pillars of empire were distinguished by princely favours. Abundant offerings and scatterings were made by the grandees. During the august festival S. Abū-l-faẓl was presented with a swift, special horse which was made over to Abū l-khair (his brother) to be delivered to him.

One of the occurrences was the appointment of a number of imperial servants for the chastisement of the rulers of Mau[1] and Jammū. News came that Bāsū the ruler of Mau had, out of evil thoughts, attacked the borders of Pathān, and had sorely troubled the husbandmen thereof, and had by violence carried off some to his own territory. Tāj K. desired to go and punish him. The zamīndār of Jammū also made long the hand of oppression against the villages of the parganas Moẓaffarwāl[2] and Bahlūlpūr. Ḥusain Beg

[1] In the Bārī Doāb, J. II. 319.

[2] Ẓafarwāl in I.O. 260. It is the Patī Ẓafarwāl of J. II, 320 and was in the Rechnau Doāb. Bahlūlpūr was in the Chanpat Doāb, J. II. 322.

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S. 'Umarī—who held these two places in fief—prepared in Rohtās the means of punishing him and went off in that direction. On this account an order was given to Qulīj K., the governor of the Panjab, to send Ḥasan Qulīj, his son, with a body of troops to put down the disturbance, and *sazāwals* were sent from the court to cause Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī, Tāj K. Aḥmad Beg and other servants of the province to join Ḥasan Qulīj. Khwāja Sulaimān was made Bakhshī of the force.

The following matters occurred in Tūrān. When 'Abdullah K. died, and his son 'Abdūl Mūmīn's days also came to an end, Shāh 'Abbās, the ruler of Persia, who was always on the watch for an opportunity, set out on an expedition to Khurāsān. Hāshim[1] K., Bāqī K., and Payinda Muḥammad K., the sister's sons of 'Abdullah K., engaged with him in battle. The Shāh prevailed over the country, Hāshim K. lost his life in the fight and the other two fled, defeated, from Khurāsān. Payinda K. came by the jugglery of fate to Qan- 804
dahār and was there seized by the servant of Shāh Muḥammad K. The end of his affairs will be related in its place. Bāqī K. went to Tūrān. As that country had no ruler, and except him there was no one who could fill the post, he became Khān. After some time he led a force against Tāshkend. As Qalandar K., the ruler there, did not see in himself the power to contend, he had recourse to submission. Bāqī K. made him his subject and took possession of Samarkand and Bokhārā. He gave Badakhshān to his brother, Walī Muḥammad K. Shāh 'Abbās after taking Khurāsan, spent some time in enjoyment in Herat and then returned to Ispahan. In the second year he set out with a large army to take Balkh and encamped near that city. Bāqī K., whose power was not yet fully established, considered that his best plan was not to engage in a pitched battle, so he set down his tents opposite the Shāh's camp and dug a trench round them and waited. When much time had been spent, the Qizilbāsh grandees were troubled by the delay and inevitable privations and

[1] The Iqbālnāma has Totam K., and the notice at p. 817 of the Bib. Ind. Akbarnāma shows that Tatam Sulṭān is more correct, but the real name was Yātim Sulṭān which was another name for Dīn Muḥammad. The Turān news here given is stale, for the battle in which Dīn Muḥammad lost his life took place in the beginning of 1007 (1598). See 'Ālam Ārāī. Of course, Abul Faẓl is not responsible for the paragraph. Probably Hāshim is only a copyist's error, for at p. 817 we have Tatam.

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by the dying of their animals. The Shāh therefore gave up his design and returned to Khurāsān.

At this time Prince Sulṭān Daniel petitioned that the Rai Rayān might be appointed to the Deccan, and that an army should be sent to punish the zamīndārs of Garha. This was granted, and an order was issued to the Rai Rayān that he should, in the first place, proceed to the country of Garha—which was in his fief—and arrange for its administration. Afterwards he was to go to the Prince. Also, at this time Shādmān and 'Abdullah, the sons of the Khān Ā'ẓim, were each raised to the rank of 1,000. After some time, Anwar, another son of the said Khān and who was older than the other two, was raised to the same rank. As he was addicted to wine, and was of indolent habits, and had shown self-will in the service of H.M., this was his punishment. Ten horses which were presented to the Khān-khānān were made over to his agent, and forty horses were entrusted to[1] Khwāja Laṭīf, that he might convey them to Prince Daniel. The sons of M. Yūsuf K. and Raḥīm[2] Qulī and the son of Khān Jahān came from their fiefs and paid their respects.

One of the occurrences was the brave death of Jāmil Beg, the son of Tāj K. Tāj K., after collecting auxiliaries, set himself to the chastisement of Bāsū, the ruler of Mau. When he came[3] to the pargana of Pathān he did not halt, but went forward. He chose an encampment in a place, of which he approved. At the time of
805 marching, the enemy appeared, and Jamil Beg became ardent. Without delay he fell upon the foe with a few of his men. At first

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[1] To Khwāja 'Abdullah and Khwāja 'Abdu-l-laṭīf (Iqbālnāma).

[2] Son of Khān Jahān (Iqbālnāma).

[3] Tāj K. is the Tāsh Beg K. Moghul of A. F., B. 457 and of the Maaṣir I. 482. Apparently a negative has dropt out of the text and we should read *napardākhta* instead of pardākhta, for the M'aaṣir says that Tāj K. went on to Pathān, i.e. Pathānkot, B. 616, without waiting for his auxiliaries. However, the Iqbālnāma also omits the negative. The text speaks of the enemy appearing at the time of marching, *hangām-i-koc*, but the M'aaṣir says it occurred at the time of pitching the tents, *khaima ẓadan*, and it is so described in the continuation in I.O. MS. 260 and in Chalmers and the Iqbálnāma. The word *koc* has been improperly used by the continuator. Immediately before he speaks of Tāj K.'s selecting a camping-ground. There is a notice of Tāsh K. Beg in Price's Jahangīr, p. 41. See also Tūzuk J. 13, where he is called Furjī, i.e. from Furj or Furg in Persia.

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he was victorious, and killed the leaders of the enemy. Then he encountered two other forces, which came from the right and left, and after exhibiting much valour and standing firm, he bravely quaffed the last draught. Fifty men accompanied him to the other world.

Raẓā Qulī, the son of the Khān Jahān, received a *manṣab* of 500 with 100[1] horse, Islām Qulī K., the brother of Shāh Qulī K. Maḥram, one of 500 with 150 horse, while Muḥammad Qulī Turkamān's rank was increased by the gift of an elephant. Zāhid Beg, the son of Ṣādiq K., came from the Deccan and was exalted by performing the *kornish*. 'Allāmī S. Abu-l-Faẓl received the rank of 5,000, and was made by the appreciative sovereign the recipient of favours suitable to his services and loyalty. It appeared from a petition by Prince Sulṭān Daniel that the son of Shāh 'Alī was preparing to make a commotion in the district of Aḥmadnagar, and that 'Ambar Jeo had proceeded two or three months before to the territory of Bīdar.[2] Malik Barīd, the ruler of that country, sent one named Ibrāhīm to put him down. He fought a severe battle[3] with 'Ambar, and fell bravely. Fourteen elephants and other materials of greatness fell into the hands of 'Ambar, and these added to his arrogance. From there he went to Nūbilās (?) and had a hot engagement with Quṭbu-l-Mulk's people. He was victorious and obtained nine and twenty elephants. Then he proceeded to Telingāna. As Mīr Martaẓā had not the strength to oppose him, he entered a fort,[4] and that evil-minded one took possession of some of the estates and sent a body of men to the other parganas of Berar. Malik Barīd thought his remedy lay in supplication and flattery and sent him a sum of money, and made peace. The immoderation of the wicked had come to such a pass that he would soon unite with the son of Shāh 'Alī and both of them would throw the dust of sedition on their heads. On receipt of this news it was determined[5] that 'Allāmī S. Abu-l-faẓl should be

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1 300 (Iqbālnāma).

2 Text Berār, but the variant Bīdar is supported by the Iqbālnāma.

3 "Near Bīdar" (Iqbālnāma).

4 Fort of Pāthrī (Iqbālnāma).

5 The Iqbālnāma says that two provinces were formed. The Khān-khānān was to have Berār, Pāthrī, Telingāna, and the duty of suppressing Shāh 'Alī's son, and A. F. was to have charge of Aḥmadnagar and the duty of putting down Rājū and the other rebels. Apparently these were the arrangements reported by P. Daniel

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sent with a large force to Jālnāpūr, and that the Aḥmadnagar service and the punishment of Rājū and other rebels should also be entrusted to him. The control of Berar, Pāthrī and Telingāna, and the extirpation of the son of Shāh 'Alī and of 'Ambar Jeo were committed to the Khān-khānān.

One of the occurrences was the turning back to Allahabad of the Prince Royal from the neighbourhood of Etawah, in accordance with the orders of H.M. At the time of the New Year he had petitioned[1] and expressed a wish to kiss the threshold, saying that his distance from the Presence disquieted his mind. As the petition did not possess the glory of sincerity, it was not accepted. Meanwhile news came that he was proceeding towards the court with evil intentions and accompanied by 30,000[2] horse. A Fate-like order
806 was issued from the antechamber of wrath and severity to the effect that "He should recognize that his peace and prosperity lay in returning to Allahabad. If a desire for service had seized his collar, he should come to court unattended." Inasmuch as his disposition was not sincere, he on receipt of this order lost the thread of plan, and was mortified, and turned back from Etawah towards Allahabad. In reply to the order he used expressions of lamentation, and represented his ashamedness, and made excuses unworthy of being heard and sent them to the court by the Sadr-i-Jahān.[3] Close upon

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who also sent ten elephants to the Khān-khānān.

[1] From MS. No. 260 in the I.O. and the Iqbālnāma it appears that the petition was conveyed by one 'Īdal barqandāz. The Iqbālnāma gives an abstract of the petition and quotes two lines of poetry that it contained. At this place the same work notes that at this time the cold in Kashmīr was excessive and the lakes were frozen over.

[2] Text 1,000 but the Iqbālnāma has 30,000. It seems plain from the animus shown in this account that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ or Ināyat Ullah was writing in Shāh Jahān's reign and not in Jahāngīr's? The Zubdata—Tawārīkh I.O. MS. 1805 says Salīm set out in Shawwāl 1010, March, April 1602, and that he had with him more than 30,000 horse, about 1,000 elephants, and 2,000 boats. He arrived at Etawah which is ten leagues from Agra. Akbar recommended him to return on account of the heat of the weather. He turned back on 2nd Zīl-ḥajja 1010= 14th May 1602. The Iqbālnāma gives the date of Selīm's leaving Allahabad as Wednesday, 30th Isfandārmaz of the 47th year. This would be 10th March 1602.

[3] B. 468. The Iqbālnāma gives

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this another order was issued to the Prince to the effect that the provinces of Bengal and Orissa were made over to him, and that he should proceed to that extensive country. An order was also issued to Rajah Mān Singh that he should leave the province of Bengal to the Prince's agents, and should himself come as a pilgrim and pay his devotions at court. But the Prince thought his advantage consisted in acting contrary to the orders of his visible God, and did not consent to take the governorship of that large country.

An order was issued to the Rai Rayān to take up his quarters between Narwar and Canderī, and to govern that country with prudence. The Khān Ā'ẓim M. Koka received the lofty rank of 7,000 *zāt* and 6,000 horse. Hāshim K. received a *manṣab* of 1,500, S. Daulat Bakhtiyār received one of 2,000. The presents of Shāh Beg K., the governor of Qandahār, were produced before H.M. A marriage was made between Prince Khusrū and the Khān Ā'ẓim's daughter, and an order was given that S'aīd K. 'Abdullah K.,[1] and Mīr Ṣadr Jahān should convey one lakh of rupis to the house of the Khān Ā'ẓim by way of dower (*shīr bahā*). 50,000 rupis were presented to 'Allāmī S. Abu-l-faẓl. The sons of M. Yūsuf K. presented themselves and received suitable appointments. As the distress and poverty of the peasants (*kadīwar*) of Kabul was represented to H.M., one year's revenue was altogether remitted to that country, and an order was given to the collectors that for eight years one-eighth share of the revenue of the fief-holders should be remitted. The *manṣab* of Shamsu-d-dīn[2] Ḥusain, the son of the Khān A'ẓim—who was the Nāīb of the province of Gujarat—was fixed at 2,000, principal and increase (*aṣal u iẓāfa*). It became known that Khudāwand K. Abyssinian had stirred up sedition in the *sarkārs* of Pāthrī and Pāthan,[3] (?) and the Khān-khānān sent a force under the command of Sūraj Singh and Ghaznīn K. of Jālaur to punish him. Good men went to that country and defeated the enemy, and praiseworthy efforts were made to keep that country in repose.

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an abstract of the letter. It throws the blame on the hypocrites who poisoned Akbar's mind, and says that in reality the affection between Akbar and Jahāngīr was like that between Jacob and Joseph!

[1] I.O. MS. 260 says he was a descendant of Muḥammad Ghauṣ of Gwaliyār. The present is there called *sācaq*.

[2] B. 450.

[3] The Iqbālnāma seems to have

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807 One of the occurrences was the victory of Īrīj, the son of the Khān-khānān and the defeat of 'Ambar Jeo. News came that when it was known that 'Ambar had gone to Telingāna and that Mīr Martaẓā had not been able to maintain himself in Nānder, and that he and Sher Khwāja had gone to the village of Jahrī,[1] and that the enemy was being powerful in that country, and that Sher Khwāja and Mīr Martaẓā were in distress, the Khān-khānān had sent his son Īrij[2] with a large force to quell the commotion. Īrij joined Mīr Martaẓa and Sher Khwāja, and resolved to engage the enemy. On learning this, 'Ambar went to Damtour and from there proceeded to Qandahār.[3] Meanwhile Farhād Abyssinian joined 'Ambar with 2 or 3,000 horse. The brave men of the victorious army did not halt anywhere but advanced towards the foe. As the enemy stood their ground, the leaders of the victorious army drew up their forces. In the centre was Īrij with his father's troops and *manṣabdārs*. In the advance were Rajah Sūraj Singh, Bahādur-al-mulk, S. Walī, Parbat Sen Khatrī, Mukund Rai, Girdhar Dās, son of Rai Sāl Darbārī, Rāghū Dās, son of Khangār S. Maudūd, Zāhid, son of Shujā'at K., Qāsim Ḥusain K., S. Abul-fatḥ, son of S. M'arū, S. Masṭafā, Fatḥ K. Lodī, Ikhtiyār K., Sher K. and other heroes. In the right wing were Mīr Martaẓā and a number of active men. In the left wing were 'Alī Mardān Bahādur, and a party of brave men. 'Ambar also drew up his forces. First, the enemy's van drove off the elephants and attacked the imperial van, and there was a hot fight. From the smoke of the guns and muskets day put on the dark robes of night. The brave imperialists discomfited the foe by their bullets and the whizzing of their arrows. Then the centre made manful attacks. . . . . If the men of the right and left wings had extended the arm of courage, the enemy would not have escaped, and 'Ambar and Farhād would certainly have been made prisoners. Twenty elephants, etc., were captured.[4] When the news of this glorious victory was brought to H.M. by a report of Prince Daniel, thanks
808 were returned to God. The victors were rewarded by promotion and

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Bāsim and this is probably right. See J. II. 235.

[1] In Sarkār Pāthrī, J. II. 236.

[2] B. 491.

[3] Iqbālnāma has Kahandahar (?)

[4] Malik 'Ambar was severely wounded in this battle. See Ferishta. The victory was followed by a peace between 'Ambar and the Khān-khānān.

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gifts of horses and robes of honour. The Prince sent ten of the elephants to court, and kept ten by himself, with the idea that he would present them whenever he came to court.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Jammū. When Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī besieged the fort of Jammū, the Zamīndār of Nagarkot and the other landowners and hillmen of the parganas of Lakhanpūr, Jasrota, Mānkoṭ, brought help to the ruler thereof. They made great efforts, but were unsuccessful and fled away by night. Rāmgarha, Jasrota, Jammū, Mānkoṭ and Kobast (?) were taken.

Various items of news from Bengal brought joy. In the first place, Rajah Mān Singh came to Dhāka (Dacca) and by means of hopes and fears brought the ruler Kedār Rai on the right road of service. Secondly, when news came that Jalāl[1] of Kahakra had with a body of evil-disposed persons attacked the towns of Akrā (?)[2] and Maldah and committed great oppression on the traders and inhabitants there, the Rajah sent Khwāja Bāqar Anṣārī to Ghorāghāt to Mahā Singh, in order that he might join with him in putting down the disturbance. When Mahā Singh came to Kahakra, Jalāl kept the river Mandarī[3] (?) in front of him and appeared with 5,000 foot and 500 horse. Mahā Singh without delay put his horse into the river, and as the bank was high it was difficult for the horses to

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[1] The Iqbālnāma has Māu instead of Jalāl.

[2] The Iqbālnāma has Agrā or Akrā Maldah. It is evident I think that the Agrā of text is the Akrā of the Aīn, J. II. I.O.M. 260 has Maldah quite clearly. The text wrongly has Mālera. جلال کهکروه وال Jalāl Kahakrawāl. There are no vowel-points and so the proper spelling is unknown to me. B. 479, n. 3, speaks of a Kokrah or Khukra which is the old name for Chutīā Nāgpūr, but evidently this is not the place meant in the text. The Kahakra or Kakra there mentioned was in Bengal and must, I think, be identical with the Bāzkhokrā or Bār Khokrā of the Āin, J. II. 131. Tiefenitihaler has Bārghora and Gladwin Bāzghogera. He has Jawaragra as the heading for the 14 parganas. This was in the Sarkār of Jannatābād and was one of the 14 parganas belonging to Jawār Akrā or Agrā. As pointed out by Mr. Beames, R.A.S.J. for 1896, p. 110, Jawār here means a division of country. One of the parganas of the Jawār is called Havelī Akra and Beames says, "Probably Agra on the Pūrnabhāba river now absorbed in the Shīkarpūr pargana of Barbakābād." Mr. Beames refers to Jalālgarh as the name of a fort N.E. of Purniah.

[3] Probably this is the Mahānandā river. See Beames l.c., p. 90. Chalmers has Mahānanda.

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mount it, and some [1] of his companions lost their lives. Most of them emerged with safety and attacked the foe. The villain threw the dust of ruin on his head and fled like the wind. Mahā Singh's mind being at ease about these matters considered that it was indispensable to put down Qāẓī Mūmin, who at this time had collected many evil-disposed persons [2] in Purniah and was devastating that country, and so proceeded thither. That ill-fated one had made a fort [3] on the bank of the Kosī and was meditating flight. As soon as he heard of the approach of the imperial troops he put his family into boats and went off there (to the island?) Mahā Singh sent 500 horse across the river after him, and he went to an island. On account of the thick jungle the troops could not get a trace of him. Active men scattered about and came to that island from every side. Mūmin's eye fell first upon a few of them, and perceiving that they
809 were few in number, and being ignorant of the proximity of others he sought to engage. He defeated the first force. Murād Beg Uzbeg and Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad, a relative of Muḥibb 'Alī K. took no account of this defeat and fought gallantly. Nūru-d-dīn Muḥammad K. sacrificed his life on the path of loyalty. At this time there was fear that injury should accrue to the victorious troops. But by the fortune of the Shāhinshāh Qāẓī Mūmin fell headlong from his horse and was killed on the spot. The heroes were victorious. Next news came to the Rajah that Uṣmān [4] the accursed had crossed the Brahmaputra with a large force, and that Bāz Bahādur Qalmāq, the thānadār of that quarter, had abandoned his post, and had come to Bhawāl. The Rajah came to Bhawāl in the space of a day and a night, and next day had a fight with the enemy on the bank of the river Bihār [5] (?) Many Afghans were slain and much booty in the shape of boats (*nuwāra*) and artillery was obtained. When he had made the *thāna* strong by entrusting it to able men he came to Dhāka, and ordered a number of brave men to cross the Anjhamati [6]

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[1] The Iqbālnāma says nearly 100 were drowned and so does Chalmers and I.O. MS. 260.

[2] Chalmers has Rabnābād, but probably Purniah is right.

[3] I.O. MS. 260 adds "in Purniah."

[4] Cf. Elliot VI. 106.

[5] This is Moẓaffar K.'s slave who had become loyal.

[6] The Iqbālnāma does not name the river. It has sār for sāz-i-atish and perhaps this has been read as Bihār 29. Perhaps the Īcāmatī in the Pabna district.

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(?) and to punish 'Īsā and Kedār, the ruler of Bikrāmpūr and Sarhanpūr. The wicked Afghans leagued with Dāūd, the son of Īsā and the landholders and closed the ferries and prepared for war. For some days the imperialists were unable to cross. The Rajah on perceiving the state of affairs came from Dhāka to Shāhpūr.[1] He first appointed a body of men to keep those who had gone before. As the affair was beyond their strength, and there was much fighting at the ferry, he saw that the remedy was for him to come to the spot in person. On arriving, he without delay mounted his elephant and entered the river. Other strong-hearted men proceeded manfully to swim the river. They crossed and defeated the enemy. They became unsteady and fled. The Rajah followed them and marching by night came to Barhānpūrī[2] (?) and Tarah (?). Sher K.,[3] the proprietor, then had the wisdom to wait upon the Rajah. From there he went to Sirhanpūr[4] and Bikrampūr. Dāūd and the other Afghans went off to Sonargāon. The Rajah's mind became at ease about the enemy and he went to Dhāka.

At this time Rai Sāl Darbārī was raised to the rank of 2,500 *zāt* and 1,250 horse. He was one of the old servants of the court. He was a good servant and one who jeopardised his life. Rai Singh Rāthor had on account of want of wisdom been unstable, and as a punishment he had for some time been excluded from the *kornish*. At this time, as marks of repentance appeared in him, he was summoned and his offences were pardoned and regarded as not having been committed. An order was given for admitting him to the *kornish*. A favourable reception of his son (Dalpat)—who continu- **810**
ally acted contrary to his father's wishes—was made conditional on his pleasing his father. H.M. remarked "until he attain the good graces of his father—who is his visible God, and the pleasing of whom is bound up with the pleasing of God—he cannot participate in the favours of the sovereign."

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1 In Sarkār Tājpūr, J. II. 135. A small *pargana* ten miles N. of the town of Purniah (Beames).

2 This name seems certainly wrong, I.O. MS. 260 apparently has Mahūrī and Tīrah.

3 Chalmers has Shere Ghuzny miscopied in Elliot as "Then Ghuzny." It is also Sher Ghāzī in I.O. MS. 260.

4 Harīpūr in I.O. 260.

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Reports of the officers of the Deccan arrived stating that Prince Sulṭān Daniel had taken away the *jāgīr* of Shāhrukh, and that the Mīrzā was grieved on this account and wished to come to court. An order was issued to the Prince stating that his resumption of the fief was exceedingly disapproved of, and that he must restore it. A gracious letter also was addressed to the Mīrzā, telling him that the composing of the distractions of the province of Mālwa was committed to his judgment, and that he should be fervent in the service, and not come to court without being summoned. He was also honoured by the presentation of a horse. The charge of the province of Multan was made over to S'aīd K., and he was loaded with favours and sent off there. Partāb Singh, the brother of Rajah Mān Singh, came from Bengal and did homage. It was reported that the victorious army had returned after being victorious over Bāsū, and that the fort of Kūlīn (?) had been entrusted after its capture to Rām Dās.

It was reported to H.M. that the Khān-khānān had addressed himself to extirpating the thorn of the sedition of Rājū, and that Prince Sulṭān Daniel having heard of the misconduct of one of the Fārūqīs in Bābilgarha[1] had sent a force under the command of Tardī Beg K. and Khwāja Abū-l-ḥasan to punish him, and that he had fled from there to Daulatābād, and that Khwāja Nāẓir, the eunuch, had shut the gate of the fort against the troops and commenced to fight. They had therefore set themselves to besiege the fort, and had pressed hard upon the garrison. When they had no way of escape they had capitulated and become loyal. An order was issued to 'Allāmī S. Abū-l-faẓl that he should come to court unattended, and that he should make over his army to his son S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān, and put him in charge of affairs. The Hippocrates of wisdom, the very learned S. Abū-l-faẓl, on account of his abilities and his loyalty and devotion, was rising, from rank to rank of confidence and intimacy. The envious on beholding this, heated the fire of envy in the furnace of their hearts and sought for opportunities of satisfying their grudge against him. As he was under the protection of God,
811 and the eternal favour was security for that pure-minded one, his advancement continued, and no evil happened to him from any con-

[1] A Bābil is mentioned as in Sarkār Gāwil J. II. 232.

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tingency. But the spite of the envious constantly gained strength. Gradually Prince Sulṭān Selīm's mind became prejudiced by the representations of liars against this foremost one of wisdom. As the ways of the prince were displeasing to H.M., and he continually went counter to his father's wishes, his father's neglect of him was increasing daily. Evil-minded persons represented that the aversion of his father was due to the efforts of the Shaikh and that the latter was endeavouring to have him disgraced and distrusted. This had such an effect on the prince, who was of a hot disposition, and had lost his prudence owing to drinking, and to the intoxication of youth and of success, that he set himself to take the life of this unique one of the age. At the time when the prince wanted to come to court without being sent for, and when the secret-discerning sovereign perceived his intent and would not allow him to come, it became known that the Shaikh had been summoned to come quickly to court from the Deccan. The prince thought he had his opportunity, and gave orders to Bīr Singh Deo Bandīla—who had long been a highway robber, and whose home was on the road from the Deccan, and who for a while had been in the prince's service—that as the Shaikh was proceeding to the court unattended, he should put an end to him. He then despatched that villain after having made him hopeful of many favours. That ignorant partizan (*'lwān nādān*) went home as quickly as possible and collected a number of bestial, savage Bandīlahs and lay in wait. When the Shaikh received the order of the world's lord, he set out from the Deccan. At Ujjain he heard that that evil plotter was holding the road. He did not attach weight to this statement and disapproved of the suggestion of his well-wishers that he should turn back and proceed by the route of Ghātī Cāndā. Apparently, as the time of death was at hand, the thread of deliberation dropped from his hand! Or perhaps he desired to sever the links of the bodily elements, and his heart was full, from beholding the jugglery of fortune and the ways of his contemporaries! On 1st Rabī-al-awwāl 1011 (9th August 1602), between Serai Bīr and Antrī,[1] Bir Singh Deo came out from his ambush. That wise and warlike man, with an indignant heart, an open brow, and a soul full of reliance on God, and of courage, prepared for

[1] In Sarkār Bayānwān J. II. 188, A. F.'s tomb is there.

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battle. Gadāī K. Afghān—who had been long in his service, and had been nurtured by him, came forward and turned his rein. He in his loyalty represented: "The enemy appears very numerous and
812 we are too few to be successful. It is proper that I and some others go to face the enemy and that you slowly proceed on your way until the enemy has finished with us. There will be a long interval, and you will arrive comfortably at Āntrī which is three *kos* distant, and where there are the Rai Rayān and Rajah Singh with 2 or 3,000 horse." That haughty and brave man replied: "To the noble lovers of their honour it is pleasanter to play away their lives with credit and to die bravely than to spend their days in cowardice, and to bring on themselves the stain of timidity. According to the code of the valiant what can be baser than to attach importance to fleeting life and give place to the enemy, and to fix ones heart on the unstable world and so gather eternal disgrace? If this be my last day—and that must happen to every one—what remedy is there, and what counsel can one take?" He also said: "My gracious sovereign has raised me from the rank of a student to the lofty position of an amīr, a vizier, and a general. On this day if I act contrary to H.M.'s opinion of me, by what name shall I be called among men, and how shall I have a clear countenance among my rivals." He said this and proceeded against the enemy. Gadāī again importuned and said: "Soldiers frequently act in this manner. When it is not fitting to engage with the foe, they do not consider it to be a breach in the pillars of courage for them to step aside and turn their rein, and to take vengeance at another time. As yet we have time. You can withdraw yourself from this dangerous spot." He who was prepared for the last journey, and whose foot was on the path of laying down his life paid no regard to these words and said: "I cannot flee from this unwashed thief." They were still speaking when Bir Singh Deo arrived. The brave man urged on the steed of bravery on the hostile forces, and died from a spear thrust in the breast. Gadāī K., and some others obtained the boon of sacrificing their lives. Alas for that mine of wisdom, and woe for that ocean of knowledge! The night lamp of science and wisdom was extinguished, and the fountain of eloquence and excellence was stilled. There was an evil day for genius, and the livers of knowledge and perception were torn. Intelligence and discernment were dis-

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solved and farsight and acuteness removed their baggage from the world!

Verse.

Alas for the celestial knowledge; it has turned to dust
The pillars of science have moved, and the nest of eloquence is empty!

When this sorrowful news reached the court of the world's lord, his heart was grieved for that the banquet-adorner and the en- 813
lightened companion had passed away. The great nobles lamented that the life-thread of the adorner of the court of the viziership had been cut short. The gatherers of wisdom sate in sorrow for that he who sate four-square on the divan of eloquence had left the world. The sagacious and active-minded heaved a cold sigh because the last sleep had seized him who fostered enlightenment. The community at large wept and lamented because the days were ended of him who was the leader of the lords of "Peace with all" and a knower of the disposition of the age. The grief and sorrow which were occasioned to the appreciative Khāqān are beyond expression. I have heard from a reliable source that at midday H.M. was engaged in watching the flights of pigeons. He was standing and admiring their wonderful movements, when S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī brought the news of the catastrophe. H.M. uttered a cry and became insensible. After a long time he recovered. For several days in succession he had moist eyes and a sorrowful countenance because of the sacrifice of that excellent companion, that prince of loyalty, that interlocutor of lofty intellect, that friend of the private meeting and that faithful confident and counseller. Whenever[1] the disaster was brought to his mind, he heaved a painful sigh, and beat his breast. He severely censured the prince for what he had done, and often blamed him. Resentment against him took possession of his holy soul so that even to the end he was displeased with him. In spite of all his abasement and supplications he never forgave him. "The truth-seeking vizier of the Shāhinshāh," and "Abul Faẓl the enlightened" are the two suitable chronograms[2] for this model of the lords of wisdom, which

[1] The writer of the Iqbālnāma says that he repeatedly was an eye-witness o this grief.

[2] They yield 1011.

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occurred to the writer while penning these pages. An order was given to the Rai Rayān to extirpate Bir Singh Deo, and not to rest

The circumstances of A. F.'s death are described in B. XXV, in Asad Beg's Memoirs. Elliot VI, 154, in Jahangir's Memoirs, and in Tiefenthaler, who from his connection with Narwar had perhaps special means of information. I myself have seen A. F.'s tomb at Antrī and have described it in an article in the "Calcutta Review." It would be interesting to know if the body under the tomb wants the head as that is said to have been sent to Jahāngīr who had it flung into a privy. There are discrepancies about the date of the murder and about the place. It appears however that the true date is 4th Rabī I. 1011 or 12th August 1602. Apparently A. F. had passed Antrī and his body was afterwards carried back there. The murder appears to have been committed about a mile from Serai Bar, B. XXV. Tiefenthaler says, I, 184, it took place at a ferry of the Sindh river at a place called Dūmghāt about two leagues to the west of Dehala which again is ten leagues west of Dattia. Of Dattia there is a plan in Tiefenthaler, and the same plate gives a view of Āsīrgarh. The Iqbālnāma says, A. F. was killed on Friday 1st Shahrīyūr =the beginning of Rabī-al-awwāl, at a place between the Sarai of Bar and Antrī. The Maaṣir II, 616 may also be consulted. Chalmers says, A. F. had reached Serai Bunga, two stages (in Persian text *du rūza*) from Gwaliār when he was attacked on 1st Shahrīyūr. There are two copies of Asad Beg's Memoirs in the B.M., and both belong to the Elliot MSS. I have seen one, Or. 1996, Rieu's Cat. III., 979, and also Mr. Chapman's translation, Add. 30,776. In a note at Elliot VI, 156 it is stated that Bir Sing is invariably called Nar Sing in the MS. and that this is the more likely name of the two. This note is reproduced from a note, apparently by Sir Henry Elliot, to Chapman's translation. As printed in Elliot, it conveys the impression that the name is Nar Sing in the original Persian MS. and there is a similar remark at p. 107. But this is not the case Mr. Chapman has written Nar, but in the Persian MS. it is clearly Bir Sing. so that there is little doubt that this is the real name. Āsad Beg strikes one as having been rather a futile person. He was not to blame for being absent at the time of the murder, but surely he might have done more than he did after he heard of it. Instead of sallying forth from Sironj and recovering the body, or attempting to punish the murderers he proceeded to fortify himself as if there was any danger after the robbers had gained their object! The date he gives for the murder is Friday 7th Rabi-ul-awwal 1011 (not 1010) and he adds that it occurred at the time of prayer—apparently the Friday's prayer which occurs after midday. If Asad's date is correct the murder occurred on 15th August 1602. He parted from A. F. at Sironj which is placed in the Āīn in Mālwa, Sarkār Canderī, but which is now in the Rajputana State of

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till he had severed his head from his body. Rajah Rāj Singh, Rām Cand Bandīla and other zamīndārs of that neighbourhood were appointed to assist. Ẕiyā-ul-Mulk was appointed to be Bakhshī to this force, and a number of officers of the court were associated with him.

One of the occurrences was the arrival from Badakhshān of a petition from M. Badīu-'z-zamān[1] the sister's son of M. Ḥakīm. In the 46th year 'Allāmi wrote that he after prevailing over Badakhshān read the *Khuṭba* and coined money in the name of Akbar, and sent a skilful ambassador to apologise for the smallness of the service which he had hitherto rendered. The sovereign, the favourer of the weak, sent back the envoy with abundant goods, and arms and other warlike materials, and so increased Badīu-'z-zamān's resources. **814** At this time he again petitioned and asked for some warlike materials. H.M. sent twenty camel loads of weapons of war, etc. with Malik Muḥammad Badakhshī—who had been appointed as *dāroḡha* of the ruby mines in Badakhshān, and also sent an encouraging *firmān*.

One of the occurrences was the death of Khwāja Sulaimān the bakhshī of the army of the hill-country of the Panjab. He had sent a body of men against a village, and was expecting news of it. As no intelligence came he personally followed up those whom he had sent. He came up while they were engaged with the enemy, and when arrows and bullets were flying on either side. A bullet reached his temple and he was killed.

At this time it was reported to H.M. that Prince Daniel—who in accordance with the insistance of H.M. had for a time given up wine-drinking, and had broken his wine-vessels, and had taken an

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Tonk. It is 78 m. N.W. Saugor. Sarai Barār was the last stage reached by A. F. and it was shortly after leaving it that he was attacked and killed. It is described by Asad as being two or three stages beyond Sironj, on the way to Gwaliyar, It was beyond Kālabāgh. Asad represents that he was left behind at Sironj to punish Indrajīt the brother (?) of Bir Sing and he throws the blame of A. F.'s not being properly escorted on Gopal Dās Nakta. He says that Bir Singh sent for a *firmān* and told A. F.—as he was dying—that "Haẕrat Jahāngīrī" had sent for him. This would seem to indicate that Selīm had already called himself Jahāngīr.

[1] He was soon afterwards defeated and put to death by Bāqī K. See below p. 817.

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oath against drinking wine by the exalted head of H.M.—had at this time broken his vow and again fallen into drinking habits, and that in consequeuce of such fire-water his disposition had become immoderate. A monitory order was issued[1] to that nursling of sovereignty, inquiring why he did not take pity on his youth and beauty, and, why he did not take warning from the instance of his elder brother Prince Sulṭān Murād. What evils more than that were not produced by wine to the corporeal frame—which was the choice building of God's hand! If he desired to please the Creator, and also his visible deity (his father) he would withdraw from association with that injurious companion (wine), and would not, for the sake of a momentary gratification, call for his eternal ruin!

From the reports of the Ṣubahdār of Kabul and other officers there it appeared that[2] Aḥad Dād had stirred up strife in Tīrāh, and that the tribes of the Afrīdīs, Panī, Orakzai and Sūrī had joined him. Also that Takhta Beg, who in order to settle the disputes of the Yūsufzai and the Orakzai[3] was residing in Nagarkot, had on the receipt of this news gone to Peshawar, and from thence to Tīrāh, and that the Afrīdīs had submitted to him. Also that Aḥad Dād had gone from Tīrāh to Āhanposh and that neighbourhood. Also that Takhta Beg had punished a number of the Afghans who at the instance of Aḥad Dād had devastated fort Arkhail and Dūmandī (?) and had settled among the 'Alīzai. Also that he had established *thānās* and had closed the rivers, (*rūdbandī*) and that the Afrīdī chiefs had come in, and that the Orakzai leaders had made treaties,
815 and that Aḥad Dad's influence had been destroyed, and that he had failed and gone to Cauhāna (?). All these things were reported at length. As Ḥusain Qulīj the son of Qulīj Khān, had distinguished himself in the Panjab, and had made obedient Talūk Cand the ruler of Nagarkot, he received a robe of honour; Qulīj Khān, a special shawl and Talūk Cand also a shawl.

As Prince Sulṭān Selīm had committed great faults, and H.M. was very angry with him, no one could venture to petition for him. The great lady of the age, Miriam-Makānī and the Khātun of the

[1] The Iqbālnāma says the rebuke was conveyed by Bīr Naraīn.

[2] I.O.M.S. 260 has Aḥadād احداد

[3] The Iqbālnāma says "The Dilazāk."

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chamber of chastity, Gulbadan Begam, begged for his forgiveness. Inasmuch as H.M. had a great respect for Miriam-Makānī and Gulbadan Begam, he granted their wishes and gave an order for the coming of the Prince to court, and ordered that the cupola of chastity, Selīma Sulṭān Begam should go and give the Prince the news of forgiveness, and bring him to court. That chaste lady in order to soothe the prince's apprehensions took from H.M. an elephant named Fatḥ Lashkar, a special horse, and a robe of honour and went off with them.

At this time also the *faujdārī* of Mewāt was conferred on Iftikhār Beg. On 2nd Ābān the solar weighment took place, and there was a feast of joy. The sovereign was weighed against twelve articles, and the needy had their wants supplied. The presents of Qāsim Khān, arrived from Transoxiana and were received. Shāh Beg Khān the governor of Qandahār was raised to the rank of 5000, and the government of Ghaznīn was taken from Sharīf Kh. and given to him. A strict order was also issued about the security of the Qandahār and Ghaznīn roads so that the merchants might have their minds at ease. Sālbāhan the head of the artillery received the title of Rajah. He was unequalled as a gunner, and was promoted on account of his long service. Petitions were received from M. Shāhrukh representing his illnesses and weakness and Benī Dās, physician, was sent to treat him. Manūcihr the ambassador of the ruler of Persia received valuable presents and was allowed to depart. Numerous productions of India were sent along with him as presents for his sovereign, and at the time of his departure Manūcihr received four lakhs of *dāms* in addition to what had already been given to him. News came that 'Irij the son of the Khān-khānān had fought a great battle with 'Ambar Jeo and that by H.M.'s good fortune he had been victorious and had captured elephants and other property. H.M. as a reward for this service gave him the title of Bahādur. Jādūn Dās the brother's son of Rai Bihārī Cand was sent off in order that he might convey favourable orders to Prince Sulṭān Daniel, the Khān-khānān and to 'Irij Bahādur. He was to bring with him 816
to court the elephants that had been taken. An ornamental waist-dagger was sent with him for the Prince. An order was issued to S. Abdu-r-raḥmān the son of 'Allāmī Abū-l-faẓl that he should join the Rai Rayān and exact vengeance from Bir Singh Deo for the mur-

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der of his father. His fief also was assigned to him in Mālwa. At the request of the intercessors for the Prince-Royal, a special robe of honour and a special horse were sent to him by Burhān-ul-mulk Khwāṣ, and many gracious messages were conveyed to him by the same means. Prince Sulṭān Daniel sent as *peshkash* a diamond weighing 27 *surkhs*[1] and a ruby weighing 4 *miṣqāls*. An order was issued to Ābū-l-qāsim Namakīn[2] that he should send to court M. Ghāzī[3] along with a confidential slave of his named Khasrū. Ḥāshim K., Qāsim Khān Parwāna and Ḥasan Qulīj came from their respective fiefs and paid their respects at court. Hakīm Raknū[4] and Ḥakīm Ḥaidar had the good fortune to come from 'Irāq and enter into the service of H.M. The first of these had accumulated a knowledge of medicine and of the current sciences. He had also a turn for poetry, and put into verse lofty sentiments. The other was a passed master in science, was well acquainted with physic and an able writer of prose and verse. He had inward and outward graces. A petition from the Prince-Royal was laid before H.M. The gist of it was that he had met the noble lady (Selīma Begam) two stages off and paid his respects to her. He also expressed in the petition a wish for the horses which the Persian ambassador had brought as *peshkash*. Kharram the Khān Ā'ẓim produced twenty Kachī horses (from Cutch) which had been sent from Jūnagarh as *peshkash*).

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[1] It is the seed of the Abrus Precatorius and is the same as a rati. B. 16. n. The Iqbālnāma gives the weight of the diamond as 4 *miṣqāls* and 5 *surkhs*.

[2] Tamkīn in text.

[3] This is the son of M. Jānī Beg of Ṭattah. See infra p. 839, M. Ghāzī had shown a disposition to rebel, and S'aīd had been sent to bring him into order. See the Maaṣir III. 345. The Khasrū here described is called by the Maaṣir Khasrū Cirkis (Circassian) and is described as having been the vakīl of Jānī Beg's family for one hundred years. He took part in the struggle for Scinde's independence against the Khān-khānān. M. Ghāzī died in 1021 (1612), in the 7th year of Jahangīr's reign. Iqbālnāma 67. There is a story that Akbar wanted to poison M. Ghāzī, and that by mistake he himself took the poisoned pills and died. See Manucci I, 150 who, however does not give M. Ghāzī's name. No doubt the story is false.

[4] See Maasiru-l-Umarā II, 683 article Rahmat K. Ḥaidar's name was Rafīu-d-dīn Ḥaidar. See B. 593. But of course this Ḥaidar must have come before the 47th year for A. F. mentions him. Probably the Ḥaidar of text is the Naṣīrī of Maaṣir, II, 683.

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It was represented that Bir Singh Deo had taken shelter in jungles and difficult defiles and was practising robbery. The Rai Rayān had several times chastised him. When he learnt that Bir Singh had come into the fort of Bhānder, and when he was surrounded there by the imperial vanguard, that he had crept into the fort of Īrij,[1] the Rai Rayān had quickly gone there, and Bir Singh had come out and fought on the bank of the river (the Betwa). There was a hot musketry fire, and the Rai Rayān crossed the river. As the bank was high, the men got over with difficulty, and there was a contest. Bir Singh was defeated and entered the fort of Īrij. The Rai Rayān set himself to besiege it. When it was nearly being taken, Bir Singh broke down the wall of the fort at night, and came out on the side of the battery of Rajah Rāj Singh. Probably the Rajah showed slackness in the matter of seizing him. The brave men pursued him and killed forty[2] of the wretch's followers. But 817
as the jungle was thick, and there were many ravines the pursuers were obliged to return, and the villain managed to escape.

One of the occurrences was the death of M. Badi'u-z-zamān. On account of want of equipments he had asked for some arms from the court and H.M. had sent him a supply along with Malik Muḥammad Badakhshī. Before the latter arrived, Bāqī K. the ruler of Tūrān came to Badakhshān with a large force. The Mīrzā though he was weak set himself to fight. The enemy was victorious and captured him, and put him to death.

One of the occurrences was the arrival at court of Payinda K., the brother of Bāqī K. It has[3] been mentioned that after the death of Tatam K. (Yatīm), Bāqī K. went to Tūrān and acquired the sovereignty of that country, and that Payinda became in the *garmsīr* country the prisoner of Shāh Beg K. He was now sent to court. After he had been produced before H.M. he was made over to M. Wālī and he, out of vengeance for his brother Badī-uz-zamān[4] whom Bāqī K. had killed, put that innocent man to death.

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[1] Apparently the proper spelling is 'Iric. See B. and Elliot vi, 108.

[2] The mention of an elephant in Chalmers and Elliot is apparently a mistake, *cahal* having been read as fīl.

[3] This may refer to page 804 of Persian text but the reference is not clear. The real name is Yatīm and this was a sobriquet of Dīn Muḥammad.

[4] This Badi'-uz-zamān was the son

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One of the occurrences was the death of Gulbadan Begam, the paternal aunt of H.M. When the time of her departure from this caravanserai arrived, she felt ill of fever for some days, and the medicine of the physicians was of no avail. On Monday the 6th Ramẓān 1011,[1] 7th February, 1603, she wrapped her face in the veil of annihilation. She had served God for 82 years in this unstable world. H.M. had much love for her, and from respect he supported her bier for some steps on his own shoulder. He won the hearts of the needy by giving them alms and so soothed the pure soul of that traveller to the abiding world. At the time of death—which is a season of silence and insensibility—Miriam Makānī the queen of the age, came to her pillow, but though she called her "Begam Jīo" (dear lady) she got no answer. As they had long used loving expressions to one another, she repeated the endearing expression.[2] The other opened her eyes on the blessed face of Miriam Makanī and died after uttering this verse.

Verse.[3]

I'm weak and dying, may you live long!

The petition of the chaste Selima Sulṭān Begam arrived. She described with fervour the beautiful tale of the devotion and sincerity

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of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī and Fakhru-nisā Begam called by Jahangir, Tūzuk 68, Najību-nisā, the sister of M. Ḥakīm and half-sister of Akbar. He went to Badakhshān from Ḥisār and defeated an imposter who claimed to be a son of M. Sulaimān and took possession of Badakhshān in Akbar's name in the 46th year. See A. N. III, 792 and 813. He was however killed by Bāqī K. next year. The M. Wālī who killed Bāqī K.'s brother Payinda was another son of Khwāja Hasan. It was he who was married to Bolāqī Begam, a daughter of M. Daniel. The Maaṣir is in error in saying, III, 460, that the M. Wālī who married Bolāqī B. was another person. See Tūzuk J, 272. It is also wrongly stated in Maaṣir that it was Akbar who gave Bolāqī B. in marriage to M. Wālī.

[1] The Iqbālnāma gives the date of her death as Monday, 6th Ẕi-ḥijja (1011), 6th May, 1603, but this seems certainly wrong as she died in the 47th year. Gulbadan Begam says she was eight when her father died. Bābar died on 26th December, 1530, consequently if she died in February 1603, she was then in her 82nd year.

[2] Jīo Begam Jīo. Jīo seems to be properly Jīv and to be connected with *jīvan* life.

[3] The text has '*umrat*,' "thy life" but this does not appear in the Iqbālnāma, nor in the B.M. MSS., 1854, 1858 and 3271. Instead of '*umrat* they have *bādā*.

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of the Prince, and also represented that she had cleansed the stain of savagery and suspicion from his heart and that she would soon **818** bring him to court.

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CHAPTER CLI.

Beginning of the 47th Year from the Holy Accession, to wit, the year Isfandārmaẕ of the Fourth Cycle.

On Friday, 8th Shawwāl 1011, 11th March 1603, after the passing of 2 hours 40 minutes the fiery-winged peacock (the sun) made his nest in Aries, and the twelfth year of the fourth cycle brought news of joy to mortals.

Verse.

New Year arrived, and the gardens became variegated.
The sun (shone) for the adornment of the season.
Inasmuch as air tempered water,
Bitter pools (of tears) in the eyes of lovers became sweet.

The palace was adorned by H.M.'s orders, and there were continual feastings up to the day of the culmination (*sharaf*). The world's skirt of hopes was filled by the desire-granting of H.M. The grandees acquired eternal bliss by presentation of offerings.

The chaste, secluded lady Selīma Sulṭān Begum had petitioneds stating that she was coming to court with Prince Sulṭān Salīm. As the news-writers reported that Prince Sulṭān Daniel never quitted hicups, and that he had become weak and ill from constant wine-bibbing, the kindness of the spiritual physician willed that S. Ilahdād should be sent to summon him. Perhaps by coming to court his illness might be cured by the medicine of the Shāhinshāh's counsels. S. Ilahdād reported[1] H.M.'s desires to the prince. At this time the prince represented, "When I was informed of my being summoned, inasmuch as the time was not proper for sending for the Khān-khānān to Burhānpūr I went off rapidly to interview him in order that I might instruct him about what was fitting to be done, and might give him advice. When S. Ilahdād comes, I shall proceed to the holy threshold." When H.M. learnt this, his mystery-knowing mind perceived that the prince was not inclined to come,

[1] Perhaps it should be, S. Ilahdād would report.

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and that his going from Khandes to the Deccan was a pretext. Accordingly an order was issued to the effect that his going to the Khān-khānān was a subterfuge, and that his not coming was due to his habits of drinking and self-indulgence. What need was there for the Khān-khānān's receiving instructions from him ? If he wrote such things again H.M. would be a thousand times more displeased. 819 An order was also issued to the effect that Khwāja Farāsat Khawāṣṣ—who had been left there on account of sickness—had several times been sent for, and also that the elephants which had been captured in the battle with 'Ambar and Farhād had been sent for, but that the prince had made improper pretexts and not forwarded them. He was enjoying himself in having fights of elephants which had not been produced before H.M. All these bad actions were proofs of the prince's unlucky star and perverted career. He must send all the elephants and also Khwāja Farāsat to court.

A gracious message, together with a shawl, was sent to Mālwa to M. Shāhrukh in order to exalt him, and noted horses and choice robes of honour were sent to the officers of the Deccan. Rajah Sūraj Singh was distinguished among his equals by the grant of a kettle-drum. As he had distinguished himself in the Deccan H.M. rewarded him with a kettle-drum. On 12th Farwardīn [1] Bīca Jān Anaga the mother of Zain K. Koka died. H.M. went to her house and consoled the survivors. M. Shāhrukh petitioned for leave to come to court. An order was issued to the effect that Prince Daniel had been summoned. If he had the grace to come, then it would not be proper for M. Shāhrukh to come, for in that case the country would be denuded of loyal officers. If the Prince from presumption, self-indulgence, bad companionship, and continual drinking did not come, then the Mīrzā might leave his troops in Mālwa and come to court. An order was issued to the Rai Rayān that as Bir Singh Deo had become a vagabond in the desert of destruction, he should come to court with the servants who were assisting him. Twelve elephants sent by Prince Daniel were submitted for the inspection of H.M., and from among them one named Shāhrukh was placed among the special elephants.

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[1] So in text, but the Iqbālnāma seems to make it 12th Ardībihisht for just before it an occurrence of 2nd Ardībihisht is mentioned, 12th Ardībihisht is = 22nd April, 1603. She is also called Pīca Jān and Jījī.

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One of the occurrences was the coming of Prince Sulṯān Selīm. When he was approaching the centre of fortune, he sent a petition to the effect that Her Majesty the Queen of the world, Miriām-Makānī, might take his hand and cast him at the feet of His sphere-brushing Majesty. His petition was granted, and H.H. Miriām-Makānī went forward one stage and by renewed cordiality soothed the prince's terrified soul. Next day he was brought to court, and the prince laid the countenance of humility and ashamedness at the feet of the Khāqān of the world, and confessed his evil doings. The enlightened sovereign ostensibly accepted his inadmissible excuses, and held him in a loving embrace. But the fawning of the prince did not remedy the inward dissatisfaction of the sovereign. The
820 prince presented as an offering 12,000 *muhurs* and 977 elephants. Out of the latter 350 were accepted. An order was issued to Prince Daniel to the effect that as Rajah Sūraj Singh had long been in that province, and wished to come to court, and also wished to arrange the affairs of his native country, he should keep Gobind[1] Dās Bhātī, his officers together with his troops, and send off Sūraj Singh unattended to court, in order that he might reap benefit of good service and spend his days in his own country. The Prince Royal begged for the elephant Pūn (the Holy), which was unique for good dispositions and swiftness, and H.M. graciously granted his request. The generous Shāhinshāh in order to capture the terrified heart of the prince took his turban off his head and placed it on the prince's head. This was an omen of his adorning the crown and throne. Though the Khāqān did not approve of the Prince Royal's succeeding him, yet he involuntarily[2] put the crown of dominion on a head which had been made fit for the diadem of rule, and the auspicious *Humā* spread its shade. S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān the son, and 'Abu-l-barkāt the brother of 'Allāmī S. 'Abu-l-faẓl deceased came from the Deccan and brightened their foreheads by the prostration of service. The condolences of the King, the servant-cherisher, were balm to the inward wounds which they had sustained by the catastrophe of the sanctified Shaikh, and poured

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[1] This is the man who was afterwards killed in Ajmere. See Tūzuk J, 143.

[2] *Bekhwāst*, which Vullers and Stoingass render as voluntarily, but surely here it means involuntarily.

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water on the fire of their heated livers! They presented three elephants, four swords, seven strings of pearls and some ornamented vessels as *peshkash*, and these were duly accepted. A special shawl (*parm narm*) was presented to S. 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān. Har Har Rai the son of Rajah Bīrbar brought the petition of Prince Daniel. It represented that he had left off drinking for six months, and it offered excuses for his not coming. Four lakhs of *dāms* were presented to M 'Alī [1] Akbarshāhī. Abū-l-baqī [2] Uzbeg came from Tūrān and from his lucky star turned his face towards the K'aaba of fortune. H.M. gave him a *manṣab* of 500 together with 150 horse. Qulīj K.—who was an old servant—received the rank of 5,000 *zāt-u-sawār*.[3] Ḥusain Beg S. 'Umarī was sent off to the charge of the provinces of Kabul and Bangash. Mādhū Singh received a *manṣab* of 3,000 and 2,000 horse.

The occurrences in Bengal were as follows. The zamīndār of **821** the Magh [4] country came with a large fleet and in the first place proceeded against Sonargāon, and invested the fort of Parmmahānī [5] (?)—where were Sulṭān Qulī Qalmāq [6] s. Moẓaffar Khānī and a number of servants. He came out of the fort and fought with the

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[1] See B. 482.

[2] The Iqbālnāma calls him Abū-'Alī and says he was for a long time governor of Mashhad.

[3] See Irvine, Army of the Indian Moghuls, p. 9.

[4] The text has مكنه Makna, and there is the variant Manka, though why the editors should say this occurs in various copies when, as appears from their preface, they had only one to work from, I do not understand. The correct reading seems to be مغه Magha as given in a note to Chalmers translation. The Maghs are spoken of in the Āīn as the *qaum*-Magha, the Magh tribe, Persian text, I, 388, and J. II, 120. There is a possibility however that the zamīndār Mukund is the person meant, though I do not think it likely. The Bangu of Elliot, VI, 109, is the Banko of Chalmers who in a note to his MS. suggests that it is a mistake for Pegu. In I.O. MS. 260, it appears as Bangāla, and the remark is added that it appeared to the Rajah that it would be easy to take Bengal.

[5] I.O. MS. 260, seems to have Barmīānī, or Barhyānī. Possibly Sonargāon may be a mistake for Sātgāon, and even without this being so it may be that Barmhattar in Sātgāon, J. II, 141, is the place meant. The Iqbālnāma seems to have Barmhāttī.

[6] The word Qalmāq does not occur in I.O. MS., but it does in the Iqbālnāma. He assumed the name of Bāz Bahādur.

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enemy, and by the might of H.M.'s fortune he was victorious. He thereupon proceeded to the fort which was held by Aḥmad the wife's brother of Yūsuf Kashmīrī. He fought with a number of Kashmīrīs, and some of his men were killed, and he himself was wounded [1] and fled at night from the field of battle. When the Rajah (Mān Singh) heard of the success of the enemy, he appointed Ibrāhīm Beg Atka, Rāghū Dās, Askaran, Dalpat Rai and others to render assistance. The enemy during several days fell upon the *thanahs*, and there were great co mbats. Ibrāhīm Beg set himself to put down the enemy and having arranged his forces bravely went forward to battle. There was hot fighting, and the enemy was chastised. Many were killed. The enemy regarded the river as a protection against the fire of the swords and took to their boats. They anchored their fleet and began a hot fire of cannon and muskets. The imperialists sank some of the boats [2] (*ghrābs*).

M. Shahrukh under the orders of H.M. led a force to put down the ruler of Bānswāra.[3] By great exertions he forced the landholder to fly and took possession of his country, and for some time preserved its tranquillity. That man without home or household found Mālwa without a caretaker, and made a disturbance there. On hearing this, the Mīrzā left the country he had subdued and returned to put matters straight. When he came to Mālwa the said proprietor came to his home (Banswāra.) The Mīrzā regarded the rainy season as an obstacle and could not go there a second time.

One of the occurrences was the chastisement of M. Ḥasan the son of M. Shahrukh in the neighbourhood of Qandahār. It has been written [4] in the (account of) end of the 45th year by the truthful pen of 'Allāmī that Ḥasan M. became foolish from weakness of character and went wrong in company with one of the Kashmīris. Up to this day no trace could be obtained of this wanderer. Now news came that he had in the first place gone to the ruler of

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[1] I.O. MSS. 260 and 261, say he had three wounds. Probably *nīz* in text is a mistake for *seh* (3).

[2] The account in Chalmers is fuller and speaks of 100 boats having been taken.

[3] Cf. Elliot, II, 109. The account is abridged from the Iqbālnāma which gives the name of the Rajah as Rāwal Ūgar Sen. In text and in Iqbālnāma the country is called Bānswāla.

[4] See above p. 785.

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Persia. Shāh 'Abbās, who had sent him to Ḥusain K. the governor of Herat at the time when the Shāh was going to Āẕarbaijān. When the Uzbeg army turned back from plundering the countries of Merv, Mārūcāq and Murghāb, Ḥusain K. took a suspicion into his head and wrote to the Shāh. "I do not think it right that a son of M. Shahrukh should be here at this time." The Shāh ordered him to be expelled, and Ḥusain K. sent him off to Badakhshān. When the wicked fellow found it was impossible to make a disturbance in Badakhshān, he went about with his retainers [1] and joined the Hazāras. The opportunists of the two parties united and extended the hand of plunder over the hilly [2] country north of Qandahār. It is an extensive country with many Hazāra villages. After the taking of Qandahār, the imperialists took it from the Uzbegs. When the disturbance increased greatly, the warders of the country found that to contend with Ḥasan was beyond their strength and sent word to Shāh Beg K. He set out from Qandahār to quell the disturbance. That raw fellow (Ḥasan) fled after a short contest. The imperialists followed and put to death many who surrendered. Ḥasan escaped half-alive and went off to the hills of Ḥaqcarān [3] (?) and sought protection there. 822

On the first of Mihr, Divine month, middle of September, 1603, Ẕīya-ul-mulk was raised to the rank of 700 *zāt* and 300 horse. At the request of Prince Sulṭān Selīm, the offences of Rajah Bāsū the ruler of Mau were forgiven. Tātār Beg Safarcī was raised to the rank of 700.

One of the occurrences was the dispatch of Prince Sulṭān Selīm to punish the Rānā. He had been sent off for this purpose in the 45th year. His going wrong and his hastening to Allahabad without orders have been described by the truthful pen of the 'Allāmī. At this time H.M. again ordered him to undertake the work. On 21st Mihr, Divine month, October, 1603, which was the feast of the Dashara, he sent him off after giving him weighty counsels. The pleasure-loving Prince—who took this task on the shoulder of his energy without a wrinkle in his brow—went off ten *kos* from the capital,

[1] This has been copied from the Iqbālnāma. The word in text is aḥshām and denotes militia or other untrained soldiers.

[2] This too is abridged from the Iqbālnāma. It calls the country on the northern hills Tulsī. Chalmers has Loosy.

[3] The Iqbalnāma and Chalmers have Cakḥarān.

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and then made unfitting objections. He made the smallness of his forces and the want of equipment as reasons for not proceeding and stayed in Fatḥpūr. H.M., who had tested the prince's loyalty, accepted his excuses and with outward graciousness ordered[1] that "To return and gather the bliss of service at this time when the astrologers reported unfavourably would not be proper. As he had taken leave at a favourable time, it was better that he should go to Allahabad and enjoy himself." On receiving this message the Prince joyfully, drinking wine, and pleasuring himself, crossed the Jumna at the ferry near Muttra and went off gaily. The enlightened knew the truth; this permission to depart and separate was a favour! Though the action of the Prince outwardly appeared to be entirely alien from governing, yet God had special designs with regard to him so that by such conduct he should be selected for reigning. Verily before the glorious and Almighty God, the
823 Distributor of Justice, acts are not regarded.

Verse.

Wherever Thy favour is, there it is,
What is not done is as done, and what is done is as not done.

On 10th Ābān, M. Moẓaffar Ṣafavī died. Muḥammad Beg Khubānī was ordered to convey his body to Delhi. As Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū had been long at 'Ādil K. of Bījāpūr's court, H.M. became aware of the latter's craftiness, and issued orders to Prince Daniel and the Khān-khānān to the effect that as by God's help his mind was at ease about the imperial domains, he would, if his servants advised, come to the Deccan and by chastisement awaken the slumbering 'Ādil K. These orders were entrusted to 'Inayat 'Ullah Kitābdār. When he conveyed them to the prince, the latter sent him on to 'Ādil K., and wrote him a letter of advice. H.M. sent his turban by Muḥammad Sharīf Kūlābī for Prince Daniel and a special horse called Har Parshād. Khwāja 'Abdullah,[2] being dis-

[1] The Iqbālnāma says that this message was conveyed by Princess Shakrunisā (Akbar's daughter).

[2] This is the man who afterwards became famous as 'Abdullah Fīrūz Jang, and a servant of Prince Selīm who is so often mentioned in the Tūzuk J. He left Selīm because he could not get on with Muḥammad Sharīf. See M. Hādī's preface to the Tūzuk, p. 6, and Maaṣir II, 777.

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gusted with the evil conduct of the Prince-Royal's officers set his face towards the court, and H.M. gave him a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and the title of Ṣafdar Khān. He was the sister's son of Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, and was at first with Sher Khwāja. He did good service in the Deccan. Afterwards by fortune's guidance he entered the prince's service and became an Aḥadī. Gradually he rose to the rank of 1,000 and the title of Khān. At this time he was guided to the threshold of fortune.

One of the occurrences was the subsiding of the commotion of 'Alī Rai the ruler of Tibet. Before this it had been reported to H.M. that he by conquering the ruler of great Tibet and getting possession of much gold had become presumptuous, and raised a great commotion in Kashmīr. An order was given to Qulīj K. the Ṣubahdār of Lahore to send a force to assist Muḥammad Qulī the governor of Kashmīr so that that gnat which was buzzing in the wine-cup might meet with his deserts. At this timo it was reported that Qulīj K. had sent 3,000 horse and 500 barqandāzes (musketeers) under the command of his son Saif Ullah to assist Muḥammad Qulī 824
Beg. When 'Alī Rai heard of the arrival of the troops, his heart failed him and he fled without fighting. The imperialists pursued him as far as the horses could go, and then turned back. On 11th Ābān, Laharī Bandar was bestowed on the Prince-Royal, and a special horse called Shāh 'Inayat was given to Dost Muḥammad to convey to the Prince. It was settled that Prince Daniel should receive a lakh of rupis every year from the proceeds of the port of Cambay. At the request of the Prince-Royal, Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullah Bakhshī received the rank of 1,000 and was allowed to go to the Prince. Muḥammad Qulī had sent twelve swift horses, natives of Kashmīr, and they were produced before H.M.

One of the occurrences was the success of the royal arms in Bengal, the downfall of Kedār Zamīndār, and the retreat of the Magh Rajah. News came that Kedār,—who was a noted proprietor in Bengal—had joined the Magh zamīndār with a large fleet, and used force against the *thāna* of Srīnagar. On hearing of this Rajah Mān Singh sent an army provided with artillery against that presumptuous man. Near Nagar Sūr[1] the latter appeared with a

[1] Apparently this is a mistake for Bikrāmpūr which is the name mentioned by the Iqbālnāma. The Iqbālnāma gives in this place an

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large force and a great battle took place. The enemy was defeated, and many were slain. Kedār was wounded with bullets and was flying half-dead. The brave troops followed him and captured him. There was a little life in him when he was brought before the Rajah, but he soon died. With his death the flames of disturbance in Bengal were extinguished. After this, Rajah Mān Singh – who had made preparations in Bhawāl for attacking 'Uṯmān heard of the commotion raised by the zamīndār of Magh and set out to put him down. The latter did not see his advantage in fighting, and went back to his own country, and the Rajah turned back to Bhawāl to deal with 'Uṯmān. He too fled, and the Rajah's mind being now at ease and having committed the *thanahs* to the charge of able men he went to Dhāka.

The gracious sovereign cast an eye upon the comfort of travellers and ordered that in the serais on the high roads, refuges and kitchens should be established, and that articles of food should be in readiness for the empty handed travellers so that when they had
825 undergone the fatigues of journeying and had sat down to rest they might put food into their mouths without trouble.

Mīr Gadai the son of Abū Turāb received the rank of 700 and 400 horse, and Mīr Martaẓā that of 2,000 *zāt-u-sawār*. M. Kaiqubād the son of M. Muḥammad Ḥakīm was put into the charge of Jagannāth in order that he be schooled in the prison of Fort Rantambhor. From bad companionship he had fallen into drinking-habits, and had committed evil deeds. This was his retribution. Shādmān and 'Abdullah the sons of the Khān A'ẓim were each raised to the rank of 1,500. The first was sent off to the government of Gujarat and the second to Jūnagarh. It was reported to H.M. that Mīr M'aṣūm Bhakarī who on 27th Āẕar of this year had been sent off on an embassy to Persia had waited upon Shāh 'Abbās when he was besieging the fort of Irwān (Erivan). The Shāh had received him with great honour, and had ordered a large sum of money to be given to him and had taken the letter of the Shāhinshāh in his two hands and placed it on his head. He had asked

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account of the Magh Rajah, and describes his white elephants, etc. It states that in the battle near Bikrāmpūr many Feringhīs and Ikāli (query Portugālī) were killed, and that Kedār received two wounds.

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"How is His Majesty my Shāh Bāba? (royal father). In what condition is he?" The presents had been spread out and he had personally inspected all of them. He had for two or three days sent the ambassadors of Garjistān and the Sirdārs of Turkestan and other strangers to inspect them. He had marvelled at beholding these rareties which were objects of admiration to all.

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CHAPTER CLII.

Beginning of the 49th Year from the Accession, to wit, the year Farwardīn of the Fifth Cycle.

On Monday, 18th Shawwāl 1012, 11th March, 1604, after the passing of 8 hours 20 minutes the Sulṭan of day entered Aries and the 49th year sounded joyfully in the ears of mortals.

Verse.

. . . . . .

826 In the beginning of this year a son was born to Prince Sulṭān Daniel by the daughter of Dalpat Ujjainiya. The world's lord gave him the name of Farhang Hūshang. As Prince Sulṭān Selīm had asked for a robe of black fox—which Zain K. Koka had presented—it was granted to him together with another of white fox. At this time the thanks of the Prince were received together with congratulations on the festival of the New Year. Ḥasan Qulīj's *manṣab* was increased to one of 300 *zāt* and 500 horse. M. Bahrām, M. Anfās, M. Ism'aīl and M. Ḥaidar the sons of M. Moẓaffar Ṣafavī were raised to suitable *manṣabs*. It was reported that as Takhta Beg had inflicted severe chastisement on the 'Alīzaī tribe and was returning after capturing some of them, the Afghans had blocked the road in the defiles, and that the imperialists had fought and killed many of them.

As there were again reports of Prince Daniel's drinking, H.M. became very angry and sent off Ḥakīm Fatḥ Ullah the son of Ḥakīm Abū-l-fatḥ in order that he might reprove the prince and restrain him from his fatal propensity. After some days, a swift horse named 'Ayās [1]—which was one of the presents of the ruler of Persia—was sent off for the prince.

[1] The Iqbālnāma has 'Abbās and this is probably right.

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One of the occurrences was the death [1] of the mother of Sulṭān Khusrū. She was the daughter of Rajah Bhagwant Dās Kacwāha. As the Prince Royal always behaved improperly to her, her mind became jealous and she killed herself by taking opium. H.M.—who was very fond of Sulṭān Khusrū—was grieved at this event.

The Rai Rayān was exalted by the title of Rajah Bikramājīt. In gratitude for this favour he presented [2] two elephants and some other things. Qāẓī 'Izzat Ullah and Nād 'Alī Beg Maidānī came from Kabul and did homage. Khwāja Raḥmat Ullah was appointed Bakhshī of Kabul, and Malik Aḥmad was made accountant of the buildings in that city. Zāhid the son of Ṣādiq K. received his father's title.[3] Rajah Bikramājīt was raised to the rank of 5,000. S. 'Abdur-raḥmān was sent with him in order once more to punish Bir Singh Deo Bandīla. Rajah Rāj Singh, Rajah Parhār and others were appointed to assist the Rajah. Raḥmat K., faujdār, received the rank of 300. Rajah Rāj Singh received the rank of 3,500 *zāt* and 3,000 **827** horse, a drum, and a shawl. Tardī Beg K. had been degraded on account of misbehaviour. He was now treated with favour and received the rank of 2,000 *zāt* and 500 horse and so was raised from the dust of failure.

One of the occurrences was the marriage of Prince Daniel with the daughter of 'Ādīl K. of Bījāpūr. When the latter petitioned that his daughter might enter the prince's harem, his request was granted, and on 29th Isfandārmaẓ of the 45th year Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain was sent off with the arrangements for the betrothal. When he came to Bījāpūr, 'Ādīl K. treated him with great respect and after three years and some months sent him away with many excuses and much cordiality. He also sent off his daughter and sent M. Maṣṭāfa K. with her as her *Vakīl*. When the Khān-khānān heard of her near arrival he sent his son Īrij with 5,000 horse to meet her. He met her at the distance of several stages and brought her to Aḥmadnagar. Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain hastened off from there and waited upon the prince in Burhānpūr. In accordance with the agreement with 'Ādil K. he brought the prince to Aḥmadnagar.

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[1] Cf. Elliot, VI, 112 and 294. In the latter extract, Jahāngīr ascribes her death to grief at the evil behaviours of her son and brothers to himself. He gives the date as 26th Ẕi-ḥajja 1013 = May 1605.

[2] The Iqbālnāma says "ten."

[3] i.e. he was called Ṣādiq K.

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The Khān-khanān accompanied him. On 9th Tīr the marriage-feast took place, and the lady was made over in a suitable manner to the prince's harem. At the same time Muṣṭafa K. received leave to return, and the prince went to Burhānpūr with the intention of coming to court. But excessive drinking withheld him from this privilege. When H.M. became again aware that the prince's weakness of body was increasing from constant drinking, and that he was in a very bad state, he sent a lady, in whose [1] bosom the prince had been born and grown up, and who was not afraid to speak strongly, and entrusted her with many messages of advice. He also ordered that by every possible means the prince should be brought to him.

A report was received from Rajah Mān Singh to the effect that his mind was at ease about the settlement of Bengal, and that he would spend the rainy season—when marching was impossible—in Nāẓirpūr which was a choice spot and centrically situated in Bengal.

828 One of the events was the chastisement of Ḥasan the son of Shahrukh M., and the fight of the Persians with Shāh Beg K. It has been mentioned that that wicked one fled from before Shāh Beg K. to Ḥaqcarān. At this time news came that Shāh Beg K. wished to pursue him. When he learnt that the zamīndārs of the garmsīr had in a shortsighted manner joined with the Qizilbāshes and seized the fort of Bast, he considered it indispensable to put down this commotion, and so withdrew from the presence of Ḥasan for a time and came back to Qandahār. Ḥasan in league with 'Alī K., who, by the influence of the ruler of Persia, was governor of Nikdar and Mazārajāt, gathered together a large number of men of Ghor, and its neighbourhood, and attacked the country of Zamīndāwar (?). On hearing this Shāh Beg K. hastened there with some good cavalry. Ḥasan fought an obstinate battle and then fled. Many of his followers were killed. After Shāh Beg K. had subdued Zamīndāwar he turned towards Bast, and set himself to fight with the Qizilbāshes. At this time he was attacked with fever, and had to take to a litter, and in this condition had to fight with Ism'aīl Qulī K. the governor of Ferāt who had come prepared for battle and had 5 or 6,000 horse. A hot contest ensued. Some of Shāh Beg's men behaved well, but most of them gave way and went to Qandahār. Shāh Beg K. in

[1] Apparently she was not his mother,

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spite of his weakness made great efforts, and after some time reached Qandahār.

When H.M. learnt that Prince Daniel was in a bad state from excessive drinking, and that he was becoming weaker day by day, and that, though the chaste lady who had been sent exerted herself to bring him to court, shame prevented the prince from coming, he sent S. 'Abu-l-khair to bring him to court by every possible means.

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CHAPTER CLIII.

Departure of the Retinue of Fortune for Allahābād, and the turning back at the First Stage.

When Prince Sulṭān Selīm came to Allahābād, he, from bad companionship, love of flattery, self-indulgence, presumption and harshness, took to disobedience, and made many improper acts his glory. Whenever his improprieties were reported to H.M. he issued injunctions of guidance. At this time it was reported by truthful and disinterested persons that the heart of that cypress of fortune's stream had become excessively addicted to wine. He did not keep
829 his lips from the wine-cup for a moment. When he got habituated to wine, he drank more, but the intoxication was less, and so he added opium. Here a verse came to memory, and it is right to quote it.

Verse.

We cast the heart's [1] core into the limpid tears
The wine was without effect; we threw opium into it.

At the time when a double intoxication (of wine and of opium) had taken hold of him, and when the brain was dried up, and his disposition unsettled, he for slight offences ordered unfitting, capital punishments. For instance, he had his Recorder [2] flayed alive in his presence. And he castrated one of the pages (khwāṣān), and had a *khidmatgār* (servant) beaten so that he died. They say the record writer was in love with the page and that the page was attached to the *khidmatgār*. All three became of one mind and took to flight. A party of men who pursued them caught them and produced them while the tongues of the fire of the prince's wrath were

[1] *Suwaidāī dil.* The heart's core and also a black spot of the heart, hence compared to opium.

[2] *Wāqā navīs.* Apparently equivalent to the "story writer," or recorder of the 'Apocrypha, 1 Esdras 2, 17.

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shooting forth, and the above-mentioned tyranny was practised on them. The gracious and merciful Khāqān was grieved on hearing of this atrocity and said: "We during the time of our rule have not tried to hurt an ant, and are not willing that a (dead) sheep should be flayed [1]—though that may appear to be no offence. How has our honoured son had the courage to do such things? and how has he ventured to spoil what has been built up by God?" Inasmuch as world-rule does not harmonise with self-will, presumption, tyranny and immoderation, his holy heart was deeply displeased by these deeds and other wickednesses, and he thought of going hunting as far as Allahābād and of exercising justice. If the prince should cast away arrogance and receive the retinue of fortune he would pardon his offences and bring him to court in his train. If he cherished evil thoughts, he would punish him, and awaken him from his slumbers. Accordingly he gave orders for the starting of his advance-camp, and fixed the halting place at three *kos* from Fatḥpūr, on the bank of the Jumna. The gold-embroidered tents were pitched, and on the night of Monday, 11th Shahrīyūr, 21st August, 1604, that river of Divine wisdom, that ocean of knowledge, embarked in an auspicious hour on the boat, and sate in the ship of the Divine aid and protection. The sails were set and the anchor of purpose was raised. When he had gone a little way as there was little water the boat stuck in the sand. Nay, nay, the boat could not support the weight of the Caliphate and put its head on the ground. **830** Though the boatmen tried to move it, they could not succeed. They could not bring it from there into deep water. Of necessity he spent the night on the river. At sun-rise the officers and other grandees arrived in their boats and paid their respects. Though the awakened heart of the world's lord perceived the truth of the matter and inferred from the boat's remaining in its place that his desire (to make the expedition) was unfitting, yet inasmuch as it is not right for a sovereign to turn back without some great cause,

[1] It appears from Khāfī K. that Akbar meant the flaying of a sheep that had already been slaughtered. The horrible story is true for it is told by Jahāngīr's panegyrist M'utamid K. and by Khāfī K. It appears that the unfortunate men were going to join Prince Daniel. Akbar's full remark, as shown in I.O. MS. 260 was that he could not bear to see a sheep flayed. The same MS. says that the third man was *nearly* killed.

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he alighted at his camp, having still the resolution. Next day it rained, and it continued to rain heavily for three days. On account of the rain and high wind no one had a tent except the royal enclosure and some advance tents of a few intimate servants. The soldiers and the other men of the camp were in much distress. Suddenly news came of the illness of Miriam Makānī. As she did not approve of the expedition, H.M. did not believe in her illness. He thought her illness was feigned and did not contemplate returning. Till heart-striking news came, and trustworthy [1] persons reported that she was seriously ill and that the physicians had given up using medicines. Of necessity the loving sovereign gave up the journey and hastened to the capital to see his mother. She who had made ready for the last journey had applied her heart to God, and closed her lips to speech. He spoke to her several times but got no reply. On seeing her desperate condition H.M. fell into uncontrollable lamentation. He was helpless and made over that holy personality to the true Lord and sate down in solitude and indulged in grief.

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[1] Khāfī K. says Akbar sent Kharram (Shāh Jahān) to ascertain if the illness was real, and that he returned on hearing his report.

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CHAPTER CLIV.

The Death of Miriam-Makāni, etc.

On Monday, 19th Shahriyūr, Divine month, 29th August, 1604, the Queen of the Age shrouded her face in the veil of non-existence, and found repose in the sacred privy-chamber. Mankind lamented, and there was a daily-market of weeping. High and low lost self-control, and became impatient and restless. There was general regret, and tears flowed from the eyes. The inmates of the harem and the servants tore their hair and sent up cries to heaven. Who shall describe the grief of H.M. He shaved [1] his hair, moustaches, **831** etc. and cast off his turban and donned the garb of woe. He was the first to bear the body on his shoulder, and then the grandees conveyed it in turn. The cortege proceeded to Delhi.

Verse.

When H.M. had accompanied it some distance, he returned to the palace. At the end of the day, at the time of dismissing the guards, he came out with the same manner and dress and stood for a moment. The servants were astonished on seeing his tranquillity. He said to S. Farīd Bakhshī Begī: "As to-morrow is the Dusserah, tell the servants to leave off their mourning dress." Next day he sate in the private and public window (*jharoka*), and received the salutations of those who were waiting there. First, a gold-embroidered shawl was presented to the Khan Āẓim. Similarly, gold-em-

[1] Asad Beg mentions in his Memoirs that when he came to court he found that Akbar and his courtiers had shaved their head, eyebrows, etc. and that he followed suit. The Zabdatu-t-tawārīkh says the death occurred on 18th Shahriyār, 1012, and that the body was conveyed to Delhi in eleven prahars—about 24 hours. Perhaps we should read 1013 in the Zabdatu-t-tawārīkh. If the death was in 1012, then it occurred in 1603. Beale gives 29th August, 1603 as the date. Elizabeth, Queen of England, had died in March of that year.

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broidered shawls were presented to all the servants from the rank of 5,000 to 1,000, to those from 900 to 500, dopatta Gujrātī shawls were given, to those from 400 to 100 embroidered (*kalābatūn*) shawls were given, and to the ranks below this, plain shawls were given. To the conspicuous Aḥadīs handkerchiefs (*mandīl*)[1] were given. The body was conveyed to Delhi in the period of eleven watches, and laid in the tomb of H.M. Jinnat Ashiyānī. A son was born to Prince Daniel by the mother of Ṭahmūraṣ. They asked H.M. what his name should be, and he replied, "Baisanghar." A report came from Abū-l-khair to the effect that Prince Daniel had sent off his advance-camp with the intention of coming to court. Apparently it was his advance-camp to the kingdom of annihilation! On 3rd Ābān the solar weighment took place. H.M. was weighed against twelve articles, and the skirt of the hopes of the needy was filled. As the son of Mīr Ṣadr[2] M'uammāī (riddle maker) was spending his days in folly, he was expelled from the empire. Rajah Sūraj Singh confined that wicked one and took him to Pattan-Gujrāt, and Martaẓā Qulī the governor there sent him to one of the seaports, and had his boat put out to sea (?). Dost Muḥammad, one of the confidential servants of the Prince-Royal, took refuge at the sacred threshold. He had been bail for Khwājah 'Abdullah and when the latter came to court, Dost Muḥammad pretended that he would bring him back and thereby took protection from the wrath of the prince.

832 One of the occurrences was the coming of [3]Ā'badī Khwājah the son of the Khwājah Kilān Jūibārī from Tūrān. When Bāqī K. behaved improperly to the officers and army-leaders, and exerted himself to trouble the grandees, all resolved upon putting him to death, and to put 'Ābadī Khwājah on the throne in his place. With this idea they sent one named Bihbūd to kill Bāqī K. That coward got his

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[1] Perhaps this is the same word as mantle.

[2] So in text, but should be Ḥaidar, as in Iqbālnāma. I.O. MS. 260 gives the name of the son, viz. Mīr Sanjar. He was a poet. See for accounts of him and his father B. 593 and 595 and n. 3. According to the M'aaṣir Raḥīmī Akbar imprisoned him and afterwards he went to Bījāpūr. He died in 1021 (1612). He was from Kāshān.

[3] According to Chalmers he was Bāqī's K.'s son-in-law, and the Iqbālnāma also seems to say so, and so does I.O. MS. 260.

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opportunity one day and wanted to draw his dagger from his armpit to attack the Khān. But out of awe he became dumbfounded,[1] and an attendant informed the Khān and at a sign from him arrested Bihbūd. On being harshly treated he confessed that he was acting under instructions from Īsham Līdar[2] (?) and his sons, but that his courage had failed him. He revealed the purpose of the officers. Bāqī K. executed the sons of Īsham Līdar, and expelled Īsham and 'Abadī from the country. The Khwājah made a pilgrimage to the K'aaba his pretext and came to the court which protected strangers, and rubbed his face on the holy threshold—which was the K'aaba of his purpose. H.M. gave him a robe of honour and a present of Rs. 20,000. Takhta Beg Kabūlī's good services were recognised, and he received the title of Khān. Rajah Siyām Singh, and Rajah Jagman Cohān were each distinguished above their fellows by receiving the rank of 1,000. The pargana of Bhangāon was given in fief to Rajah Jagman.

One of the occurrences was the arrival[3] of Prince Sulṭān Selīm. When he heard of H.M.'s setting out for Allahābād, and of that purpose as being given up in consequence of the illness of Miriam-Mākānī, he made a desire to express his sympathy a reason for coming to court, and on Thursday, 4th Āẕar, Divine month, paid his respects and cast his head at the feet of his visible God, and true Qibla. H.M. embraced the rosebush of fortune. The prince presented a diamond worth a lakh of rupīs, 209 muhurs each weighing 100 tolahs, 200 weighing 50, 4 weighing 25, and 3 weighing 20 tolahs, and 200 elephants. Payinda Muḥammad K., Makhṣūṣ K. Khwājahgī Fatḥ Ullah and other servants, who were with the prince did homage. The presents of each were accepted. As H.M. was displeased at the ignorance, waywardness, presumption, and self-will and other evil acts of the prince, and as although he had many times out of toleration regarded his deeds as if they had not been

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[1] I.O. MS. 260 says he put his hand several times to his armpit, and so was detected.

[2] The word is marked doubtful, and Chalmers has Hāshim, but the Iqbālnāmā has Isham. I.O. MS. 260 has Isham Bahādur and perhaps Līdār is only a mistake for Bahādur.

[3] I.O. MS. 260 says he left behind him at Allahābād Sharīf who had been at the bottom of the murder of A.F. For Sharīf, who was son of the court-painter, see B. 517.

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833 committed, and what he heard as not heard, yet the prince had from bad companionship and self-indulgence not sought to please H.M., he determined at this time to give him a lesson by putting him in prison. In this way he would awake from the slumber of presumption, and seize the thread of enlightenment, and eye-salve would be applied to those purblind, inwardly bad men who could not clearly discern the Shāhinshāh's Majesty. He therefore had the prince arrested and conveyed to the female apartments.[1] He first reproached him, and after enumerating his transgressions gave him many censures. The prince cast his eyes on the ground and answered with streaming eyes. Then an order was given to the servants to put the prince into a closet and to deprive him of wine. This was the hardest of punishments. The prince grieved greatly and was much heart-broken. His sisters came and went and sympathised with and comforted him. They also represented the contrition and repentance of the prince to H.M. After ten days H.M.'s innate kindness prevailed and an order was given for his release. By H.M.'s orders he went to his own house. H.M. wished that the prince should remain there alone. But as he was especially hopeless about Prince Daniel, he stayed the retribution of his acts at this point, and allowed him his fiefs and his rank as before.

One of the occurrences was the flight of (Rajah) Bāsū the landholder of Mau. The account of his rebellion and punishment has been already written. At this time he came to Prince Sulṭān Selīm and begged to be allowed to kiss the feet (of Akbar). He begged[2] that by the intervention of the prince he might cross the river and do homage. He used forethought and stayed where he was. When the prince put a new colour on his (own) actions in

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[1] I.O. MS. 260 says Selīm was taken to the female apartments by the route of the 'ibādatkhāna. Perhaps he was imprisoned there. His servants were also put into confinement. Cf. the Anfa-u-l-Akhbar, Elliot, VI, 247, where it is stated that Selīm was imprisoned for twelve days in a bath, meaning, I suppose, the *ghusalkhāna* or private parlour.

[2] As this passage is pointed in the text, it would appear as if Bāsū crossed the river and did homage But the facts, as shown by I.O. MS 260, are different. Bāsū was too cautious to cross the Jumna, and when Mādhū crossed in order to seize him, he fled. See also Maaṣiru-l-Umarā II, 160.

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the neighbourhood of the palace, H.M. privately summoned Mādhū Singh the brother's son[1] of Rajah Mān Singh and ordered him to arrest Bāsū. That past master in craft read the signs of the times before Mādhū Singh arrived, and fled.

At this time the Amīrs received promotion. Some got appointments and provinces, and some got presents. The list is as follows: (1) Āṣaf K., a 4,000 *manṣab zāt*, 2,000 horse, and the gift of a flag and drum, and the government of Bihar. (2) S. Farīd Bakhshī, also 4,000 *zāt* and 2,000 horse, a flag and a drum. He presented 5 valuable pearls, 4 rubies and an elephant. (3) S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān received a special shawl, and the office of punishing the Bandīlas. (4) Mīr Abīr Tūrāb the son of Ashraf K. received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and his father's title, and the appointment of *faujdār* of Oudh. (5) S. Bāyazīd received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and was allowed to keep the Allahābād appointment[2] which the Prince-Royal had given to him. (6) Payinda K. got a *manṣab* of 3,500 *zāt* and 2,000 horse. (7) Amīnu-d-dīn K. was appointed to bring Sulṭān Daniel. (8) Muqīm the Diwān-i-bīyūtāt was in the room of Āṣaf K. raised to the lofty rank of Dīwān and had the title of Wazīr K. (9) M'uiz was made Diwān-i-bīyūtāt. (10) Kalyān Dās the son of Rajah Todar Mal got a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and the charge of Fort Kālīnjar. (11) Iftikhār Beg got an appointment of 1,000. (12) M. Walī one of 500. (13) S. Kabīr one of 500. (14) Ṣādiq K. one of 1,500 *zāt*. (15) Khwājah 'Abdullah the charge of Kālpī. (16) Mīr Sharīf 'Amulī the charge of Bahraich. (17) Qāzī 'Izzat-Ullah one of 700. (18) Mīr Sharīf Kūlābī one of 1,000. (19) Ḥasan Beg Khākī was made diwān of Sarkār Jaunpūr. (20) 'Ābadī Khwājah got 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse. (21) Rajah Bikramājīt Bahadurīa and Rai Mukand his uncle and Mīr Sharīf the Makhdūmzāda each got a suitable *manṣab*. 834

As at this time it was reported to H M. that Bāqī K. had deserted the rules of administration, and was oppressing the weak and injuring them in their property and honour, and that injustice was current in the country, he conceived the idea of punishing that oppressor and of making an expedition into his ancestral domains.

[1] He was only a brother. Mān Singh was his father's adopted son.

[2] That is, he was allowed to remain in charge of the fort o Allahābād (I.O. MS. 260).

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His sole idea was to rescue the inhabitants of those countries from the heat of the sun of oppression and to bring them into the shade of equity, and under the garb of world-conquest to worship God. As the Khān-khānān, Rajah Mān Singh and Qulīj K. the great officers of the State were not in attendance, he summoned each of them to come quickly and to deliberate profoundly about the expedition (īsīq = yāsāq) against Tūrān. Inasmuch as the Khān-khānān was leavened with 100,000 wiles and stratagems he represented[1] that the affairs of the Deccan were very important and that he therefore chose to remain where he was. Thus he sought remoteness from the blessing (of waiting upon Akbar). Rajah Mān Singh came from
835 Bengal and Qulīj K. from Lahore, but the idea and the conquest were not carried out. The juggler-sphere played another game!

One of the occurrences was the punishment of the ruler of Kashmīr.[2] As some of the Cak tribe who considered themselves to be descended from the ruler of Kashmīr and had an itching desire to rule and were stirring up strife there, Muḥammad Qulī set himself to put them down, and proceeded to punish the ruler of Kishtwār who was protecting them. When he came to the mountains of Kishtwār, he sent ahead his son 'Alī Qulī with a few experienced men. The ruler of Kishtwār from foresight sent agents and breathed submission and obedience. He took promises (of safe conduct) and came and waited upon 'Alī Qulī, and brought animals of the chase, representing that it was tribute. He promised that he would not give the Cak rebels a footing in his country, and that he would at all times be loyal and exert himself in putting down the sedition-mongers. Muḥammad Qulī, having had his mind relieved about Kishtwār, proceeded to punish the Caks who were in the mountain of Marū. Though the sun was then in Libra, and the hills were covered with snow, and the roads destroyed, yet he courageously advanced on foot and came to the top of the pass. He fought a battle with Aliyā Cak and Ḥusain Cak and was victorious. These two escaped with great difficulty. At night-time Zaida, a proprietor, joined with the fugitives and made a night attack upon the imperialists. The fight went on till sunrise, and when it was

[1] The Iqbālnāma gives an abstract of his opinion. Apparently he was not asked to come in person to advise.

[2] So in text, but apparently a mistake for Kishtwār.

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day the ill-fated ones went off. Muḥammad Qulī dug a trench round the camp and cautiously waited, and used threats and promises to the rebels. Some made treaties and came to Muḥammad Qulī, but Aliyā Cak, Ḥusain Cak, Zaidā, Jabbārī and others prepared for battle. Muḥammad Qulī set out against them. The rebels sheltered themselves behind rocks and made a strong fight, but were defeated, and the imperialists proceeded to their houses and set them on fire. After thoroughly defeating them they returned. Next day Payinda Beg the brother's son of Muḥammad Qulī attacked them with fresh men and reduced them to extremity. Zaidā came in and waited upon Payindā, and made protestations of service; and sent his son with some animals of the chase to Muḥammad Qulī, and promised that he would not again stir up strife, and that he would not assist the rebels. Similarly, most of the
836 *zamīndārs* submitted, and gave up their sons as hostages. Muḥammad Qulī Beg returned victorious to the city.

Mīr Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain Anjū arrived from the Deccan and did homage. Mīr Muḥammad M'aṣūm Bhakkarī—who had gone on an embassy to Shāh 'Abbās—returned and produced a letter from the ruler of Persia, and one which the Shāh's aunt had written to Miriam-Makānī.[1]

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[1] I.O. MS. 269 states at the end of this chapter that the pargana of Caund was assigned to Rajah Mān Singh in order that he might by its revenues provide for the maintenance of the fort of Rohtās.

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CHAPTER CLV.

Beginning of the 50th Divine Year from the Accession, to wit the year Ardībahisht of the 5th Cycle.

On the night of Saturday, 28th Shawāl 1013, 11th March, 1605, after the passing of 4 hours, 40 minutes, the world-warming sun illuminated the magic-house[1] of Mars (Bahrām) and the 50th year of the reign of the world's Khāqān commenced. The palace was decorated according to the yearly custom and the gates of joy and pleasure remained open till the sun had attained its degree of exaltation (*sharf*), and there were festivities. The officers presented their offerings and the world attained its desires by the justice and liberality of the sovereign. Tardī K. was exalted by getting a *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, and a present of five *lakhs* of *dāms*. Raḥmat K., Faujdar, received a *manṣab* of 1,500 *zāt* and 600 horse, Partāb Singh 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse, Ḥakīm 'Alī 3,000 *zāt* 200 horse, Sakat Singh 1,600 *zāt*, 300 horse, Kishak Bahādur 500 *zāt*, 50 horse. During this feast Prince Sulṭān Selīm presented one elephant, and Prince Daniel sent the elephant Gajpatī and two other[2] elephants. They were accepted. It was reported by S. 'Abdu-r-raḥmān and Khwāja 'Abdullah that Onḍca[3] (Orca) had been taken and that Bir Singh Deo had been severely defeated, and had with great difficulty escaped with a few others from the battlefield. Amīnu-d-dīn K. reported that the prince had conceived suspicions and that he could not come to court so long as the Prince-Royal was there. The *manṣab* of Rajah Rāj Singh was made 3,000, Ḥamza Beg got a *manṣab* of 1,000 and Mīr 'Abdullah one of 300. Rajah Rāj Singh reported that he had suddenly come upon Bir Singh Deo and had killed many of his followers. He (Bir) had
837 saved himself after being wounded. Bhao Singh, the son of Rajah

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[1] Aries is one of Mars's Houses.

[2] Female elephants. I.O. MS.

[3] "The strongest fort in India. I.O. MS.

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Mān Singh, obtained a *manṣab* of 7,000[1] *zāt* and 500 horse. Mīr Jāmālu-d-dīn Ḥusain presented some jewels and other things from the Deccan, and they were all accepted. Ḥusain Qulīj produced 20 horses as *peshkash*. Rām Dās Kachwāha received a *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt* and 200 horse. Salhadī got one of 700 *zāt* and 400 horse. Saiyid Aḥmad Qādirī got one of 450 horse. Aminu-d-dīn one of 500, and 150 horse. Ḥakīm Moẕaffar 1,200 horse.

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1 So in text, but must be a mistake for 1,000. It is clear from the Iqbālnāma the *haft* in text is a misreading of *manṣab* in the original i.e. Iqbālnāma.

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CHAPTER CLVI.

Death of Prince Daniel.

That wine-bibber did not hearken to the counsels of the Shāhinshāh, and however much H.M. restrained him from such fatal doings, he, inasmuch as he had formed the habit, sacrificed himself to wine, and listened not to advice. As H.M. had appointed undaunted guardians who took care that he should not be given wine, he plotted with his private servants and went off on the pretext of hunting. Those ignorant friends put some wine into gun barrels and some into the entrails of cows and put it under their clothes and wrapped round their waists and in the field conveyed it to that infatuated one. He put his foot upon his soul, and washed his hands of life, and boldly drank. He took no thought of his eternal ruin, and gave not a glance at his youth and his own destruction.

Verse.

What thought of headache has the devotee of wine?

Gradually his chief members and especially his brain became entirely upset, and he got severe pains and became very weak, and his constitution failed. His veins and members became benumbed, and he gave up food. No other word but wine passed from his lips. For forty days he lay in bed, and on Saturday, 28th Shawwāl, 11th March, 1605, he died [1] while longing for wine He spent 33 years and 6 months in this world, and having drunk the wine of life he fell into the crapulousness of death. He left three sons, viz. Ṭahmūraṣ, Hūshang, Bayasanghar and four daughters, S'aādat Bānū,[2] Būlāqī Begam, by the daughter of Qulīj K., Māhī Begam, the sister of Hūshang, Burhānī Begam, the sister of Ṭahmūraṣ. The Prince was wonderfully

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[1] The Iqbālnāma says that with the exception of the last year of his life the Prince always abstained from wine during the month of Ramẓān.

[2] Her mother was Sulṭān Khwajah's daughter. (Iqbālnāma.)

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attached to Jānān Begam, the daughter of the Khān-khānān. That excellent and faithful lady became inconsolable after this catastrophe and wished to go to the other world with the prince. She did not get this boon, and submitting to the prohibitions and 838
advices of others she remained in this abode of sorrow. But[1] she was consumed with grief for the departure of the prince. She lived for many years but till her last breath, each day of her widowhood was the first day. There were some wicked persons who secretly conveyed wine to the prince and who seeing their own good in his harm knowingly conspired to kill that drunkard. By the Khān-khānān's orders they were imprisoned. The first was Shamsī, the brother's son of Khwajagī Fatḥ Ullah, the second was Murshid,[2] artilleryman, the third 'Alī Beg Nadīm, the fourth Mubārak Koknārī, the fifth Shujā' the son of Ghīūr Beg Kābulī. There were also three eunuchs and two barbers. Three days afterwards, the well-wishers of the prince—whose hearts were lacerated—killed the whole of that crew by sticks and stones, clods[3] and kicks. When the fatal news reached H.M., owing to his perfect observance of the Divine Will, there was no upset in his disposition. But who can estimate his grief?

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1 The text calls her Khān-khānān Begam but her name really was Jānān Begam (the beloved lady). The remark in the text about her last breath shows, if proof were needed, that Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ or Inayat Ullah wrote after the Iqbālnāma for in the latter, she is mentioned as still living. The Iqbālnāma says that she was burnt from head to foot with the scars of separation and that she always wore cotton, and the text evidently copying from this, says apparently, that she burnt herself from head to foot with scars. I do not know if this is metaphorical or if it means that she really burnt marks on her body. Probably the latter is meant for it was a practice with lovers to burn themselves on the hands and breast, and Bābur says his father had such marks *n'al u dāgh*. (The passage does not occur in P. de Courteille or Erskine, but is in the Turkī). See Vullers s.v. n'al and dāgh. Jānān is not mentioned in I.O. 260, nor does it give a list of Daniel's children.

2 *Cf.* Price's Jahangir 47, where it is said that it was Murshid Qulī who brought the spirits in the barrel of a fowling piece.

3 Kisht but Iqbālnāma has fists, *musht*, and this is right. See I.O. 260 which adds the picturesque touch that the beating took place at the instance of Daniel's wives.

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The presents of Quṭb-ul-mulk, the ruler of Golconda, consisting of 30 elephants with gold and silver equipments and other ornamented instruments and the rareties of that country were produced before him. Qulīj K. had sent 20 horses from Lahore, and they were shown to H.M. Hāshim K. presented four elephants. An elephant was presented to 'Abādī Khwājah. From the report of Khwāja 'Abdullah Ṣafdar K. it appeared that as Bir Singh Deo had thrown poisonous plants, etc. (zahrygiyā, aconite?) into the wells near Ondcha, many men had died of fever in the course of a few days. He could not remain there and so he had left the fort and the buildings[1] that had been erected and gone elsewhere. That great officer, Rajah Mān Singh, arrived from Bengal and did homage. He tendered 1,000 *muhurs* and Rs. 12,000 as a present. Nūran Qulīj and others who had accompanied the Rajah did homage. Yūsuf, the son of Husaīn K. (Tukrīya) received the distinguished *manṣab* of 2,000 *zāt* and 300 horse. The graciousness of H.M. desired to show incalculable kindness to the Prince-Royal. With this view he, without informing any one, entered a boat and went to the prince's quarters. The prince received him with the step of devotion and made the dust of H.M.'s feet his eyesalve, and opened his lips in thanksgiving. After one *pahar* H.M. returned to his
839 palace. Rajah Mān Singh brought numerous elephants from Bengal. Sharīf K. Kabulī received a *manṣab* of 1,000 *zāt* and 500 horse. Nūran Qulīj presented 19 elephants. The charge of Jaunpūr was made over to him. As Rajah Rāj Singh had exerted himself very much in the matter of Bir Singh Deo Bandīla and had driven him into vagabondage, H.M. had regard to his good service and exalted him to the *manṣab* of 4,000. Farīdūn Barlās received a *manṣab* of 1,500 horse. On 5th Shahrīyūr, 15th August, 1604, Divine month, Sakīna[2] Bānū Begam, sister of M. Hākīm, withdrew her countenance

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[1] Apparently, what the Iqbālnāma says and which is probably correct, is that 'Abdulla reported he had left the fort after destroying it and its buildings. That this is so is clear from I.O. MS. 260 which says distinctly that the fort and its buildings were levelled with the ground "*ba khāq tīrā bārabar sakht*. The *tartīb* of text must be a wrong reading The MS. adds that the officers reported that 1,000 men had died in fourteen days.

[2] Daughter of Humāyūn and Māh Cūcak. wife of Ghāzī K.

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under the veil of non-existence. On the 16th, the province of Bihar was assigned to Khan Ā'zim M. Koka, and on the same day Prince Sulṭān Khusrū received a *manṣab* of 10,000,[1] a drum and a tuman-togh (standard). Rajah Mān Singh received a *manṣab* of 7,000 *zāt* and 6,000 horse, and the charge of the guardianship of Prince Sulṭān Khusrū. The *manṣab* of Mahā Singh, the grandson of Rajah Mān Singh, was fixed at 2,000 *zāt* and 300 horse. An order was given that the *diwāns* should manage the affairs of the kingdom in accordance with the advice of Prince Sulṭān Selīm, and that his seal should be affixed to the grants of the officer's *manṣab*. On 14th Mihr, Divine month, S'aīd K. did homage along with his son and also Abu-l-qāsim Namakīn.[2] M. Ghāzī, the son of M. Janī Tarkhān, came from Tatta and did homage. He offered choice presents. On the 18th M. Ghāzī and Abu-l-baqā Uzbeg were each presented with a jewel and 'Ābdī Khwajah received a dagger.[3]

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1 Text has 2,000 but Iqbālnāma has 10,000, and this is likely right, for Khusrū was a manṣabdar of 5,000 in A.F.'s life-time.

2 The text wrongly makes Abū-l-qāsim his son. S'aīd K.'s son was S'aad Ullah. See M'aaṣir III. 346 and I.O. MS. 260 which gives the son's name.

3 The text omits the name of M. Shāhrukh from the list of those who received honours. I.O. MS. 260 says he received a manṣab of 7,000, and 5,500 horse. It also says that Ḥamza Beg, mentioned at p. 836 as getting a *manṣab* of 1,000, received one of 1,500. According to I.O. MS. 260 it was a dagger that Abū-ul-baqā got, and this is probably correct.

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CHAPTER CLVII.

Of the last events and of the final catastrophe, namely the soul-piercing, sense-destroying, heart-rending occurrence of the passing of the empire-adorning Khāqān, and of the march of the caravan-leader of Truth's highway from this perishable caravansarai to the Holy world and to the everlasting kingdom.

In the beginning of winter, when the air was cold, and the constitution became torpid.

Verse.

From the cold blasts of Mihrgān (autumn)
The life of the garden congealed,
Recuperative powers remained imbedded,
840 There was no start of vegetation,
The rose was bared of her silken kerchief,
The hearts of the trees were congealed,
The rose garden (*gulzār*) was congealed into clay (*gil*),
The hundred lamps of the house of mourning died out,
In the garden the glory of the jasmine faded
As when the face of the moon is eclipsed,
The market of flowers and spring broke up,
The world's grandeur was dissolved,
Both the tulip's diadem was reversed
And the cypress's standard laid low.

The wind of autumn blew on the house-garden of world-rule, and the cold blast of Mihrgān passed over the rose-garden of fortune. The ever-vernal flower of the parterre of sovereignty was touched by the hand of decay, and the verdant tree of the garden of the Caliphate lost its foliage. Why should I not speak plainly. The throne-adorner, the world's fortune withdrew his skirt from realm and clime. The sitter on the *masnad* of glory shook out his sleeve over throne and diadem. The world-lighting luminary which, contrary to the sun and moon, shed his light day and night, became in a

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moment dark, and the constellation of fortune, the centre of the world's light, which, contrary to the fixed stars and the planets, bestowed its rays night and day, suddenly became extinguished. The sound of the drum of dominion which for years had filled the spheres with joy, at once ceased. The notes of the flute of joy, on hearing which Venus used to dance with joy during the night-time, altogether died away.

The account of this liver-burning, heart-melting catastrophe, which is another name for the grief of time and the terrene, and the despair of men and animals, is as follows. On 12th Mihr, Divine month, 22nd September, 1605, a change occurred in the holy constitution which had given equability to thousands of winters and springs. A great mistake was committed by Ḥakīm 'Alī in spite of his pretensions to medical knowledge. His ignorance was clearly manifested. For eight days he used no remedy. The weakness became great and the illness became powerful. The disease became a bloody flux, and there was a great illness. At this time the foolish physician thought of applying remedies! But from want of knowledge, every medicine which he used to check the disease, assisted it. He had shown similar slackness in the treatment of that learned one of the age, Shāh Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī. In these days H.M. said to him on one occasion by way of reproof, "We raised you from the position of a dervish to lofty rank though you had not performed any service, with the idea that one day you would be of use to us. In the end the opposite has appeared." Thereupon he remembered that wise man of the age, Ḥakīm Abu-l-fatḥ Gilānī and the Galen of the time, Ḥakīm Miṣrī, and lamented over the deaths[1] of those two famous *ḥakīms*. The following lines apply to the condition of H.M. at this time.

Verse.

Bid the druggist close his shop,
I've tried his drugs a thousand times,
Remove the doctor's forefinger that the sick man
May cease chiding, and the pulse will remain calm.

841

[1] On a former occasion the courtiers drew from the deaths of two famous physicians the comforting augury that Akbar would never be seriously ill again!

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The antidotes do the work of poisons,
Methinks the asp thereof has got new life,
If it is a star's disk break it into clay,
If it is prophets' balm fling it into the dustbin.

The treatment of that physician produced no effect. The debility gradually increased, and matters became critical. In such a state of things that lord of the spiritual and temporal world came out every day with perfect composure at the *Darsan* [1] and accepted the salutations (kornish) of his subjects. Those waiting in expectation at the gate of the Caliphate gathered light from the sun-rays of the august countenance. When the pangs of weakness seized upon his mental and bodily powers, he spent several days in bed. On the nineteenth [2] day the physician became confounded at his treatment, and withdrew his hand from applying remedies. Either he was afraid of the monarch's wrath or he feared the inmates of the Harem who were showing great impatience. He withdrew from H.M., who was in a state of extreme weakness, and put himself under the protection of Shaikh Farīd, the Mīr Bakhshī. Bravo for the stony-heartedness of that Amīr who applied himself to his protection! On the eve of Wednesday,[3] 4th Abān, 15th October, 1605, H.M. with-

[1] Text Darshan. See Blochmann, 157. Also called the *Jharokah* or window. The emperors used to show themselves there to the people, but Aurangzeb abolished the practice.

[2] The 19th day of the illness counting from 12th Mihr and not the 19th day of any month. The physician did nothing for eight days, then he gave medicines for ten days and then he ran away.

[3] I.O. MS. 260 has Monday, 12th Ābān equal to 20th Jamādu-al-awwal, as the date of the commencement of the illness, but Ābān must be a mistake for Mihr which occurs in text. 20th Jamādu-al-awwal, 1014, corresponds to 23rd September, 1605. The physician, Ḥakīm 'Alī, is said not to have administered any medicines for eight days. He began treating Akbar on the ninth day of the illness, and continued to do so for ten days. At least, this is what MS. No. 260 seems to say.

The root of the confusion about the day of Akbar's death seems to be the Iqbālnāma which, in my copy at least, begins by saying that Akba fell ill on 12th Ābān. Then it gives the date of death as Wednesday night, 12th Jamādu-al-akhir, 1014, corresponding to 4th Ābān. Consequently the 12th Ābān above mentioned must be a mistake for 12th Mihr. Akbar died on a Tuesday evening for that is what is meant by the night of Wednesday. 12th Jama-

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drew the shade of his heavenly self from the heads of mortals, and spread out the shadow of his beneficence over the heads of the celestials. The men of this world sate down in the dark days of failure, while the inhabitants of the other world attained their long-cherished wishes. The report of this disaster caused lamentation in heaven and earth. There was a daily-bazaar of consternation and terror, and sorrow and affliction became active. Darkness took possession of the earth, and the evening of sorrow fell upon mortals in the mid-day of contentment. The lightning of labour and sorrow struck mankind's harvest of joy. The stone of violence and oppression smote on the vases of the hearts of the sincere. Good God! What a personality he was! He was pure from every stain and endowed with all perfections. What a jewel free from every blemish and pure of every stain! Lofty prestige, a happy horoscope, an awakened fortune, complete auspiciousness, a daily-increasing dominion, mounting victoriousness, pleasant friendship, a love of pleasantry, friend-cherishing, foe-destroying, a kingdom-bestowing liberality, a might that overthrew enemies, a world-embracing majesty, a world-conquering resolution, a firmness and gravity together with the working of conspicuous miracles, lofty converse, an illuminated mind, a God-given understanding, an enlightened soul, a taste for knowledge, an expounder of mysteries, and an opener of mysteries, conquest over difficulties, etc., etc.—all these were gathered together in that sublime personality and created astonishment among the lords of insight.

Verse.

The scrutineers who counted all the perfections
Gave him the title of the Imām of the Age,
He is the spiritual and temporal lord, the unique Akbar Shāh,
Who made the poor, lords of fortune,

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du-al-akhir is equal to 15th October, 1605, and was Akbar's birthday. I.O. MS. 260 and Chalmers have Āẕar instead of Ābān, but this is evidently a mistake caused by the Iqbālnāma giving 12th Ābān as the beginning of the illness. I.O. MS. 260 says Akbar died after one *par* and seven hours of the night. Fer-

ishta has 13th Jamāda-ṯ-ṯānī. The Takmīla-i-Akbarnāma, the work which appears at the close of the Bib. Ind. Akbarnāma, does not mention that Akbar's illness and death were due to agitation produced by a quarrel at an elephant fight between the servants of Jahangir and Khusrū. See Elliot VI, 168.

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That elementary mould has gone, from whose spirit
The pure-hearted gathered eternal truths.

On the morning of Wednesday, which deserved to be called the evening of evil and the black night of grief, the pure body, which had been cleansed and washed by the limpid waters of the Divine Mercy, was further bathed according to the custom of mortals, was placed on a bier and brought out from the fortress of Agra. The smoke of sorrow ascended from the people on beholding the unwelcome sight, and there was a storm of weeping. Their hearts were deeply wounded, and burning sighs arose from every quarter, etc., etc.

(*Verses.*)

All the Amīrs and nobles cast dust upon their heads and accompanied the corpse, weeping and lamenting. The sacred garden (Rauẓa Muqaddas) known as Bihishtābād was fixed upon as his rest-
843 ing place and the earthly mould was committed to the earth. Mortals call residence in this inn of five days, Life, but who can comprehend the courts of eternity. For awakened spirits of this calibre the use of the word Death is a mistake.

Verse.[1]

They ne'er died nor will die those who are spiritual,
Death is but a name in reference to them.

The following words give the date of H.M.'s death. *Wafāt-i-Akbar shud,* "The death of Akbar occurred," or, "There was a mighty death." The following remarkable lines also announce it.

(Here a number of lines are given which are chronograms of Akbar's birth, accession and death.)

May Almighty God preserve the wise and truth-seeing one from the false calumnies which the blind and superficial have brought against that wise sovereign who was the guide of the searchers after truth, and the Lord of the God enlightened.

(Then follows the abridged khāṭima or conclusion which I have placed at the end of the 46th year.)

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[1] Faiẓī's couplet.

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OF

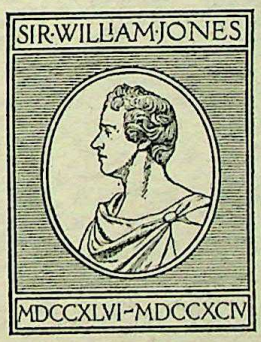
ABU-L-FAẒL

TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN

BY

H. BEVERIDGE, I.C.S. (Retired), F.A.S.B.

Work Number
138
Vol. III, Fasc. 14



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ERRATA AND ADDENDA TO VOLUME III OF THE AKBARNĀMA.

P. 13 and elsewhere, read Sh'abān for Shābān.

P. 14, line 13 from foot, after "yet" insert "more."

P. 14, marginal figure 10 should be about 10 lines higher up.

P. 16, n. 1, add "see p. 66."

P. 27, l. 11 from foot. For Bīrha read Bārha.

P. 28, n. 2, add "The Maḥmūd who escaped was s. Sikandar or Iskandar, and gave much trouble afterwards in Bihar." See p. 170.

P. 28, l. 3 from foot. Excise words "made out his expedition," and substitute "joined the latter's party," i.e. sided with Lūdī.

P. 30, Ḥāfiẓ, omen from.

P. 30, line 2, insert comma after Bābā K.

P. 49, n. 3. This n. probably wrong. There were more than one Naqīb, e.g. Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn was so called, p. 50. One Naqīb was wounded, see pp. 125, 145, 422. At p. 125, one Sharīf b. Naqīb had such a beautiful voice that his reading moved A. to tears.

P. 54, line 11, add after "Daniel there," the words "from Āmber."

P. 71, n., for wagt read waqt.

P. 79, n. 3, for کو کیا read کو کبا.

P. 87, line 6, for "at 500" read "more than 500."

P. 87, lines 14 and 1 from foot. Two Sohrābs are mentioned here. One is Sohrāb, cousin Ṣādiq K. of Herat, killed that day. The other is Sohrāb Turkamān. He survived and brought in Ikhtiyāru-l-mulk's head, and is mentioned later, p. 191, l. 9. For Gujrāt read Gujarāt; and for Chāk, Cāk.

P. 107, n. 2, for Miriam makain read Miriam makānī.

P. 114, n. 1 and 193, Siwānā should be Siwān, d. Sāran.

P. 115, l. 13 from foot, after the words "Mun'im encompassed him with royal favours" add "and gave him a fief in Sāran."

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P. 115, I do not understand how the cutting of Pūnpūn dam could help siege. Pūnpūn joins Ganges at Fatwa, 7 miles east Patna. Gaya Gazetteer says, p. 8, chief dam is at Kusrah in Jahānābād. Apparently the dam was cut when A. arrived, for the river was then in flood, p. 142.

P. 133, l. 12 from foot, for vigorous read rigorous.

P. 150. Perhaps Gorakpūr is correct, though B. thinks Kharakpūr the proper reading.

P. 160. I see that I have misunderstood A. F.'s remarks about his entry into Akbar's service. The sentence beginning with "As he had the pride of common place knowledge" is a mistranslation. The words *safar-i-diyār sharqī* do not mean the eastern provinces, that is Bihar and Bengal. They mean the land of the East, that is Mongolia and China, and should be read in connection with the remarks of A. F. at p. 117 of the Akbar-nāma translation, and which are also translated by Blochmann at p. xii of his introduction to translation of Āīn. They refer to A. F.'s longing to go off to Tibet and China or to Persia or Goa, or rather to Cathay; see p. 114 of L. & E. beginning of 908 (1502); and are interesting, as they remind us that Bābur had a similar longing, and wished to go to China. Perhaps they both thought of the Prophet's advice to seek knowledge even in China! I would now translate the passage at p. 160 of my translation about having the pride of common place knowledge in his head, as follows: "As he (the writer) had the pride of common place knowledge in his head, the desire to go to the eastern countries grew strong in his soul, in spite of the spirit of loyalty and devotion that he cherished for his father. Though he had not the means for such a pilgrimage (*safar*), yet his idolatrous and self-conceited soul aspired after such an expedition. Also there was pride in the idol-temple of his knowledge. A desire for retirement and for seeing the world was seething in his soul. But he did not think it becoming to take such a step without the permission of his honoured father. That mine of kindness could not bring himself to bid him adieu." Even now I am not certain if I fully understand what Abul Faẓl means. It is still possible that A. F.

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means that his father wanted him to do as his elder brother had done; that is, join Akbar and take his chance of service, and that the self-conceited youth still wanted to go his own way, and seek for enlightenment from Lamas and Buddhists.

P. 173. Khān Jahān should be Jahān Khān; he was an Afghān, and b. Sikandar, and Dāūd's officer.

P. 174, n. 1. 435 is p. of P.T. substitute 652.

P. 193, line 9, Siwāna. This is Siwān or Sewān in Sāran d.

P. 203, n. 1, delete S.

P. 210, n. 1, delete this note and also figure 1 in line 2.

P. 212, n. 1. Delete T.R., Ross, 330 and substitute A.N. translation, vol. II, p. 40.

P. 212, line 18, for "will be given" read "has been given." The reference should have been to the second vol. A.N. p. 40 of translation. There Ḥaidar Beg is called Ḥaram Beg's younger brother. Here he is called *barādar dostdār*, "beloved brother." *Barādar* may possibly mean cousin.

P. 281, for Gadā (beggar) Ālī read Gadā 'Alī.

P. 295, middle of page. Four and a half lines of declamation have been omitted here. They are in praise of Dostam, who was an early playmate of A. The lines are difficult to translate, and are also out of place. For Dostam, see Ma'aṣir U. II, p. 3.

P. 295 and elsewhere. For Ajmere read Ajmīr.

P. 295. Five lines of rhetoric about A.'s discrimination in making appointments have been omitted.

P. 305, 2 lines from foot. Ism'aīl I, should be Ism'aīl II.

P. 328, n. 1. For 259 read 376. I think I have misunderstood the meaning of several passages on p. 328. The fortunate army of page 328, and the corresponding passage in P.T. p. 232, line 3, viz. *junūd-i-iqbāl*, do not mean, as I thought, Khān Jahān's forces. They mean, I think, the imperial troops personally conducted by A., and which were expected to come to Bengal. Naulaka, I think, meant that when A. came near Tānda, she and her relatives, *mantasabān*, would appear before him. K. J., I presume, accepted her overtures, and then went back from Sātgāon to his own quarters, that is to Tānda or Siḥḥatpūr,

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where he died in Shawwāl 986, p. 381. From Sātgāon he seems to have gone in the first place to Bhātī, i.e. the low country of Bengal, see p. 376. A. F., I may remark here, seems prejudiced against K. J., and says as little as possible about his exploits, and accuses him of being at heart a rebel. There are good biographies of K. J. in the Ma'āṣir U. I, 645, and in the Darbār Akbarī, 703. The river Kiyāra of p. 377 of A.N. is probably the Agāra Sindūr of p. 32 of the Mymensingh Gazetteer. The Majlis of the Mymensingh inscription may be the Majlis Dilāwar or the Majlis Pratāp of A.N. 377. It is not likely to be the Pratapāditya of Jessore.

P. 385, for 1589 read 1579.

P. 393, n. 5, for Ijlihād read Ijtihād.

P. 429, n. 2, for p. 20 read p. 29; for Yrghalīq and Yūrghalīgh read Farrakhpūr, i.e. s. Ghalīq K.

P. 442, l. 12. The text is *sipri shudan rūzgār-i-Moẓaffar*. This would ordinarily mean his death, but as that is not mentioned till later, perhaps what is meant is "disaster."

P. 449, top line, for 80,000 read 800,000.

P. 470, last line and n. 4. The words "outworks of the fort" and n. 4 are wrong. The word in text is *nakhastīn*, not *nakhastan*, and the passage means that the first fort was taken. In the Āīn A., p. 154, Vol. II, J.'s translation, it is stated that Patna had two forts; one was of burnt or *pucka* bricks, and the other was of *kacha*, i.e. sun-dried, bricks. It was the latter that was taken. My note 4 should be expunged.

P. 472, last line. The water here mentioned was rain-water. It was September, and the country was flooded. The Māh Beg of text is the Tārullah of Badāūnī, Lowe 292, where Tor should have been Tār. "The flourishing city of Bahīra" and n. 3. I have written at length to the Numismatic editor J.A.S.B. about Bahīra, and have endeavoured to show that the proper spelling is Bhera, and that the place is probably the Bahīra or Bahrah of Blochmann, mentioned in his translation of the Āīn A., p. 31, and that it is the Bahīra of the historical part of the Akbarnāma. In

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Blochmann it appears as a mint-town, and probably was Shergotty in Gaya, of which the proper spelling is Shahrghātī, i.e. the city of the Pass. It was the pass which had to be ascended by travellers coming from Gaya to Hazārībāgh. Shahr, however, does not mean a city in the ordinary sense of the word. A. F. uses it elsewhere to mean a well-cultivated or populated tract of country. I think too that there are mistakes in Gladwin and Jarrett's translations of the passage in the account of Gaya. The precious stones, that is, the serpentine or steatite used for making household utensils, were a production of Gaya, and not of a foreign country. The word "foreign" of J. does not occur in the P.T. I am also inclined to think that the *banādar*, بنادر of the P.T. Āīn, Vol. I, 417, may be a mistake for *banādirat*, بنادرت (see Richardson, p. 254, col. A), and that the references is to "dealers in precious stones who keep close to the mines." I think too that the *gaj* or *kach* of B.'s Āīn, 223, does not mean sweet limestone, but means the gypsum or steatite which Shīrīn may have been traditionally supposed to have used in building her palace. Though I have written to the Collectors of Patna and Gaya I have not yet been able to hear of any place called Bahīra or Bhera in either district. The Dep. Comm. of Hazaribagh tells me that in his thāna of Hunterganj there are villages called Bahera, Behari and that Bhurha in the Hunterganj is close to the Gaya boundary. The difficulty is that part of Gaya was formerly included in the district of Patna, and also that the Gaya records were destroyed in the Indian Mutiny. These two things make the search for a Gaya Bhera difficult. My belief is that Bahrah, Bhera or Bahīra is the mint-town of B.'s Āīn, p. 31, and that it was in Gaya, and that it is also the Bahīra or Bhera of the historical parts of the A.N., Vol. III.—Probably it was Shergotty in Gaya, of which, as I have just said, the proper name is Shahrghātī, i.e. the city of the Pass.

P. 475, the name of the fort is not Kant or Kot. It is Kīnt or Kīt, and is spelt in the P.T. of the Āīn II, 423, as Kōt. See also Jarrett II, 157, and B.'s note 2 to 427. It was a dependency of Rohtās. My note 1 to p. 475 is wrong. The fort is mentioned in the Iqbālnāma under the 24th year of A.'s reign. The reason why

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'Arab was so savage against Sa'ādat 'Alī Yār was that the latter was formerly 'Arab's ally. Apparently Sa'ādat 'Alī was Khiẓẓr Khwāja's s., but not Gulbadan B.'s. The Muḥibb 'Alī here mentioned is the Rohtāsī one, and the Rohtās is the Bihārī one. —Do. three lines from foot; insert the word "again" between "was" and "made."

P. 489, middle of page. The passage about dogs (Yīt) wants correction. The meaning seems to be that in that year they were not to be hunted. Apparently the killing of the pariah dogs was considered a sort of duty, or at least as a sport, for we find a Pāyinda Muḥ. mentioned at p. 29, as having the title of Sagkush, or Canicide. He is also mentioned at pp. 611 and at 512 of P.T.

P. 500, n. 3, insert the word "it" after "for."

P. 508, line 2, for "that" read "the." The Persian words are *ba dastmāya mālikholiyā shādmānī mī khurd.* The passage is highly rhetorical, and seems to mean that the foolish Mīrzā concocted mirth with sorrowful ingredients. The allusion to the learned may mean that this class wished for the Mīrzā's success as he posed as the champion of orthodoxy; but more probably means that they were loyal, but foolish in wishing to go out to fight.

P. 509, n. 1, for Bāgh-i-dilkushā read "Bāghhdilgasha."

P. 511, and n. 1, for B. 114 read 165.

P. 528, for Gorkhattrī read Gorakhattri. A. F.'s visit to the secret chamber is interesting.

P. 535, n. 1, for "is" read "as."

P. 572, for error read terror.

P. 578. The tank was a small one. It is a mistake to suppose that the Fatḥpūr lake burst. V. A. Smith's account in his Akbar is an exaggeration. In his note the word Solar should be Lunar. The day was A.'s birthday according to the Hijra Calendar, namely the 5th Rajab 990, and the 27th year of the reign. It corresponded to about 28 July, 1582. Only one person of note —a leopard-keeper—was drowned, the account in the Iqbālnāma is to be found at the end of the record of the 27th year, and almost

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on the same page there is the notice of the murder by A.'s orders of Ma'ṣūm Farankhūdī, who was attacked by Iskandar Qalmāq in his palanquin. There is also the account of the Dumbhouse.

P. 582, n. 1. Though I have said that I have not found Faiẕābād, it really is the well-known city in Oudh. It is the Fyẕābād of I.G., Vol. XII.

P. 584, delete heading (verse).

P. 636, for 14 February 1548 read 1584.

P. 642, went off with some men on a "roadless" road. Does this mean was killed? The words are *sipar-i-berāhī shud*, perhaps meaning they were trampled by elephants.

P. 645, Divine era introduced, beginning of 29th year.

P. 650, n. 1, for Banān read Banār. Tok or Thok is in Mymensingh d.

P. 677, n. 1, for doubt-thread read double thread.

P. 693, and n. 3, *aznās* should be *arnās*, destroyer of foes.

P. 694, n. 5 col. 2, for "on" read "in."

P. 705, gardens of Sirhind.

P. 708, for 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān read Raḥīm.

P. 718, n. 2, for A. F.'s son read brother. See B. introduction, p. xxiii.

P. 731–32 and Elphinstone's note 1. Elphinstone's note is unjust to A. F., and is founded on an imperfect understanding of A. F.'s words. The words as they appear in the P.T., p. 485 of Vol. III of the A.N. line 7, are *darīn shorish tā pānṣad kasrā rūzgār siprī gasht*. Elphinstone has misunderstood the force of the word *kas*, as used by A. F. *Kas* does not always mean common people or common soldiers. It has also the secondary meaning of persons of rank or otherwise notable. Thus we have the phrase *kas u nākas*—persons important, and those of no account. And this phrase has been rightly rendered in Richardson's dictionary by the words "Everybody, noble and plebeian." So too Vullers II s.v. *kas*, where two meanings are given, "vir et vir dignus, colendus, meritus."—That A. F. here means officers and other persons of rank is clear from the fact that Ferishta and others make no comment on A. F.'s mention of 500, which they certainly would

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have done if they had thought that A. F.'s 500 meant common soldiers. For they all speak of the loss as being of thousands: Badāūnī for instance puts the loss at 8,000. It is true that he uses the words *kas* in the ordinary sense of common people, but this does not affect the correctness of A. F.'s use of the word in a restricted sense. Blochmann has seen the true sense of A. F.'s expression, for he says, p. 345, 500 *officers* were killed. See also his p. 204.

Pp. 735 and 760. These are two references to a famous pigeon-expert and to pigeon-flying. They should be compared with pp. 298 and 303 of the Āīn Akbarī of Blochmann's translation. The pigeons had arrived at Khairābād Serāi on the west side of the Indus, and A. was so delighted at the news that he had the pigeons brought to him at Lahore before the Turanian ambassador had had his audience. The passage of A.'s letter at p. 760 is to me a little obscure, and it may be that the text is corrupt. The last sentence of the preceding paragraph, "we now are enabled through his kindness to send him" should, I think, be read, "we now are enabled to take the benefit of his (that is, Ḥakīm Hamām's) companionship, and to send him (Ṣadr Jahān)." Then Akbar speaks of the presents he is sending, and expresses his thanks for 'Abdullah's sending Ḥabīb the pigeon-expert, and the birds who are famous for their dexterity in fluttering and recovering themselves after diving. The words *intī'ashu ahitizāz* appear to be technical terms of pigeon-experts.

P. 759, n. 1, for m'azirate read ma'zaratī.

P. 778, for yarlīgh read yarlīgh.

P. 810, for Ābīn read Ābān.—Do. last line, for returned read retired.

P. 811, line 11, for convey read convoy.—Do. line 19, for Tamkīn read Namakīn.

P. 812, 7 lines from foot, after instalment add "in Allāhābād."

P. 815, contains A. F.'s reflections.

P. 818, n. 1, for neared read reared.—Do. for *nazidīk* read *nazdīk*, and for *shādrawān* read *shadurwān*, i.e. curtain.

P. 819, n. 2, for kājīwār read kājīdār.—Do. n. 4; reference

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misplaced. It refers to Qāẓī Ḥasan.—Do. n. 6 (unnumbered, col. 2); misplaced. It belongs to p. 820, and the reference is to Salibat.

P. 873, footnote col. 2, for 1950 read 1590.

P. 877, for Lohan read Lohar, and for Major-dorno read majordomo.

P. 884, for Qāin Kokaltēsh read Zain Kokaltāsh.—Do. for Man read Mau.

P. 885, line 11, for Aḥamad read Aḥmad.—Do. for disgusts read disgust.—Do. after Maulavī Ḥusain add "of Khurāsān."—Do. for "uttered sweets words" read "received soothing expressions." —Do. n. 2, for Mahani read Makānī.

P. 895, several mistakes on this page. The Shaikh, in line 1, is apparently Shaikh Zāhid, and the spiritual s. is Shaikh Ṣafī of Ardabīl. This Shaikh Ṣafī was not connected with the Safavis, and his name is sometimes spelt Suffī.—Do. n. 4; Ḥalīma in Arabic means gentle, and perhaps was intended as the Arabic synonym of Maras or Martha, which also means the meek. Despina was the Greek name, and meant mistress.

P. 896, in Persian Ẓill (shadow) seems counted as having only one *l*.

P. 902, n. 2, for Girnān read Girnau.—

P. 914, n. col. 2, for *ṣūjiyāna* read *sufiyana*. B. line 1.

P. 915, n. 1, for *ban rū* read *bar rū*.—Do. n. 2, perhaps Sāvdā is Sāvlī in Baroda.—Do. 10 lines from foot, Kūlīān may be the wild tribe in W. India called Kolīs.—Do. n. 4, for Raḥim read Raḥīm. As the note says, it seems to be a mistake for zakhmī.

P. 938, and n. 1, Ampūr may be Omarpūr or Amanpūr in Sind.

P. 940, 11 lines from foot, rebels in eastern province submit.

P. 942, and n. 2; the little stars were perhaps meteors. They may have been Perseid meteors.

P. 943, n. 4, for his read has.

P. 948, line 10, for Jaīn read Jām.

P. 950, verse, for sold read bought.—Do. text, 2 lines from foot, for Dāūd Cakli read Dāūd Caktī.—Do. in heading of chapter, YĀDGĀR KUL read KAL (bald).

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P. 998, n. 1, for 'Omām read 'Omān.

P. 999, Khwāja Daulat Nāẓir is not the Sherāfgan who was Nūr Jahān's husband.

P. 1000, A. enters subaqueous building.

P. 1006, for "a new aspect was given to submission" read "a new subject for laudation was given," meaning that A.'s kindness was a new evidence of his graciousness.

P. 1021, Qulij K.'s d., wife of P. Daniel.

P. 1027, important passage, as it refers to annexation of two districts in Qandahār, viz. Garmsīr and Zamīn Dāwar. The Mirzās in question are Moẓaffar Ḥusain and his family. See B. 313–14. Moẓaffar was a Safavī and a grandson of Shāh Ism'aīl and a nephew of Shāh Ṭahmāsp. He had four brothers. S. Ṭahmāsp gave Garmsīr and Zamīn Dāwar to his nephews, but the Uzbegs dispossessed them. They, however, recovered possession by A.'s help. Shāh Beg Arghūn, commonly called Khān Daurān—one of A.'s officers and s. Ibrāhīm Beg (see B. 313 and 377 and the M. U., vol. I, 442–45, and A.N. translation p. 999)—became governor of Qandahār. He took part with inhabitants Garmsīr, etc., and induced M. Ḥusain to resign and go to India. Who Muḥ. 'Iwāz was (mentioned A.N. 1027) I do not know. He was not the historian mentioned in B. 347. The fort he took was Terī in Kohāt.

P. 1032, A., his trial by ordeal, and n. 1, for "three horsemen" read "three-horse men," i.e. men who have three horses. The word barāwardī used in B. 231 not in dictionaries, nor does Irvine explain it. It might be rendered by "enlisted" or by "horse-breeders."—Do. n. 3; possibly *betār* is right. As it was a case of branding, a farrier might have been consulted. For methods of ordeal, see B. 205 and Badāūnī Lowe, 368.

P. 1033, Ormuz, Portuguese viceroy, sends two ostriches.

P. 1041, n. 2, in two places read "at" for "al".

P. 1043, for Sherpur Hurra read Sherpūr Murcha.—Do. 4 lines lower down; for man read men.

P. 1063, 14 lines from foot, for 'Īsāk read 'Īsā K.

P. 1067, for Jalpesh read Jalpes.

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P. 1072, n. 1, for elephants read elephant. A. F.'s remark is witty and just.

P. 1073, cf. A.'s gibe at Qulī, J. III, 392, and also B. 34, n. 2.

P. 1085, delete words "native of Ghor." The meaning of ghorīzāda is given at p. 1080, n. 4. The impostor claimed to be a s. of M. Sulaimān. However, ghorīzāda may mean born in Ghorī, for there was a place of that name. See translation p. 218.

P. 1088, n. 1, for Lain Lankā read Zain Lankā.

P. 1090, account of a lunar rainbow and haloes.

P. 1139, this is an early reference to the use of bills of exchange (hundīs).

P. 1140, 'Īsā K.'s death.

P. 1141, top line. My translation is wrong; instead of that distinguished officer, we should understand Sultan Dāūd; *ān buzurg nuyīn* means, I think, Daniel the king's son and Nūyīn means, I think, Dāūd and not M. Kh. P.T. 763, line 15 means the king's son, the statement that P. D. had neglected his duties, but that A. now caressed him and sent him off. He left at the second stage, and went off to the Deccan.—Do., I do not find Taltūm mentioned as a seat of government. A better translation is: in old times the ruler of Berar founded the fort of Taltūm. Taltūm is mentioned in the Bādshāhnāma. The A.N. note says it was in the Payanghāt portion of Berar. See supra p. 1131 and n. 2.—Do., near end first para.; perhaps the translation is not quite correct. Instead of *nakhastīn* being rendered "in the first place," the translation should be "there were two forts"—the first, i.e. Narnāla, was taken by Sundar Rai. Taltūm was taken later.

P. 1149, insert "14th" before Ramẓān in n. See also B. XXII.

P. 1152, 7 lines from foot, for fort read forts.

P. 1153, for Ṣardār K. read Safdār K.

P. 1169, line 18, for "the last of them had two sons" read "the first of them (i.e. Laṭīf) had two sons."

P. 1170, for *ḥawālāladārān* read *hawaladārān*.—2nd para.; the word translated "souls" is "jāndār." The word for creatures

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is "jānwar," and would have been better translated by the word "animals." The word *kas* is here used for persons, and is here used for all classes of mankind.

P. 1171, session. Perhaps it would be better to translate *khatam* by "recitation" (of the entire Koran). The preposition *ba* should, I think, be translated here by "from". It is more likely that Bījāpūr, etc., sent ambassadors than that A. did so. Moreover, the sending of ambassadors to the Deccanī rulers so mentioned a little lower down.—Do. n. 1, for Mubārak read Maqarrab.

P. 1175, for Lādū read Lodī.

P. 1224, second last line, add "son of" after "the."

P. 1228, in title of chapter read 48th instead of 47th.

P. 1235, Laharī Bandar given P. Selīm.—Do., death of Kedār, Bengal zamīndār.

P. 1236, A.'s orders about travellers' comforts.

P. 1238, 49th year begins.

P. 1239, P. Daniel's marriage.

P. 1242, Selīm's cruelties.

P. 1244-45, M. Makānī's illness and death.

P. 1246, *kishti-i-aora daryābī sākht*—made him a sailor ?

P. 1252, 50th year of reign begins.

P. 1254, death of P. Daniel.

P. 1255, and n. 1, affection of Jānān B.—Do., P. Daniel's menials put to death. See n. 3.

P. 1256, A. visits Selīm.

P. 1258, account of A.'s death.

P. 1261-62, burial, and chronograms.

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PREFATORY NOTE TO THE INDEX TO VOLUME III OF THE AKBARNĀMA.

The third volume, Bib. Ind. ed., begins in the middle of the 17th year of the reign. This is because the 30th year of Akbar's life ended then. The date nearly synchronises with that of the death of Sulaimān Kararānī, ruler of Bengal. He died in the beginning of Ābān 980 A.H. (11 October, 1572), and Akbar was born 8 Ābān, 949, equal to 15 October, 1542, and so was thirty when the volume begins.

With reference to Blochmann's note, p. 427 of his translation of Āīn Akbarī, it should be pointed out that the Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī does not explicitly state that Sulaimān died in 980 A.H., and that Ferishta, who professes to copy the T.A., gives the date of Sulaimān's death as 981. Badāūnī, however, has 980, see Lowe's translation, p. 166, and there seems no doubt that 980 is correct.

I have received much help from the Index to the Persian edition, but it is a mere list, and embarrasses one by the multitude of entries. Thus, it has 84 entries under the word Agra, though nearly all are unimportant. There are only two, or at most three, worth looking up. The indexers have made their lists with considerable care, but some entries are wrong and mix up two or three persons of the same name. Some entries also are under insignificant headings, such as Rajah, Mirzā, etc.

H. B.

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INDEX

TO THE

THIRD VOLUME.

The numbers refer to the pages; *n* stands for "footnote".

A

Abā Bikr, b. Tarsūn K., employed Bhagalpur against rebels, 490, 620, 676.

Do. (Mīrzā) Dughlāt, ruler Kāshghar, 943–44.

Do. S., 710, omitted in translation.

Abāgh or Ayāgh or Abāq, s. Hulagū, 841, 973.

'Abbās Shāh (the Great), s. Sultan Khudābanda, his ambassador arrives, 893. A. formerly refused help, as 'Abbās was rebelling against father, 893, his genealogy, 894, attacks Mashhad, 899–900, blood-thirstiness, 901, 1011, 1021, respect for A., 1112, his ambassador, 1120, 1207–08, 1232, 1236–37, 1251.

Do. Sultan, officer 'Abdu-l-Mūmin 874.

Abdāl Cak, Kashmīrī, shot, 408, father Abiya, 768.

Ābdara, defile S.W. Peshawar between Banū and Darsamand, 794 and *n*. 2.

'Ābdī khwāja, s. K. Kilān Jūlbārī, sent Badakhshān, 353, 388, 486, but this last reference and also subsequent ones in Persian text may refer to another 'Ābdī.

Abdu-l-Ali, s. 'Abdu-l-khāliq, ancestor of M. Jānī, ruler Sind, 973, ruler Bokhara, 976 and *n*. 1.

'Abdu-l-Bāqī, Turkistānī, inquirer, imperfect knowledge of, 351.

'Abdu-l-Ghafūr, Stirs up commotion Bihar, 586, killed. 587.

Do. s. Jahāngīr 'Ali, and nephew Ḥaram B. B., 215.

Do. s. 'Azīz koka, 963 (called here 'Abdullah), 981.

'Abdu-l-Hādī, 453, 601, 947 (omitted in translation).

'Abdu-l-Ḥāī (Is this Badayūnī's 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī of Mashhad, Vol. III 173 ?) There were at least three men of the name attached A.'s court. First, a khwāja 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī, mentioned, p. 591, as employed on expedition E. provinces 28th year reign. Secondly, Mīr 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī Mīr 'Adl., Chief Justice, 881. If the same person, he is mentioned again, 947 (omitted translation, 947), see Persian text, 619, as on military duty Kashmīr, again in Persian text, 764, 769, 773. Thirdly, an 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī Feringhī mentioned in B.M. MS., (Add., 27, 247, p. 299a) as author remark on Christian monogamy which Bib. Ind. ed. ascribes to A., see p. 372

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and *n.* 1. If appellation Feringhī be correct, this man probably an Armenian and father-in-law of Zu-l-Qarnain. See Jahāngīr's Mem. II, 194 and *n.* There is also an 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī of Garmsīr mentioned several times in Vol. I, A.N. In spite of authority of B.M. MS., I think the ascription of remark about Christians to 'Abdu-l-Ḥāī Feringhī must be a copyist's gloss, and that the remark was Akbar's. It is so in Bib. Ind. ed., where the characteristic expression "farmūdand" is used. This occurs also in an almost illegible MS. in my own possession. Akbar's views about the excellence of monogamy, etc., may be learnt from his remarks at p. 398 of J. III.

'Abdu-l-Ḥalīm, khwāja, causes victory, 937.

'Abdu-l-Karīm, s. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd, ruler Kāshghar, reigned 30 years, 844.

'Abdu-l-Laṭīf, (qāẓī), 539, reports about M. Ḥakīm, 542.

Do. s. 'Azīz Koka, 981.

Do. of Qazwīn, 242.

Do. Lisān, astronomer, prediction to Timūr, 314.

Do. M., sent by A. to Bengal as punishment, 209.

'Abdu-l-Maṭṭālib, 481, promoted, 687, 701, 779.

'Abdu-l-Mulk (P.T., 791), 92.

Do.-l-Mumin, s. 'Abdullah of Tūrān, comes from Balkh and fights, 785, defeated, 871–72, envoy drowned in Jhelum, 876.

Abdu-n-Nabī Shaikhu-l-Islām, Ṣadr, s. S. Aḥmad and grandson 'Abdū-l-Qaddus of Gangoh - hāranpur d. who is regarded as a great saint; mentioned, 88, accompanies Akbar in boat-journey to eastern provinces, 123, falls out of favour, 330–31, signs document, 395 and *n.* 1, banished Mecca, 405–6, returns and put to death, 571–73 and *n.* 1. See Blochmann's Ayīn A., 546, and Badayūnī III, pp 79–83 (Bib. Ind. ed.) and Jahāngīr's Memoirs I, 22.

'Abdu-l-Qaddūs, 460 and 1070 (P.T., 718, l. 6, not in translation).

'Abdu-l-Qādir Badayūni, s. Mulūk Shah, historian, 247, etc.

'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, s. Bairām K., also called Mīrzā K., and the No. 29 of B., born Lahore, December 1556 mother was Indian, being d. Jamāl K. of Mewāt. At Pattan A. asks him particulars of his father's death, 9,66, accompanies A. Aḥmadābād, 68, sent Gujarāt, 235, governor there, 236, meets A. near Ajmīr, 259, marches against Rānā, 277, 339, Mīr 'Arẓ (minister of requests), 439, to examine S. Quṭb in Jalesar (Etah. dis.), 455 and *n.* 5, given Ranthambhor as fief, 480, 551, his idea of special good work, 559, Selīm's (Jahāngīr) tutor, 583, in charge horses, 585, 591, 598. Though Chapter 72, p. 607, he headed "The sending of M. K." yet name not mentioned till p. 413, P. text, or p. 613 translation, 631, 632, 635, 639, victory, 642–3, 656–57, in Gujarāt and Khātīwār, 681, 684, arrives court, 699–700, in Deccan, 1052, 1065, 1070, 1071, at p. 862 translation, and p. 570, P.T. presents Persian rendering Bābur's Memoirs to A., 998 A.H., or 24 November, 1589, made Vakil, 865,

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881, 917–21, 929–31, 938–40, 971–73, 1055, 1070-72, 1112, death of w., 1117, 1140–41, 1173, 1175, 1228–29, 1250, 1255.

'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, Shaikh, of Lucknow, accompanies A. on rapid journey Aḥmadābād, 69, in battle, 518, rebuked for drinking, 545, wounds himself, 708 (here Raḥmān should be Raḥīm), 1122, 1153.

Do. s. Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, 274.

Abdu-r-Raḥmān Beg, s. Muyīd Beg, appointed to take charge of Zain K. Koka when in grief for death of elder brother Saīf Kokā, 83, 206 and *n.* 3, 274, 296, 599, 701, 1050, 1133.

Do. a preacher (*Wāiẓ*), his sermon criticised by A., 102; on pilgrimage, 272 and *n.* 2.

Do. s. A.F., his marriage, 878, his son Bishotan, 908, 946, (omitted in translation). Jahāngīr afterwards gave him title of Afẓal K.

Do. servant Shāhrukh Mīrzā, given Tālqān, 666.

'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, Saiyid, 903.

'Abdu-r-Rashīd, of Kāshghar, s. Sultan S'aīd, his wife Cūcak B. arrives with her two sons, 21, his s. killed, 741, his name given by Bābur, 844.

'Abdu-r-Razzāq, father three famous ḥakīms, his fate, 204.

Do. Ma'mūrī, (Mīr) (architect ?), sent Kashmīr, 752, 770, made bakhshī Bihār, 779, Gujarāt, 963, confined by 'Azīz Koka, 980, arrives court and has audience, 1001, in Afghanistan, 1051, seized by rebels in Bengal but escapes, 1174.

Abdu-s-Sammī, of Andijān, made, army qāẓī, 554, comes from Lahore and pays respects, 858.

'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣammad Shīrīn — qalm (khwāja), in charge Fatḥpūr mint, 321 and *n.* 2, in charge leathern goods, 585, employed household, 598, diwān Multan, 779, his son punished, 861.

Do. Kāshī (khwāja), came from Kabul and did homage, 876.

'Abdu-sh-shahīd Khwāja, s. Khwāja Khwājaka, and grandson Khwāja Aḥrār, honoured, 109 and *n.* 1, accompanies A. Dābor, 110.

'Abdu-l-Wāḥid, Saiyid, 453.

The 'Abdullahs.

'Abdullah Beg Badakhshī, promoted 450.

Do. Balūch, A.'s companion rapid ride from Ajmīr, 363,

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518, d. married Selīm (Jahāngīr), his d., 1015.
Do. Khwāja, his remark to A., 19.
Do. Khwājāgān khwājā, 383.
Do. Mīr, his cowardice, 534–35 and *n.* 4, 612 (?), 1003.
Do. Mīrzā, disgraced and sent Bengal, 209.
Do. Naqshbandī, sent Sātgāon, 169, 173, 175, killed Bengal, 239.
Do. K. Saiyid, s. Mīr Khwānanda, 48, 123, at Takaroī battle, 175, sent eastern provinces, 247, 249, brings Dāūd's head, 255, 454, 486, 490–91, 619, 660, 673, 676, sent Lucknow, 788, 797, 914 (not in translation).
Do. Sultan Kāshgharī (Ḥājī), s. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd, 701, killed in battle, 741.
Do. Sultanpūrī Makhdūmu-l-mulk, Ṣadr Panjab, 332, signs document about A.'s spiritual supremacy, 395, sent Mecca, 405–6, returns and dies of terror (not error), 571–2 and *n.* 1.
Do. K. Uzbeg, s. Sikandar, ruler Tūrān, 217, his ambassador arrives, 296–97, takes Badakhshān, 652–53, 665, 667, ambassador's approach, 721, sends presents, 735, 753, A.'s letter to, 754–61, letter of his communicated by Muḥ. Ḥakīm, 856, report of mortality among birds in Central Asia, 857–58, imprisonment of alleged s. Shāhrukh, 864, Ubaid Ullah defeated in Persia, 896, 900, 993, 1011, A. sends ambassador, 1052, letter to, 1053–58, his death and character, 1098-1101, 1102, 1108, 1120, 1207.
Abhang K. Zangī (Abyssinian), makes night attack Aḥmadnagar, 1047.
Ābīd Badakhshī (Mīr), in Gujarāt, 609, made K. K. by Moẓaffar Gūjarātī, 612, comes from Rājpīpla, 656.
Abiyā Cak Kashmīrī, s. Abdāl Cak, 768, his sister has d. by Selīm (Jahāngīr), 931.
Do. brother 'Yaqūb Cak, 768, the two Abiyās, 768, 'Yaqūb's brother killed near Bāburpur, 883. Apparently, it was one of these Kashmīrī Abiyās who attacked Sherāfgan at Burdwan and wounded him, and was afterwards killed.
Abu (Mount), A. F. calls it Abūgarh and Arbūdā Acal. Fort taken, 278–79, Arbūdā said to be name of spirit who guides inquirers, 279.
Abū Isāḥaq (Isaac) Ṣafvī, 353, and *n.* 2, related A. F.'s father, 432, 434, 597, 623–4, 903.
Abu-l-Baqā, 967.
Abu-l-Barakāt (S.), A. F.'s younger brother, 718.
Abu-l-Faiẓ Faiẓī, Poet Laureate, elder brother A.F., leaves Agra in attendance A., 123, incites brother serve A., 161, appointed P. Murād's teacher, 388, his verse for A.'s use in pulpit, 396, extract

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poem, 457, accompanies P. Daniel Ajmīr, 464, Ṣadr Agra, 546, verse by, quoted, 549, his suggestion, 559–60, assistant Selīm (J.), 598, ode on prince's marriage, 678, sent join Zainkoka, 718, made Mālikush-shuārā (king of poets), 814, appointed look after M. Kaiqubād s. M. Ḥakīm, 821, verses in praise A. and Kashmīr, 828, sent assess Kashmīr, 830, letter brother, 832, sent distribute charity, 846, elegy on 'Aẕdu-d-daulah and Abul Fatḥ, 852, verses on A.'s accident, 866, sent Rajah 'Alī and Burhāna-l-mulk, 909, returns, 982, presents Nal Daman poem, 1014–15, death, 1034, poems, 1034–40.

Abu-l-fatḥ Gilānī, ḥakīm, s. Mullā 'Abdu-r-Rāzzāq. He and two brothers come court, 204, Ṣadr and Amīn, 386, 432, 447, released from Tānda fort, 449, comes court and describes affairs Bengal, 454-55, appointment, 504, made Ṣadr Delhi, etc., 546, recommends establishment hospitals, 560, in charge intoxicants, 585, 599, pay increased, 687, 708, sent Swāt, 720, 728–9, 733, 746, 786, 807, 819, 825, death, 851, buried Ḥasan Abdāl, 852, Faiẓī's verses do. and *n.* 2, A. visits grave, 868.

Abu-l-Faẓl 'Allāmī, author, s. Mubārak, his preface, 1–5, introduction A. and account early searches after truth, 116–19, presents commentary on Throne verse, 119, second introduction A., 160, vision of victory, 161, progress discipleship, 162–63, Fatḥpūr, does prostration afar off, 162, A. notices him do., success in finding at Sāmbhar milch-cows for royal children, 362, reflections existence good and evil, 415–16, conversation with Thānesar saint, 500 and *n.* 3, story A.'s disciple who fell away, 519–20, ordered get officers' opinions about Kabul advance, 522, and 524–28, in company with A. visits recent chamber at Gorkhattrī, accompanies A. Jalālābād, 542, suggests register householders, 560 (orders about this seem to have been issued before, see p. 509); suggests Grecian medical treatment for A., 584, in charge wool-trade, 585, to assist P. Selim, 598, cognisance complaints, 599, promoted rank, 1000, 687, Farīdūn made over to, 716, 300 horse of author sent off, 718, lot cast for Swāt expedition results in Bīrbar's favour, 719, and *n.* 6, suggestions for Kashmīr campaign, 752, Delhi entrusted him and S. Quli Maḥram, 779, goes meet Sulaimān Badakhshī near Agra, 787, sent inquire about the wounded Mullā Aḥmad, 804, dispute between Sa'id k. and Todar Mal, 807, brother made poet-laureate, 814, reflections on society and solitude, wishes A. would test him, 815, with A. on ride in Kashmīr, 819, superintends cooks, 822, difficulties march, 823–24, shaking tree, 825–26, A.'s anger with son (Selīm) and author's distress, 825, visits saint, 832–33, along with A. visits saint Wāḥid Ṣūfī, author's admiration for 'Aẕdu-d-daulah (Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz, see B. *n.* 33 and *n.* 1), 848, grieves death ḥakīm Abūl Fatḥ, 850–51, goes Begrām (Peshawar) and Gorkhattrī (Peshawar), 855–56, death mother, 867–68, marriage son

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('Abdu-r-Raḥmān), 878, told write prophecy of K. K.'s having three sons, 881, A. F.'s illness, 890–91, birth grandson, 908, begins teaching Khasrū, 922, promoted, 2000, 932, eventually his rank was raised to, 2500 in 42nd year of reign; Yūsuf k. made over to, 947, omen from Ḥāfiẓ do. Writes Yādgār Kal 951, distributes charity in Srīnagar, 956, f.'s death 987, 995 sends parents' bodies Agra, 1005, A. visits him 1015; Faizī's death 1033—account of his life and works 1033–1040 and notes 2, 3, etcet. A.'s accident and A. F.'s treatment 1061–63; kitchens established in cities 1063, famine do., takes omen 947, in charge ladies 1082. A. F.'s distress, 1104–7, sent Deccan, 1119, 1128, 1132, a wonderful *Nīm* tree 1139; Murad's wives sent to court 1141, goes Aḥmadnagar 1142–43; takes Mātīgarh 1163; Āsīr taken 1168, goes Nāsik; summoned by A., 1217, murdered 1218–21.

Abul-Khair A. F.'s younger brother, appointed teach. Khasrū 922 and n. 3.

Abu-l-Maālī, of Kashmīr, s. Saiyid Mubārak, 326, 409, 422, 453, 574. Perhaps some of these entries refer to another Abu-l-Māāli, the s. Saiyid Muḥ. Mīr 'Adl of Amroha, see B. Nos. 297 and 140. There is also a third Abu-l-Māālī favourite Humayūn and put to death in Kabul in 1564. He was of Termīẓ, and generally has the title of Shāh. Altogether there seem to have been four Abu-l-Māālīs.

Abū-l-Moẓaffar (Mīr), s. Ashraf k. the No. 240, of B. in Bihar, 422, 453, 591, 623, 632, 656, 1070 (omitted in translation).

Abū Naṣr Ḥakīm, s. Sadrū Ṣūfī put to death in Persia, 897 and note 4.

Abū Naṣr Farābī, death of, 987 and *n.* 3.

Abu-l-Qāsim Namakīn, of Bhakkar, sent bring Moẓaffar Gujaratī, 9, 170, 175, 518, 601, 701, 745, 811, 849 and *n.* 6, taking of Sīrvī, 1021, 1115, 1117, 1224, 1257.

Abu-l-Qāsim, diwān Gujarat, 596, 779, 903.

Abū Saīd Sultan, s. Muḥ. Mīrzā (Timurid), 843, 976.

Abū Turāb Gujarātī, (Mīr) s. Kamālū-d-dīn, sent for, p. 10, 'Itimād's surety, 11, arrives court, 15, 76, account of, 305–06, returns from Arabia and brings stone, 410–12 and *nn.* 465, sent as Amīn, 596, 599, 610, in Deccan, 742, 910, his s. Mīr Gadai promoted, 1236.

Abyssinian slaves, arrangements for, 11.

Do. (Jujhār K.), punished for murder by being trampled by elephant, 46, 76.

Acquaviva, (Father) Italian priest, see Rudolf (the Padre Radīf, p. 254, Persian Text).

Adam, father mankind, 989.

Adam Gakhar, (Sultan), 170.

Adam, K. Batanī or Patnī, s. Fatḥ K., 189, 191.

Do. Tājband, 13, appropriates Muni'm's property, 229, brings order from court, 479.

Do. s., 460, 468, 998.

Aden, Gulbadan Begum wrecked at, 570 and *n.*

Ādat Dās Kashmīrī, his death and character, 1015.

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Adham K., A.'s foster-b., death Bāqī, his elder brother, 655.

'Ādil Beg Kashmīrī, 944, 950, 953, disguised escapes to Deccan, 956.

Adilī, last Afghan king of Delhi, his son Hāshm killed, 143.

'Ādil K., of Bījāpur, ruler Deccan and husband Chānd Bībī, 296, his ambassador departs, 388, and *n.* 1, killed by eunuch, 440–41. Fatḥ Ullah invited by 'Ādil K., 578 and 593, 605, 891, 909, 1024, these last two entries and also the remaining references seem to refer to another 'Ādil Khān. See Persian Index, 556, p. 844, translation.

Afāq, diwāna, 189, 191, 461.

'Affat Bānū, d., Selim Sultan (Jahāngīr), born, 816, A. had rejoicings at her birth contrary to Indian usage, 816, death of, at age of, 3, 816 *n.*

Afghans, black-faced, 6, in eastern provinces, 27, 28, 34, 57, 97, 131, 140–41, 161, 169–70, great victory of Moẓaffar K. over Afghans, 197–99, oppress weak in Panjab, 357, 376, 516; 37 and *n.* 1, 697, 731, 734, 777, 780–84, 792, 809–11, 812, 855, 880, 928, 934–37, 940, 956, 968, 982–83, 1009, 1021, 1026–27, 1059, 1151, 1174, 1214–15, 1222, 1238.

Afrāsyāb, ancestor Seljūqs, 1016.

Do. s. Ḥakīm M. 713.

Afrīdīs, Afghan tribe, 781–82, 795, 810, 928, 983, 1051.

Agam or Agham (Sind) where Shāh Beg died, 929 and *n.* 3.

Aghā Mullā, 1165.

Aghuz K., ancestor Ottomans, s. Qarā K., 1017.

Agra, the Capital. Sulaimān's guns ordered sent there, 41, 101, A., leaves by water for eastern provinces, orders minarets put up at every kos from Agra to Ajmir, 156, appearance of spiders' webs in environs, 164, Ḥusain Tukriya dies at, 204, officers sent inspect treasuries, 287, Qāsim K. made prisoner, seditious character citizens, 327, capital in charge Ibrāhīm and others, 779, remissions of revenue, 812, again, 875, A.'s mother leaves for Fatḥpūr, 880–81, Rai Rai Dās put in charge Agra and three other provinces, 924, Kesū Dās made vizier, 1029, A. resolves return Agra, 1057, Qāẓī Nūr Ullah appointed enquire into tenures in Agra province, 1063.

There are 84 entries under Agra in the Persian index, but most of them are unimportant. Some relate to Fatḥpūr and some too, perhaps, to Aḥmadabad. A. F. does not really tell us much about the city. The P. index has it sometimes under title Dāru-l-khilāfat.

Ahadīs, a body of special servants. A thousand were assigned to Selīm (Jahāngīr). They were part of the 10,000 cavalry bestowed on him, but received their pay from imperial treasury. See p. 998 and *n.* 3. The h is properly the Arabic ḥ, and should have one dot under, it. But according to Badayūnī A. altered the ḥ into h. See B. 20, *n.* 1. See also Irvine's Army of the Moghuls, p. 43. At p. 219 of P.T. the word is spelt Aḥadī, and the expression *yakkah-tāzān* is used as an alternative. They are also styled there sawārān-i-

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khāṣa. I suspect that if A., changed the h, he did so on account of harshness of Arabic h, rather than from hatred to Arabic,

The Aḥmads.

Aḥmad 'Alī Atāliq, Turanian ambassador, 857, death of, 881, 885, 1052, 1057.

Do. Beg, Kabulī serv. M. Ḥakīm, 534, received by A., 717, accompanies Bīrbar, 770, 794–95, 809, 853, Kashmīr entrusted to, 1004, (he is B.'s No. 191).

Do. Mullā, of Tatta, author, his murder by Fūlād, 527–28.

Do. S., second s. Selīm of Fatḥpūr, 62, 127, death and character, 299.

Do. Sultan, eponymous founder Aḥmadābād, 305.

Do. Sultan, of Moghalistan, known as Ālanja K., s. Yūnas, 840, 843.

Do. Sultan, s. Ṭahmāsp, 899.

Do. s. Khudābanda, or of Shāh Ṭāhīr, 1028, 1046.

Do. Maulāna 'Ali, engraves seals A.'s ancestors, 1033.

Aḥmadābād, city Gujarāt, A. marches to, 9, arrives at, 11, extent of, 12, 'Azīz Koka made governor, 13, A. arrives at 72, victory at, after nine days' ride enters city, 88, 656, besieged by rebels, 302. Khān-khānān made governor, 779,

Aḥmadnagar, 108, 604–05, 740, 820, 891, 909, 1023–25, 1045–50, invested, defended by Chānd Bībī, 1046–48, 1142–44, fort taken, 115–759.

Aḥmadnagar, a place in Gujarāt, 14, note.

Āhnposh, fort, 1051, 1104, 1222.

Aḥrārī, Transoxiana saint (Khwāja Ubaidullah, 109).

Āhūbara, fort, Ahūbara in text but see translation, p. 1103 and *n.* 1 1148.

Aimāqs, the Uymāq of B., see his p. 371, *n.* 2, an Afghanistan and Central Asian tribe. See P.T. Index, p. 8. Aimāqs apparently of Mongol origin, pp. 218–19, of Turān, 666, 668 and *n.* 2, 670, 858, of Badakhshān, 874, 876, 'Abdu-l-Mumín's demand for, 885, of Badakhshān, 1080, 3000, Badakhshī Aimāqs under P. Daniel, 1184 and *n.* 2.

Ainu-l-Mulk, (ḥakīm) of Shīrāz, brings Abu Turāb to court, 9, 10, sent bring 'Itīmād, 9, 13, 15, 62, 123, 127 (where, however, the name is Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk, and seems to be different from Ainu-l-Mulk, see *n.* 1, p. 464, see also B. 480 and 543. Ḥakīmu-l-Mulk was of Gīlān, whereas Ainu-l-Mulk was of Shirāz) arrives from Deccan, 296, was a faujdār and strengthens Bareilly, 512, 513, 546, 566, caretaker of jewellery, 599, 701 (name omitted in translation), 779, where he is called bakhshī, and was in charge Agra, comes to do homage, but is at first not admitted, 886 sent meet M. Rustum, 993, death in Hindia, his good character, 1031.

Ājā, s. and heir Jām, 904.

Ajmīr, A. directs that P. Daniel be brought to him at Ajmīr from Amber, 49, prince brought there, 54, A. visits shrine at do. again,

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63, do., 91, 111-13, 155, *minārs* ordered at every two milés from Agra to Ajmīr, 150. A. arrives, goes last stage on foot, 233, Siwāna, a fort in province, taken, 237, A. leaves Ajmīr 3, April, 1576, do. returns there September, 259, Dastam K. made governor of, 295, A. visits, 298, again, 303, ascends Tāragarh, 305, arrives Ajmīr, 363, do., 405, P. Daniel sent there as A.'s representative, 462, Ġulbadan Begam arrives Ajmīr, 569, Ajmīr entrusted Jagannāth and Rai Durgā, 779, made over Nizāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 924, made over Bhārtī Chand as diwān, 1029, given in fief to Sharīf Āmūlī, 1112.

Ajmīrī, Saif K.'s war cry, 82 and *n.* 4.

Akbar, s. Humāyūn, emperor (1542-1605). Proper pronunciation is with an initial short u. In Persian Akbarnāma there is no entry in Index of A.'s name! neither under Akbar, nor 'Arsh Ash'iyanī, nor Jalālu-d-dīn, nor does the name appear in Persian Index to vol. I or II. Nor does it appear in Ayīn Akbarī P. indices as these are confined to geographical names. Praises of, 2-5, second cycle (*qarn* =30 lunar years) of life begins middle of 17th year of reign, 5, orders Munīm K. to conquer Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, 6, decides to march Gujarāt, arrives Sirohī (Rājputāna), 7, at Dīsa (Deisa of I. G.), 8, Pattan (Nahr wāla), 8, here interviews Mīrzā K. s. Bairām and questions him about father's murder, interviews 'Itimād K. and other Gujarātī officers, 10 rioters plunder Gujarātī camp, 11, at Ahmadābād, 11, at Cambay and meets merchants, 13, sea-excursion, 14, marches against Mīrzās, 15, Baroda, 16, rapid march after leaving children in camp, 17, omen from capture of deer, 18, Sarnāl battle, 19-20, resolves take Surat, 24, and arrives there, 25, at Gopī tank, 26, Bengal affairs, 28-31, Moẓaffar's arrival Surat, 36, Portuguese Christians arrive from Goa, 37, 38, Surat taken, 39-40, Sulaiman's cannon removed, 41, A. injures his hand, 43-44, Surat fort made over Qulīj K., 44, proceeds Aḥmadābād and arrives Broach, where Jujhār K. (Abyssinian) put to death for murdering Cingīz K., 46; 18th year begins, 45, arrives Aḥmadābād, 46, arrives Fatḥpūr Sīkrī and has interview with A. F.'s father, 55-56, undertakes conquest Bihar and Bengal, 57, officers sent off, 57-58, second expedition Gujarāt, 59, sets off on camel, 62, Ajmīr, 63, Jotāna or Cotāna, 67, list of companions, 69, Rūpsī's misconduct, 70, Aḥmadābād, 72, nine days' ride, 73, his remarks, 75, war-cries, 79, victory over Muḥ. Ḥusain, 74-87, A.'s remark to Saif's mother, 83, kills Shāh Madad with own hand, 84, puts Muḥ. Ḥusain to death, 86-87, Fatḥpūr, 90-92, branding regulation, 94-95, pays officers' debts, 100, A.'s opinion about circumcision, circumcision of his three sons, 102-03, criticises preacher's remark about Prophet's parents, 102, A. weighed, 103-04, Selīm sent school, 105-06, Hājī B. arrives, A.'s story about her affection for A., 107-08, honours Khwā-

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ja Shahīd, 109; 19th year begins, 112, sends for soothsayer who produces encouraging verse, 131, camp rosses Karamnāsa r., 133, nearing Patna, 135, Dāūd's ambassador, his interview, A. proposes to Dāūd that they should fight a duel! 136, A. goes see Panchpahārī mounds, 137, Ḥājīpūr taken, 137–39, taking of Patna, etc., 140–44, at Jaunpūr, 145–47, list of officers sent Bengal, 145, A.'s views about praying for rain, 148, A. orders pillars (minārs) to be put up at every *kos* from Agra to Ajmīr, 156, building of hall of worship ('ibādatkhāna) at Fatḥpūr, 157 and 364, A. F. does homage and performs prostration, 160–62, Branding regulation, 165, investigation of land tenures and establishment of Record-office, 166–67, A. marries 'Arab Shāh's d., 167; 20th year begins, 181, submission of Dāūd, 183, imperial ladies depart Mecca, 203, Mīrza Sulaimān of Badakhshān comes court, 211, goes Mecca, 231, A. proceeds Ajmīr, 232, his opinion about pilgrimages, 233, walks last stage to Ajmīr, 233; 21st year begins, 235, leaves Ajmīr 3 April, 1576, 237, war against Rānā Partāb Singh of Udaipūr, 236–47, Bengal expedition, 248, visits Ajmīr, 259, A. abandons design of going on pilgrimage, and appoints a Mīr Ḥāj, 271, Manṣūr Shīrāzī made vizier, 273; 22nd year begins, 283, A.'s d. dies, 283, ambassador 'Abdullah king of Tūrān arrives, 296, A. visits Ajmīr in 1577, and cures leopard-keeper of his eyes by breathing upon him, 298, visits Tārāghar, 305, Abu Turāb made leader of pilgrims do., Shahābu-d-dīn made governor Gujarāt, 306, A.'s kindness to animals, 307, Panjab expedition, 310, mint arrangements, order for coining square rupees, 321, visits Narnaul saint do. and *n.* 3; 23rd year begins, 337, A.'s horse stumbles, reflections thereon, 338–39, grand hunt, followed by A.'s religious absorption, 345–48, mother's anxiety, 348, Portuguese official and wife arrive from Bengal, 349–50 and *n.* 1, A.'s keenness in inquiry, 351, fills Anuptalāo tank with money, 354, (opening of it, 374), Muḥibb 'Alī governor Delhi, 357, A. visits Ajmīr, 361, 'Ibādatkhāna meetings. 364–372, speaks[1] to learned Christians about reverence to women being part of their religion, 372, A.'s division of his time, 372–73, directs examination of treasuries, 373–74 (see also 286), death of Khān Jahān, 381, builds poor houses in capital, they were serais, 381, appointment of a Mīr Ḥāj (pilgrim leader), and gifts to Mecca, 383; 24th year begins, 385 Moẓaffar appointed Bengal, 386, 'Azīz Koka offended and retires, 387, Sultan Murād put to school, 388, A.'s spiritual supremacy, 390, enters pulpit, 395, A. misunderstood, 396–400, last visit Ajmīr, 402, tiger reverences A.'s name,

[1] But according to B.M. MS. Add. 27247 it was Abdūl Ḥai the Armenian who said this.

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404, A.'s piety, 406–07, and *n.* 2, war upon Feringhīs (Portuguese), 409, holy stone, 410–12, creation twelve provinces, 413, ten years' settlements, 413–14, Bihar rebellion, 415–22, Bengal do., 426–35 and 441–47; 25th year begins, remission taxes, 437, P. Daniel sent Ajmīr, 462, defeat of rebels in Bengal and Bihar, 467–81, A.'s physical strength, 481–82, special attention to Divine matters, and imitates Moghul calendar of good deeds, 488–90, expedition against Ḥakīm M. (his half-brother), 492, visits saint at Thānesar, 500, hangs innocent Shāh Manṣūr, 501–05, encamps Sirhind, 509; 26th year, 510, visits Nagarkote, 511, visits shrine Bālnāth, 513, banks of Indus, 516, accepts disciple, 520, founding of Attock do., at Gorkhāttrī in Peshawar accompanied by A. F. he advances as far as secret chamber, 528, march Kabul, 529–40, return India, 541, after visiting Bābur's tomb, 542, Ḥakīm M. was forgiven, but never waited on Akbar, 542, being prevented by fear or illness, Maṣūm Farankhūdī pardoned, 540, Indus bridged by Qāsim K., 545, qāẓīs appointed in cities, 546, reaches Delhi and visits father's tomb, 547, arrives Fatḥpūr, 548, punishes Shāhbāz K., 550 (he had lately been permitted to pay his respects, 546), death Ḥājī B., 551, makes many thousand disciples (chelās), 558, Maṣūm Farankhūdī's bad behaviour, 553, suggestions of officers, 559–61, collectors appointed, 561, return Gulbadan B., 569, arrival and deaths 'Abdu-n-nabī and 'Abdullah Sultanpūrī, 571–72, assassination of Maṣūm Farankhūdī, 576–77 and *n.* 1, execution of Jalābī, 577 and *nn.* 1 and 2, Fatḥ Ullah of Shīrāz sent for, 578, (arrives, 593), bursting of tank on A.'s birthday, 578–80, building of dumb house (*gang maḥal*), 581–82, M. K. made guardian Sultan Selīm, A.'s illness, 583–84, Greek medicine adopted for A., 584, Shahbāz released, 584–85, overseers appointed, 585, marriage-directors appointed, 585–86, visits Bīrbar, 587; 28th year, conquest of Bengal, 589, d. Mota Rajah saved by A. from satī, 594–96, official appointments, 598–600, Barhān-ul-Mulk comes court, 603 and *n.*, Gujarāt affairs, 607–13, marches to found Allahabad, 166–17, A.'s mother joins him, 618, embankment made on Ganges, Gujarāt affairs, 626–43; 29th year; the Bāra Bhuīāhs of Bengal, 648 and *n.* 2, Dacca affairs, 648–51, Badakhshān troubles, 652, Orissa, 653, A. saves Bīrbar's life, 654, Gujarātī affairs, 656–57, fighting in Bengal on Brahmaputra, 658–59, Arām Bānū Begum's birth, 661 and *n.* 1, Shāhrukh arrives and account of him, 662–72, conquest of Bhātī district, Bengal, 673, Selīm's marriage with Rajah Bhagwān's d., 677–78, Moẓaffar Gujarātī's defeat, 679–84; 30th year, 685, settlements, Fatḥ Ullah Amīnu-l-mulk's paper, 687–93, Bengal entrusted Ṣādiq K. 695, 'Isā K.'s submission, 697–98, revenue remissions, 699, Panjab expedition, 702, death M. Ḥakīm, 703–04, 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān of Luck-

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now's madness, 708, A.'s mother arrives, 709, army for conquest Kashmīr, 715, A. arrives Attock, 717, pacification Bengal, 721–22, Yūsuf ruler Kashmīr comes court, 722–23, quarrel between Zain K. and Bīrbar, and great disaster, 727–32; 31st year, 738, A. spends three months, 12 days, in Attock, 744, A. arrives Lahore from Attock, 27 May, 1586, and resolves to make some stay there, 748, remission revenue, 749, Qāsim k. sent conquer Kashmīr, 752–53, A.'s letter to 'Abdullah K. of Tūrān, 754–61, great flood at Sirhind, 761, conquest of Kashmīr, 762–68, Kashmīr affairs, 769 et seq., legend, 771–74, M. Sulaimān's return, 785; 32nd year, 789, Afghanistan put again in charge Zain K., 790, Sultan Murād's marriage, 791, Kabul Road made peaceable, 792, Todar Mal wounded, 792–93, defeat Tārīkīs, 794–96, Yūsuf K. given charge Kashmīr, 796, Yūsufzais punished, many sold as slaves, 800, Yūsuf ruler Kashmīr sent Bihar, 801, murder Mullā Aḥmad, 803–5; 33rd year begins, 806, P. Daniel's marriage with Sultan Khwāja's d. do., the gaz Ilāhī or imperial yard introduced, 806–07 and *n.* 1, A. bitten by wolf near Lahore, 807, conquest of Swāt, 310, remission revenue, 812, a brahman allowed retire from society, A.'s and A. F.'s reflections, 814–15; 34th year begins, 816, the d. Sāid K. had a d. by Selīm S., and A. gave the child the name of 'Affat Bānu; she only lived three years; A. F. notes (p. 816) that contrary to custom the birth was made an occasion of rejoicing, Miyān Tānsen dies to great grief of A. do., A. goes Kashmīr, 817 (and arrives Srīnagar, 827), misconduct of P. Royal, 824–25, remarkable shaking tree, 825 and *nn.* 2 and 3, description of Srīnagar, 827–28, account of rīshī do. and *n.* 5, A. visits Shihābu-d-dīnpūr, imperial lādies arrive, 829, A. makes assessment Kashmīr, 829–32, 835, A. makes long boat excursion up the Jhelam to near fountain head of river and then goes Srīnagar, Ambassadors sent Ladākh and Bāltistan, 838, Polo ground, 836, ambassador sent Tibet. A.'s illness, 838, returns from Kashmīr, visits the dying Muḥibb 'Alī Rohtāsī, 840, account Dughlat family and other descendants Chingiz K., 840–42 expedition Afghanistan, visits tombs at Kabul, 858, birth Sultan Parvīz, 859, Miriam M. arrives do., A. returns from Kabul, 861, death of Todar Mal, 861–62, ice on ground, 862, K. K. presents translation Bābar's Memoirs, 862 and *n.* 4 (about 24 November, 1589), hunting, 863–64, A. hurt by fall from horse while hunting hyena, 866, visits Abu-l-fatḥ's grave at Ḥasan Abdāl, 868, visits Rohtās, 869, fall from elephant, 869–70, and 874, verse on the subject, an elephant indicates that his mahout had told a fib, 870; 35th year begins, 871, A. enters Lahore do., Padre Firmilīūn comes from Goa, 873 and 874 and *n.* 1. Presumably real name Leon Grimon. Remission revenue, 875, 'Abdu-l-Mumin's envoy drowned Jhelum, 876,

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rain falls at A.'s prayer, 876–7, eclipse sun, 877–78, rain again falls at A.'s prayer, 877, A.'s mother goes Fatḥpūr, 880–81. A. quotes Ḥāfiẓ about two ecclesiastics drinking, 881, story about Miriam Makānī and needle-marks on A.'s foot. Turānian ambassador arrives, 885, Shahbāz imprisoned, 885, A. saves pigeon, 886; 36th year 889, Persian ambassador arrives, 893, A.'s mother comes from Agra, 901, Sharīf 'Amulī gets four great offices, 916, A. arrives Lahore, 917, battle with M. Jānī and the Sindhians, 917 (and 929), birth Shāh Jahān, 921, capture Umarkot, 924, prayer causes rain, 925; 37th year. 927, conquest Orissa, 933, Jānī Beg makes peace, 938, epidemic illness, 939, old epidemic in Cingiz K.'s time cured by henna, 939–40, Orissa rebels submit, 940, A. proceeds Kashmīr, 942–43, disturbances there, 944–46, Yādgār seditions, 945, Qāẓī 'Alī killed, 946, conquest of Jūnagarh and province of Sorath, 948, end of rebellion, 950, Yādgār put to death, 953, many victories, 955, A. in Srīnagar, 956, visits saffron fields, 957–58, A. returns India, 959, at Wular Lake, 960, end of Moẓaffar Gujarātī's career, 962–65, return Lahore, 966, A.'s escape from accident, 967; 38th year begins, 971, Moghul regulations, 974, Mīrzā Koka sails to Mecca, 979–82, Shahbāz released, 985, danger of P. Daniel, 994, 115 Kashmīrī porters lost in snow, 997; 39th year begins, 998, A. enters subaqueous chamber, 1000, arrangements about coinage, 1001, ship built on Rāvī do., M. Koka returns Gujarāt, 1004, death of Niẓāmu-d-dīn, historian, 1005, M. Koka's audience, 1006, letter to king of Persia, 1008–14; 40th year begins, 1023, arrival of caravan from Goa, several Christian fathers in it 1027, twelve diwāns appointed 1029, trial by ordeal, 1032, new seal made, 1033, death of Faiẓī, 1034–40, A. visits F. on his death-bed, 1036–38; 41st year begins A.H. Rajab 1004 (March 1596), 1049, letter to 'Abdullah K. of Tūrān, 1053–58. Selīm married Zain K.'s d. 1058–59, A. succeeds in stopping rain, 1060, gets rain to fall, 1061, decendants of Ḥāfiẓ appear do. and furnish an omen. A. informed by a deer do. and, 1062, P. Daniel's mother dies, 1063, 'Isas' defeat, 1063. Famine, 1063–64, ship built, 1066. Account Kuch Bihar, 1067–68 and 1081, Shahrukh's rank increased, 1069, A. makes fresh divisons of his time, 1019, death of Rāna Kīka do. Deccan victory, 1070.

Forty-second year of reign begins, 1074 deaths of Mān Singh's s. and of Ṣādiq K. do.; great fire in Palace, 1075 and *nn.* Mau taken, 1084; famine in Kashmīr, 1087; ambassadors sent Tibet, 1091, A. returns from Kashmīr, 1095, death of Rustum s. P. Murād, 1096–97, death of 'Abdullah ruler Turān; 43rd year begins, 1102, A. F.'s experiences, 1104, death of Shāh Muḥ. of Shahabad author, 1110, arrival Persian ambassadors with costly carpets, A. at, 1113. A.'s expedition Deccan, 1115, death of Māh

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Bānū, 1117 and 1120, A. visits father's tomb, 1118; 44th year, 1121, P. Daniel arrives, 1122, Nāsik taken, 1123. A. F.'s interview with Bahadur of Khandesh, 1123, death of P. Murād, 1125-27, Ma'ṣūm Kabuli's, 1130, d. of one of A.'s wives, 1130-31, Daniel sent Deccan, 1132, death 'Isā K., 1140, death Shahbāz K., 11-42, A. F. and Chānd Bībī, 1142-43, A.'s illness, 1144-45, A. swims in Narbada v., 1147; 45th year, 1148-49, A. sees A. F., charge Khāndesh made over A. F., 1150, Bengal disturbances, 1151, one Ibrāhīm executed, 1152, death Jijī Anagea, 1153, 'Ambar Ḥabshī defeated do. A. F. promoted do., death Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī, 1154, Jahāngīr's misconduct, 1155, *n.* about Anarkalī's death do, Ahmadnagar taken, 1157, Chānd B. killed at, 1158. Jalāla T.'s death. 1160, Asīr taken, 1163-71, death Janī Beg, 1171, Bahādur sent Gwaliyar, 1176; 46th year, 1177, A. returns Agra, 1183, Badakhshan annexed, 1187, A. F.'s history ends with 46th year, 1201, Note.

Forty-seventh year, 1206, Jahangīr turns back at Etawah, 1210 and *n.* 2, 'Ambar Jeo's defeat, 1212, taking of Jammū, 1213, Bengal successes do. A. F. murdered, 1216-23, see 1220 *n.* 47th year, 1228, 47th is a mistake for 48th, troubles about P. Daniel, 1228, Bengal occurrences, 1231, Jahangīr's misconduct, 1233, Bengal successes, 1235.

Forty-ninth year begins, 1238, suicide of Sultan Khasru's mother, 1239, P. Daniel's marriage do. A. sets out for Allahabad, but returns, 1242. Death of Miriam Makānī, 1245, Selim returns to his father, 1247, put under arrest, 1248, promotions of officers, 1249, Kashmīr troubles, 1230, letter from Shah 'Abbās's aunt written to Mīriam Makānī, 1251, 50th year begins, 1252, P. Daniel's death, 1254, his widow's sorrow, 1255, death Sakīna Banu half-sister of A., 1256. Akbar's death, 1258, on 15th October, 1605 (1014 A.H.) Burial at Sikandra, 1262, cf. B 212 and *n.* 2, and Jahangīr's Memoirs translation, p. 101, also pp. 71-72.

Akbarābād, another name for Agra; see Agra.

Akbarnagar, near Rājmaḥal, founded, 1042-43.

Akbarpūr, d. Faiẓabād, t. Oude, 487 and *n.* 3.

Do. a place in Central India, the residence of Bīrbar, 617.

Akhsī (T.), town Farghāna, evidently its capital 1108.

Akmaḥal (Rājmaḥal) in Bengal, 230 and *n.* 2, 238, 250, 1042.

Akrambal, Kashmīr, 763, 766.

'Ālam K., the Khān 'Ālam of B., p. 378, see Calma Beg.

Do. Sultan, s. P. Murād and 'Azīz Koka's d., 881.

'Ālam Khwāja, eunuch, killed by wrestler, 514-15.

Alāman, s. Humayūn and Ḥājī B., 107.

Alanj, fountain Kashmīr (the Achiaval of Bernier), 837-38.

'Alāu-d-dīn, collec or, put to death, 387.

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The 'Alī.

'Alī (ḥakīm) sent Bījāpūr, 388, 808.

Do. Aḥmad (Maulānā) makes seals bearing names of A.'s ancestors, 1033.

Do. Akbar (Mīr) younger b. Mūzi-zu-l-mulk, 194, sent in chains fort Zamāniya and imprisoned, 455.

Do. Beg Akbarshāhī, 1050, 1059 1065, 1070, 1081, 1103, 1110 1120, 1137, 1157, 1177, 1195 1199, 1231, see B., p. 482, and also Jahangīr's Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 334.

Do. Akbarshāhī, died on, 1616, in his 76th year.

Do. Alamshāhī (Mīr) imprisoned, 441 and *n.* 3.

Do. Arlat, 446.

Do. Bakhshī (Qāẓī) appointed Panjab, 546 and *n.*

Do. Beg, cousin Ṣādiq, killed, 574.

Do. Dost, joins expedition against Khāndesh, 279, shares charge of army, 599, accompanies Shāhrukh M. to Mālwa (see P.T., 644, name not in translation, 991).

Do. K., father Yūsuf Cak, ruler Kashmīr, not obedient, so advisers sent him, 356, killed at Polo, 408, 847.

Do. K., (Rajah) brother of ruler Khāndesh, summoned to court, 42 and 44, returns to Khāndesh, 48, his falling away, 279–80, seizes Moẓaffar Ḥusain, 330, Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī sent guide him, 701, against imperialists, 740, ordered help Burhāna-l-mulk, 821, Burhāna goes to him, 891, Faiẓī sent to 909, 915, Rajah 'Alī sends d. to court, 982, her marriage, 990. Rajah 'Alī becomes loyal, 1042, 1045–6, 1047, 1052, battle of Ashtī in which Rajah 'Alī was killed, 1070–72.

Alī K. (Mīrzāda), 64, 123, 147, 189, 191, 251, does homage and presents 65 elephants, 277, sent Chitor, 381, 454, 590–91, 660, 674, 676, sent Kashmīr to atone for past conduct, 788 killed in battle, 797 and *n.* 1.

Do. Mardān Bahādur, 887, 920, 972 (718, P.T. not in translation), 1070.

Do. Masjīd, fort in Afghanistan, 670, 734, 782–3.

Do. Muḥammad Asp, servant M. Ḥakīm, 534, 537, good behaviour of, 538, 542, 713.

Do. Murād, put to death, 535.

Do. killed by his servant, 780.

Do. Naqīb K. (Mīr Ghiaṣṣu-d-dīn), 49, 69, 88, at Maner, 132, accidentally kills b. at polo, 242–43, 269, 306, receives title Naqīb K., 529.

Do. Qulī, related to Shāh Qulī Maḥram, takes part in attack on Candar Sen, 224, returns to loyalty and joins Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī, 461, sent Deccan, 701, at Aḥmadnagar, 1070.

Do. Rai, ruler Little Tibet (Baltistān), ambassador sent to, 838, sends his d. to court, 921.

Alī Rīnā, 877.

Do. Sher Mākrī, of Kashmīr, 763–64, 815, 1002.

Do. Sultan, s. P. Murād and M. Koka's d., birth, 881.

Allah Baqā, A. encamps at, 865.

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Allahābād (Ilahābās), 124, 422, 481, 590, founding of, old name Prayāg, 616 and *n.* 1, 622, 624, 625, 655, remission of revenues in, 699 and 779, province made over to Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad do., remission of revenue, 875, province entrusted to Rai Rām Dās, 924, Ḥusain Beg appointed to, 1029, P. Daniel sent to, 1077, 1114, 1121, 1155, 1210, 1233–34, 1242.

Allah Bardī, Ṣādiq's agent, put to death, 818–19 and *n.* 9.

'Amalguzārān (collectors) appointed, 561–62.

Amarkot, see Umarkot.

Amasia, town, Asia Minor, birthplace of Strabo, 1017 and *n.* 2.

Ambarīlī, town in Kāthīwār, 709 and *n.* 2.

Ambar Jīū, Abyssinian, 1153, 1178, 1185, 1194–96, 1209, 1212, defeat by 'Irij, 1223, 1229.

Amber, ancient town Jaipur, 49, 54 (omitted in translation), A. encamps at and mounts violent elephant, 310, do. Madhū s. Bhagwān Dās sent there to bring away Daniel 49. [1080.

Amīnābād or Amnabād, 818, 870,

Amīn K. Ghorī, s. Tātār K. ruler Jūnagarh, 12, 576, 682, 709–10, 809, 902, 910, 948, Arghūns defeated, 917, 972, 976, 979, 986.

Amrān, village Gujarāt, 963 and *n.* 2.

Amū (the Oxus, 662).

Anat Ilāīl, ancient ruler Kashmīr, 771 and *n.* 1.

Andarāb Transoxiana, 218, 666.

Andarkūl, Kashmīr, where M. Ḥaidar lived, 959–60.

Angora, scene of battle between, Timur and Bayazīd Ildarīm, 1017.

Ạntrī, in Gwalior (where A. F. buried).

Anūp tank, Fatḥpūr, filled with money, 354, treasure opened, 374.

Āqā Jān (Khwāja), sent to M. Ḥakīm with Indian rarities, 221.

Aqserai, Kabul, 533, 872 (and P.T. 734).

Arab Bahādur, s. Hāshim K., enters service and receives title Niyābat K., 133–34, 169, does good service, 189, 190, 191, 193, 195, 263, jagīrdār of Sasseram and a rebel, 418–19, 421–22, 429, 450, 452, 461, 470, 472, 475, his brutality, 475, 476, 480–81, 485, 496–97, 498, 511, 587, 605–6, his death, 745–46.

Arabs, desert-dwelling, 863, and *n* 4. 938.

Arāīl, 481–82, 576, 682, 709–10, 809.

Ārash, famous archer of antiquity, 67.

Arb'aīnhā, Fasting for forty days. See P. 310 and translation, 457, cf. Sūfīāna in B., pp. 57 and 61, and Lucknow edition N. third Vol. p. 173, *n.* 8.

Ardabīlī Mīr Ārif does homage, 847, son-in-law to 'Alī K. ruler Kashmīr, goes Tibet where 'Alī Rāi gives him his sister in marriage, joins A. and is well received, 847 and *n.* 3, given money for indigents in Tibet, 850.

'Ardabīlī S. Ṣafī, 894, 895.

Ārif, and account of Ṣafavī dynasty.

Do. s. Sharīf, his and brother's disloyalty, 292, killed by his women in Agra, 881.

Armenians, come court, 874.

Arrah, town, 240, 419, 420.

Arzāna, plain Afghanistan, 863–64.

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Asad K., Turkaman, helps to drown Mullahs, 455 and *n.* 3.

Aṣaf K., No. 1, servant Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, 409.

Do. No. 2, of Badayūnī and Blochmann, see p. 433, of latter and his Index, p. 625, was the official title of Khwāja Mīrzā Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī of Qazwīn in Persia, and s. Agha Mullā dawatdār (inkstand-holder). Notices of all the three Aṣafs will be found in the Maaṣiru-l-umarā, pp. 77, 90 and 107, of Vol. I. See also Badayūnī III. Ghīāṣu-d-dīn accompanied Akbar to Gujarāt, p. 16, where he is wrongly called Isfahānī, 17, 66, 68–9, sent to bring Pattan army, 66, sent Aḥmadābād, 68, made Bakhshī of Gujarāt and given title of Aṣaf K., 90, reports conquest of country, 94, made one of the head officers (*'āmil*) of crown-lands, 167, with Mān Singh against Rānā Chitor, 237, at Goganda, 244, sent Īdar, 269 and 281, said to have been made mint-master at Patna, 321 and *n.* 4, but this may be his nephew J'aafir. He and his brother's s. do. homage, 323, censured for slackness, 358, ordered carry out branding regulations in Mālwa, 383, and to improve discipline in Gujarāt. He died, 989, A.H. (1581), so subsequent entries in Persian text index refer not to him, but to his nephew J'aafir, or to Ghīāṣu-d-dīn Naqīb K. of Qazwīn.

Aṣaf K., No. 3, He was Mīrzā Qīwāmu-d-dīn J'aafir Beg, and s. Badiu-z-zamān of Qazwīn. (See Blochmann, p. 411, No. 98). He was the most distinguished of the three Aṣafs. Ordered join army, 701, accompanies P. Murād to welcome Sulaimān Badakhshī, 786, sent Afghanistan, 803, investigates assassination of Mullā Aḥmad, 804, in Swāt, 810, Kashmīr, 829, before Akbar, 839, on duty at Chenāb, 921, 928, Afghanistān, 982, 987, 993, sent Kashmīr on fiscal duty, 1004, arrives Lahore from Kashmīr in three days, 1004, goes Pathānkot, 1060, died, 1021, A.H. (1612). There is much about J'aafir Beg in Badayūnī's Mantakhab III, 2 and 6, Bib. Ind. ed. See also Blochmann's Ayīn, pp. 572–74 and notes.

Asā Rāwal, Rājput, defeated, 281.

Ashraf K., Mīr Munshī, a famous calligrapher, 57, 99, 135, sent to Bengal, 145, 175, brings Daniel to Munīm, 185, death at Gaur, 227 and *n.* 1.

Do. s. 'Abdul-Barī Naqsh-

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bandī, 1052 (P.T. 739, 744), Khwāja, goes on pilgrimage, 272, sent away by Mīrzā Koka, 979, sent with presents to Tīmūr, 1052, 1103· dies, 1111.

Ashti, battle of, 1070–72.

Ashraq (Gujarātī) or Mashriq, received by A., 10 and *n.* 2, acts as guide, 18, made governor Thanesar, 201.

Asīrgar, fort in Khāndesh (P.T. 752).

'Askarī, Mīrzā, s. B. his wife Sultan B., 206.

Askaran (Rajah) uncle Bhagwān Dās, 295, 422, 453, 518, in charge of deceased persons' property, 599, promoted, 687, 701, in Afghanistan, 716, 77, Agra made over to him and S. Ibrahīm, 779, 803. death of son, 925 1232.

Assam, 649, 1067.

Atāliq (tutor or guardian) Quṭbu-d-dīn made formerly, 583, now M. K., s. Bairām, appointed do.

Attock, here called Attock Benares, founded by A., 520–21, 717, A. spends 3 months, 12 days at, 744. 748, 853, bridge made below, 855, 857, Narain Miṣr dies at, 866, two famous doctors died at this time, and experts, in explaining omens, rejoiced, saying it showed that A. would not again need doctors, 966, But all lament for their death p. 1259.

Aẕdu-d-daula (arm of the State) title of Fatḥ Ullah Shirāzī; comes from Gujarāt and does homage, 789, 807, inquires into case of Allah Bardī, 818, death, 848, Faiẓi writes elegy on, 852. See Fatḥ Ullah.

'Azīz Kokaltāsh (Mīrzā) Khān A'ẓim, A.'s foster-brother and s. Shamsu-d-dīn Khān 'Aẓim and Jī Jī Anaga who was A.'s nurse. 'Azīz was somewhat younger than Akbar, and was probably born late in 1542 or early in 1543. Aḥmadābād made over to, 13, 15, 25, Pattan victory, 32, 37, Īdar, 59, enters Aḥmadābād, 60, A.'s fondness for him, 61, joins A., 74, 76, 82, A. embraces him, 88, joins A., 110–11, 121, comes from Gujarāt and received with favour, 155, decline in favour from objecting to branding-regulations, 208–9, retirement, 235 and 361, sent for but does not come, 361–2. In Gujarāt puts servant to death for torturing a collector, bribes servant's father, and retires from office, 387 and *n.* 2, forgiven, given title Khān A'ẓim, and promoted, 5000 rank, 454, sends Mīr 'Alī Akbar to court in chains, 455, quarrel with Shāhbāz, 474, 477, 485, in Ḥājīpūr helps defeat Bahādur, 549–50, arrives from Bihar and well-received, 555, opinion about death-penalty, 559, sent subdue Bengal, 567, comes court for New Year festivities, 576, at Jaunpūr, 586, proceeds Garhī, 589–90, tries suppress Qatlū, 600, wishes leave Bengal do., 605, comes Allahābād, 625, gets fief, 629, does homage, 644, sent Mālwa, 655, sent Deccan, 701, 739, goes Gujarāt, 742, 779, d. married to P. Murād, 791, mother of Sultan Rustum, 807, ordered help Burhānū-l-Mulk, 821,

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859, given Gujarāt, 865, Aḥmadābād, 877, 886, sends presents, 889, victory, 902 and 906, 910, 915, takes Jūnāgarh and sixteen seaports, one apparently being Pūrbandar, see *n.* 3, captures Moẓaffar Gujarātī, 962–64, departs Mecca, 979, sailing from Balāwal; 38th year of reign, not 39th as stated in Maaṣir U. and in B. The date is 25 March, 1593, or 15 Farwardīn of Ilahī year 1002 and 1 Rajab, 1001 A.H., as far as I can make out. Badayūnī's chronogram yields, 1002, but he admits this is a year too much, and that proper date is, 1001. See Lowe's translation, 401 and *n.* 2. 'Azīz returned Balāwal in beginning, 1003, A.H., that is in August or September, 1594, so that he seems to have been absent from India about eighteen months. In 24 days he arrived at court from Balāwal, p. 1006. News of return reached court on 30th Shahriyār, 1003, p. 1004. It would seem that he must have been in Mecca for over a twelve month. The last sentence of the note, p. 981, of translation is not correct. Apparently he did not come to court till November 1594. His mother took the sin of his conduct on herself, 981. 'Azīz has an audience, 1006, made Vakīl, 1026, meets Shāh Beg, 1030, seal made over to, 1033, Multan given in fief to, 1068, his dream, 1074, death of sister, 1119, 1149, death of mother, 1153, takes her body Delhi, 1161, 1166, 1170, sons promoted, 1208, d. married P. Khusrū, 1211, his own rank increased to 7000, do., 1224, 1236, 1245, Bihar assigned to, 1257.

Ayūb (Job) family, 1019.

B

Bābā 'Alī, Yusafzai leader, 984.

Bābā Dost, sent Bengal, 209, 450, reports, 476.

Do. K. Qāqshāl, 19, 30, 39, sent conquer Bengal, 145, sent Ghorāghāt, 169, in battle, 252–3, 386, discontented and rebellious 429–30, joins Bihar rebels, 443, made K. K. by rebels, 440, 451, has cancer and dies 469–70 and *n.* 1, 590.

Do. Khalīl, Kashmīrī, 787, 798.

Do. Khwāja, 962, accompanies M. Koka, Mecca, 981.

Bābar Mankalī, his negligence, 116, 169, 186, rebel, 460, 490, 593, 619, loyal, 676, 698, 879, 935–6, 940, 941.

Bābar Pādshah, Gulnār Āghā, one of his wives, 206, 211, his tomb visited by A. 542 and 858, Sultan S'aīd his servant, 843, his Memoirs, 862, battle with Shāh Beg, 976.

Bābarpur, t. Etawah, 883.

Badakhshān, province Afghanistan, 211, 222, 229, 231, 388, 423–25, 492, 617, 652–53, 662, 672, 785, 885.

Bādalghara, A. weighed at, 916.

Bādāmcasma, fountain Afghanistan, 534, 792.

Badar or Bidār, younger s. Sher K. Fūlādī, 8, 33.

Badayūnī historian, 5 *n.* 1 and at Goganda, 247.

Badī Cand, s. Jai Cand, 51.

Bāgh Dilgashā, 509, perhaps gardens of Ḥāfiẓ Rakhnah, see *n* 1.

Do. Fatḥ, 973.

Do. Mahdī Qāsim, near Lahore, 508.

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Bāgh Ṣafa, near Jalālābād, 529, 864 and *n.* 1, apparently now called Bāgh Nīmla.
Do. Ilāhī, Kashmīr, 946.
Do. Kashmīr, 845. [858.
Do. Muḥ. Ḥusain, near Kābul city,
Bagla or Bakla, tract in, d. Bakarganj, 169, and *n.* 3.
Bāglāna (Bāglān), tract in Nāsik, Bombay, 41, described 43, 605, 657, 808–9.
Bahādur K., of Tarbat, fells Rajput assassin, 7.
Bahārjī, ruler Bāglānā, comes court, 41–42.
Bhāwal Anaga, d. Jogā Parhār, in Humāyun's harem, wife Jalāl Goinda, first wet-nurse for Akbar' death, 1109 and *n.* 2.
Bairām K. K., his martyrdom, 9 and *n.* 1, 202.
Bajaur, N.-W. Frontier Province, 166, 715, 720, 726, 734, 748, Zain K. sent to 802, 810, 812, 937, 956-57, 982, 1010, 1055.
Bajraspur, *t.* E. Bengal, 650 and *n.* 2. Not identified. Perhaps it is in Dacca or Maimansingh, d.
Bajūna or Bacūna, town 16 miles from Fatḥpur Sīkrī, 54 and *n.* 2, triumphant march from to capital, 91.
Bakar, on border Ajmīr, 91 and *n.* 1.
Bakht Nisā Begam, M. Ḥakīm's sister, and wife Kh. Naqshbandī, 518, 713 and *n.* 1.
Baksar, 883, apparently should be Bakar.
Baksar, Buxar of I. G., 422.
Balandarī, Pass in Swād, see J. II. 391, 730.
Bālapur, in Berar, 1052 and *n.* 1.
Balarām, nephew Bhagwān Das, killed 924,
Balāwal, Verāval of I. G. XXIV. 308, port in Jūnagarh State, 'Azīz Koka embarks at, 980 and *n.* 6, lands there, 1006.
Balbhadr, brahman, 42.
Balghatta, city in Chota Nāgpur, plundered by Yār Muḥ. Arghūn, 171.
Balkh, 216, 335, 721, gates kept shut, 755.
Bālnāth, hill (Tilla), jogīs' hermitage near Rohtās, 513–14, A. visits, 513 and 709.
Bālsundar, elephant, account of 123–24, A. rides him, 141 and 268.
Baluchistan, wilderness of Balucīs, 335, 346, A.'s story about one, 378, in audience, 739, 887, 994.
Bāmīān, fort in Afghanistan, 840, last line.
Bāmrī, 308–9, in Jodhpur Rajputana, Mirta is the Merta of I. G. Perhaps, suggestion that the place is Barmer is right, *see* 308, *n.* 1. Barmer is in Mallānī, d. of Jodhpur. Proper head of chapter, p. 308, is "concerning the ranks (or dignities) of the princes." Persian word used is *tarbīyāt*, but perhaps this is a mistake for *tartīb*.
Bandar Laharī, decayed seaport near Karachi, 972–3.
Bāndhū, fort, 977, 1059, other references in P.T.
Bānganga river (the Godavary), battle at, 1065 and *n.* 2.
Bangash (omitted in I.G.), in Kohat N.W.F. d. J. 11, 407. A. F. calls it a toman, 167, 423, 532, 748, 794–95, 1010, 1066.
Bānī Kābīn, ferry on Cīnāb, 870.
Bānswāra (Bānswāla), S. Rajputana, 274, 277, 340.

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Bānūd, p. 794, where wrongly written Bānū. But Bannū seems proper spelling.

Bāqīr Anṣārī, 447, 490, 674 and *n.* 5, 935, 940, wounded, 968, 998.

Bāqī K., elder b. Adham K., 145, accompanies Gulbadan B., 206, goes Khāndesh, 279, 288, 422, marriages-director, 585, charge of jewels, 599, dies, 652.

Do. Kulābī, 146, 191, 452.

Do. Beg, 216.

Bāqir Safarcī, 422 and *n.* 1, 460, 998, death in Bengal, 1031 and *n.* 5.

Bāramūla, gate of Kashmīr, 847, 849, 918, 960.

Bāra Sindur, town E. Bengal, 649 and *n* 1. Bāra means 12, but I do not know meaning of Sindur. There is an Agāra sindur in Mymensing, it being an old name for the Niklī thana. Evidently Agāra means 11. See Mymensingh Gazetteer, p. 32.

Bardwan, d. Bengal, 119, 173, 600, 653, battle at, 697, 879, Pahār K., dies at 970.

Bareilly, fort, 512.

Bārīkāb, stream and halting-place, Afghanistan, 533, 539, 543, 792, 856, 863, 865.

Baroda, Gujarāt, in hands Ibrahīm Ḥusain, 15, Todar Mal administers, 292–93,

Basantpur, Kumaon, 203.

Bathan, Afghanistan, 777, and *n.* 1.

Batkhan, (?) hill in Swād, 811.

Batrās, defile, Hazara, d. 851 and *n.* 3.

Bāyazīd, eldest, s. Sulaimān Karārānī, put to death, 28.

Bāz Bahādur K., sent Campānīr, 15, in Pattan battle, 33.

Bengal, death of Sulaimān, Karārānī, 5-6, conquest entrusted Mu'nīm K. K.16, history of 28–31, A. undertakes conquest of 57-58, 96-102, 110, 126–27, Patna taken, 140–47, 150–53, 164, 169–86, 209, Todar Mal brings elephants, etc, from Bengal, Mu'nim's death, etc., 226–31, 238–43, A. goes Bengal, 248–56, 277, Bengal mint, 321, 327, 349, Partāb Tavares Feringhī (and his wife Nashārna ?) arrives, 350, 376–77, 386, 407, 415, Dāūd's mother sent, 420, rebellion of Bengal officers, 426, account of Bengal climate, 427, and its bad effects 427–35, 439, death of Moẓaffar, 442, 454, 460, 469, state of Bengal, 469–71, death of Sharafu-d-dīn, 477–78, death of Bahādur Bangī, 490 and *n.* 1, 491, Khān A'āẓīm, sent B., 567, attack on merchants, 568, Bengal conquered for the third time, 589–93, Shahbāz sent, 594, 625, account of the Bhātī d. 645–51, Shahbāz returns from Bhātī unsuccessful, 637–60, 672–73, M'āṣūm Kābulī discomfited, 693, Shahbāz sent against B., 701, Bengal pacified, 721, entrusted to Wazīr K., on his death S'aīd K. appointed 801 and *n.* 1, Shahbāz at court, 807, rebels, 872, Mān Singh, sent Orissa, 878–79, Sharif Amulī sent Bengal, 916, B. and Bihar entrusted Rai Rām Dās, 924, conquest of Orissa, 933–36, rebels submit 940–41, Shahbāz released, 127, elephants arrive from Bengal, 985, Mān Singh's fief in B. and B. entrusted him, 999, at Tānda, 1023, Kishn Dāsr made diwān, B. 1029, 'Īsa's present received, 1031, Akbarnaga, (Rājmaḥal) founded 1042, Busna

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captured, 1059, account of Bihar, 1066-68.

Berār, province, Moẓaffar seized there, 330, account of prov. 685, 739, 742, 835, 892, 1050, 1052, 1059.

Bhadrijān, town near Sirohi, 6 and *n.* 2.

Bhagwān Dās (Rajah), s. Bihārī Mal, in Sarnāl battle, his sister Miriam Zamānī, 49, in charge Ḥarem, 61, 71, 77, 89, 92-93, 123, 269, 272, censured, 274-75, 277, 307, 339, 348, does homage, 358, sent Panjab, 380, 423, 508, 529, A. visits him, 546, goes command Panjab, 587, 671, d. marries Selim 678, promoted, 687, sent Kashmīr, 715, 738, sent Afghanistan, 742-43, and goes mad, 745, 774, Lahore, entrusted to, 779, 799, death, 863, Pertāb his s. goes mad 1111, d. commits suicide, 1239.

Bhakkar or Bakhar, island Indus, 127-28, 792.

Bhath'i or Bhilti or Bhaltah, territory in Baghalpur Central Ind. and *n.* 2, 966, 1042.

Bihar, 28, 57, affairs of 187-93, 227, 238, 252, 303, 320-21, 415.

Bihārī Mal, Bihāri Mal in P.T. (Rajah), 27 in charge capital and princes, 478, 926 and *n.* 1, 50, 62.

Bikr, or Dīārbikr, Mesopotamia, 895.

Bikrām or Bigrām or Begrām, Peshawar, 524 and *n.* 1, 528, 538, 542, 545, 577, 713, 794, 801, 855, 957, 983, 987, 1051, saffron grown at the Begrām near Kābul city 1064.

Bikrāmpur, in Dacca division, naval fight with 'Īsā K. near it. 1093, ruler of 1215.

Bīrār, vill. near Agra, S. 'Abdullah brings Dāūd's head there, 249.

Bīrbar (Rajah), his Nagarkote fief, 52, 69, 123, his mission, 278, 295, 357, 407, 484, 511, 559, 585, A. visits 587, 599, illness, 615, A. visits his Akbarpūr house, 617, sent Pannah, 624, A. saves his life. 154, A. visits, 657, sent Swād, 719-20, lots taken between him and A. F. do, quarrels 727-828, killed, 732, 734-35, impostor, 805, Bīrbar's s. quarrels Lāla, 1122, and 1200, and *n.* 1, another s. comes, 1231.

Bishanpur, in Bankura, 879.

Blochmann, Professor, passim, in notes.

Bokhara, mortality among birds at, 857.

C

The Persian *Che* has in this Index sometimes been rendered by *C* and sometimes by *Ch*.

Cabool, see Kābul.

Cabral, Antonio, Portuguese ambassador, 37-8, and *n.* 1.

Cāchar, elephant, nearly killed Bīr Bar, A. saves him, 654.

Caghān serai, place on Kunār r., Afghanistan, 984.

Caghatai K., favourite s. Cingiz Qaān, 840.

Do. Deccanī, follower, Burhān-ul-Mulk, killed, 859.

Cagathai, Mongol tribe, 250, 535.

Cakdara, fort on Swāt River, 727-8, 810, *n.* 1, I.G., 122.

Caks or Chaks, Kashmīr family, 774 and *n.* 1, and 835 P.T.

Cakūr, in Kālpī, 124.

Cakgopāl, near Lahore, A. injured by wolf at, 807.

Calabī or Calpī Beg, of Tabrīz, learned man, comes court, account of, 1116 and *n.* 3.

Calpa or Chalīpā, Persian Index

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makes it a place, but this seems wrong. Chalīpā seems correct reading and means a cross, or anything crooked or bent. Here used to mean apparently a tortuous or devious route, Have rendered it by "cross roads," but this is doubtful. Perhaps what is meant is that fugitives went off in agitated manner or took by-paths. See Lucknow ed. A. N. under 25th year, p. 198, vol. III, p. 8, and p. 498 of translation *n.* 3, also Bahār-i-'Ajam 319 and *n.* S. v. *Chalīpa*, and Vuller's Dictionary, I. 588.

Cambay, port, Gujarat, A. arrives at 13, Ḥasan K. in charge, 15, 38 and *n.*, 59, 293, 301, 610, 613, 629. S. Moẓaffar comes to 639, 641, 655, 962.

Cāmpānīr, 25.

Cānd or Cāndor, 60 m. from Aḥmadnagar, 1046.

Cānd K., on elephant in battle against Kabulīs, 537.

Do. father-in-law Muḥ. K., 1169.

Candāl, a tribe, 922.

Cāndpūr, t. Bijnor, d., I. G, X, 167, 544.

Cānd Rai, s. Kedar Rai, killed by Afghans, 968–9. P.T. 632, has Gorakpūr, but there is the variant Kharakpūr which may be vill. in Midnapur d., I.G, XV, 247.

Candūr, t. Berar, 741.

Canda K., Deccanī, 686, 859.

Candur Bhān, Mān Singh's brother, marries Pūran Mal of Gidhaur's d., 872.

Candaur, t. Berar, 741. [*n.* 2.

Candur Kot, fort, Kashmīr, 775, and

Candar Sen, s. Rajah Maldeo, rebels 113–14, 155, 224–5, his fort of Siwāna taken, 237, his defeat, 466.

Canderī, fort, Central India, 422 and 1211.

Cārāns, Gujarāti tribe allied to Bhīls, 78 and *n.* 3. See J. II. 249.

Cārbāra, vill. Cutch, 964.

Cārīkārān or Cārīkār, outpost, Afghanistan, 669.

Carkas (Circassian) k., in Gujarāt, joins enemy, 628, 641, killed at Broach, 657 and *n.* 1.

Catar Bhūj, Rajah Mālwa, s. Jagman, 1122.

Catr Sen, in Mān Singh's army, 934.

Catrī, Afghan, 194, 199 and *n.* 1.

Caudhrīs, mint masters, 320–21 and *n.* 1, 470 and *n.* 2.

Cerūs, an Indian tribe, 721 and *n.* 1.

Chalmers, Captain, quoted, 5, *n.* 2.

Chameleon, legend about, 1 and *n.* 3.

Chānd Bībī, sister Burhānu-l-Mulk. Said to have poisoned her brother 1025 and *n.* 2, defends Aḥmadnagar 1047. T, 1142–43, put to death, 1158.

Chankārī, fort, Afghanistan, 957, 982–83. Also spelt Ginkārī.

Chaupāra, ferry, 794 and *n.* 1.

Chaugarha, fort, or Chorgarha fort, but apparently Khurda is the correct spelling, 967 and *n.* 3.

Chenāb or Chīnāb, r. Kashmīr and Panjab, bridged, 356, 508 and *n.* 4, 513, 546, 708, 747, 764, 818, crossed by two bridges, 870, 916, 922, 946.

Chītās (leopards), two special ones drowned Ganges, 132.

Chitor, 661.

Chittagong, E. Bengal, 159, 722.

Chorah Pass or Chohār Chobah, 782 and *n.* 1.

Christians (Naṣārī), arrive from Goa at Surat camp, 37 and *n.* 1, 44, *n.* 5. A.'s conversation with 372 and *n.* 5.

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Chunār or Cunār, Mun'im marches from, 28.

Cingiz K., the Tartar (Qaān Buzurg), pestilence in time of, cured by henna, 939, appointment of Tarkhāns, 973, 975.

Do. Gujarātī, s. Itimādu-l-Mulk, officer Sultan Maḥmūd, killed by Jujhar K., 42, 46 and *n.* 1.

Cīta Bilūcī, 739.

Circassian dynasty, 1019. The word in P.T. lines 11 and 14 is Charakasta or Charakashta, and I have taken this to be Circassian. But text seems corrupt.

Circumcision of three princes, 102–03 and *n.* 1.

Cocakpūr, vill., 129.

Coka or Cākā Rai or Joga Parīhar, f. Bhawal Anega, 1109.

Comet (of 1577), 311–16 and *n.*

Cotāna or Chotāna or Jūtāna, t. Gujarāt, 98, *n.* 2, 67.

Couto, Diego du, quoted, 37 and 38, *n.* 1.

Cūcak Beg, servant, M. Shāhrukh, 663, 665.

Do. Khānim, w. 'Abdu-r-Rashīd, d. Kāshghar, quarrel with Ḥarīm, B. 213–15.

Cūnār, Mun'im marches from 28, stormy weather at 125.

Cutch (Kachchh) Native State, Bombay Pres., cf. 710, *n.* 1, Pancharān ruler of, 199, 904, 963.

D

Dābar or Dāīr, stage near Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, 110 and *n.* 1, 206 and *n.* 1. Dāīr, apparently, the proper spelling.

Dacca (Dhāka), capital E. Bengal, thānadār of made prisoner, R, Mān Singh comes to 1213–15, and 1236.

Dādhāl Hazāra, d. 851 and *n.* 4.

Dhakārī or Dastkāri, 853 and *n.* 2.

Dahpāl, Rajah of 884.

Dajan khārū and Dajanpārā, 849 and *n.* 2. Places in Kashmīr, spelling incorrect.

Dakka or Daka, northern end Khyber Pass, 529, 669, 734, 792, 856, 864, A.'s accident at, 866.

Dalpat or Dilpat, s. Rai Singh of Bikānīr (B. 359 and 490), 919, 924, cowardice, 934. (The Dilpat Rai, mentioned, 622, 887, and killed, p. 10072, is a different person.)

Do. Rajah Bhojpūr, known as Ujjainiya, 239, *n.* 2, rebellious 474–76, submits, 1121, 1133, forgiven, 1200 (see B. 513 and *n.*, also Maaṣiru-l-U. II. 152 et seq.), 1232, 1238.

Dāman or Damayantī, legendary heroine, Faizī presents poem, 1014–15. See also extracts in P.T. pp. 684–88.

Damān, Portuguese settlement Gujarāt, pp. 37 and 38 *n.*, 410 *n.* 1.

Damghār, Pass in Swad, Afghanistan, 811. See J. II. 391.

Dāmodar, r. Bengal, 602, 616.

Damtūr or Dentūr, t. near Abbotābād, 851 and *n.* 5, 961, 1010.

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Dānāpūr, Deccan, 859.
Dāndesh, see Khāndesh.
Dandūqa, the Dandhuka of I.G.I. 46, 89, 681, 910 (dele. hyphen after Dandūqa, 181).
Daniel (Sultan), third s. A., born Ajmīr 9 Sept. 1572 (980 H.), sent for from Amber, 49, arrives Ajmīr 54, Saīd K. made tutor, 288, commander 6000, 308, sent Ajmīr as A.'s representative, 462–64, in charge capital, 495, attends Miriam Makānī, 547, weighment day fixed for, 581, superintendent Religion and Faith, 598, receives Shahrukh, 671, sent Afghanistan, 743, marriage, 806, meets Miriam Makānī, 859, d. born, 875, sent Qandahar, 942, but returns from Rāmbāri on account appearance of 300 meteors, attacked by madman, 994, sent Deccan, 994–95, marriage, 995, in Sirhind, 996, d. born, 1027 and *n.* 2, marriage, 1040, m. dies, 1063, sent Allahabad, 1077, s. born who soon dies, 1090, Bāndhu given to, 1104, improper behaviour, 1114, has an audience, 1121, governor Deccan, 1132–33, wife dies, 1139, 1140, 1144, 1146, 1148, 1175, given Khandesh and its name changed to Dāndesh. See 1175 and note 3. A. F.'s interview with, 1201, Daniel's request, 1208, 1212, 1216, drinking, 1221–22, and 1228–9, and 1238, marriage 1239–40 and 41, 1248, death, 1254–55. [1, 802.
Dānishkol, Afghanistan, 726 and *n.*
Daqq or daqu (B.'s dāgū, p. 333, probably a misprint), a robe of honour, 401. See A. N. translation II. 185.
Darbār-i-mashkoi, female apartments? 201 and *n.* 1.
Darbhangā, 872.
Darghor, fort in Qandahar? Perhaps it is Ghor, 1027 and *n.* 2.
Dārāb, servant A., nearly poisoned, 289.
Do. s. K. K., birth, 882.
Darjan Singh, soldier, 935–36, 1043, 1059.
Dar Samand, place near Peshawar, 794.
Darvesh Islamabādī, in charge Tārīkābā 792. Not identified.
Do. Alī Qūshbegī, 717 (name omitted in translation).
Do. Saiyid, 887.
Daryā Gilānī, name for Caspian, 1113.
Daryā K., invades Bhātī, 647, 941, 1022.
Daryāpūr, t. on Ganges. Patna dis., 142–43, elephant fights at, 116.
Dasht Arzāna, 863–64.
Do. Qipchāq, 843, 1100.
Do. Khaldīrān, battlefield, 1019.
Dāspūr, on Ganges, 130.
Dastam Be, 872.
Do. Deccanī, 1065.
Do. K., 16, 33, 36, gov. Ajmīr and fiefholder Rantambhor 295, killed, 476. (Here Rustam, see B. 398–99).
Do. Qāqsāl, death of, 698.
Do. Sultan, uncle 'Abdu-l-Mūmīn, killed Tāshkand, 1109.
Daswanth Kahār, painter, his suicide, 651 and *n.* 1.
Dāūd K., y.s. Sulaimān Kararānī, set up by Lūdī and afterwards abandoned by him 28 (bis), Jaunpur, 30–31, puts Lūdī to death, 97–100, Patna, 101, 126, omen about 130–31, his ambassador, 136–37, flight, 140–43, elephants, 146, 150,

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flight from Tānda, 153, 161, 169–72 returns to fight, 173, defeated, 175–79, submits, 182–85, breaks engagements, 228–30, 240, 248, head brought in, 249, defeated and killed, 253–55, interview with K. Jahān, 255, family in Sātgāon, 327–28, mother Naulaka, 376, sent capital, 420.

Daudā, Beg of Gujarāt, executed, 300.

Daudā, s. Rai Sarjan, ruler Rantambhor, exped. against, 258, punished, 284, brought court, 355, forgiven, 356, A. stays in Daudā's house, but query? 362, dies, 706 (see Maaṣiru-l-Umarā II. 116).

Daulat K. Lodī, Afghan, f. K. Jahān Lodī, 632 and *n.* 5, 651, against Moẓaffar Gujarātī, 683, 745, 809, in Sind 930–31, in charge ferries Lower Bengal, 1029, 1047, 1140, dies at Ahmadnagar, 1175. See B.'s account of him, p. 502, No. 309, his s.'s madness, 1203.

Do. Shaikh, 534, 752, 764, 775, 1047, 1050.

Do. Saiyid, 613, 640, disgraced, 655, 798.

Do. K., s. Amīn K. Ghorī, 902, 905, dies of wounds, 910, his sons, 949.

Daulat Nāẓir Khwāja, a rebel? 1153, 697, 727, made Khān, 999, apparently rebels, 1153.

Do. Nisā, Selīm's (Jahāngīr) d., 866 and *n.* 1.

Daulat K., apparently synonym for Kh. Dost K., 40 and *n.* 1.

Daulatābād, Deccan, 59, fort of, 820, 1120, 1125.

Do. Afghanistan, 524, 705.

Daur, valley N. Wazīristān, Agency, 794.

Dawara-l-Mulk, saint, shrine, 710 and *n.* 2.

Debī Dās, killed, 114.

Do. 225.

Deccan, embassy to and from, 108, rulers of, told troops would be sent to remove Feringhīs, 409–10.

Decennial Settlement, 413 and *n.* 2.

Deer, injures A., 1061.

Degrees of loyalty, 39 and *n.* 2 (see B. V. *n.* 2).

Delhi, 50, 51. Ḥājī B. settles at 107, 133, A. visits shrines at, 154, 322, 329, Muḥibb 'Alī governor, 357, A. at Humayūn's tomb, 360, impression Prophet's foot, 410–11 and *n.* 2, 499, 546–47, Hājī B.'s death at, 551–2, revenue remitted, 699, A. visits tombs, 705, 749 and *n.* 1, Delhi appointments, 779, 812, 875, 926, 1029, 1118. P. Murād's body brought to, 1142.

Deluge, at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, bursting of tank, 578.

Deokūr, fort, 237 and *n.* 2 (see B. 399 and *n.* 1).

Daora Rai, of Sirohī, 266, 278.

Dhār, 1146.

Dhāra, vill. near Orchha, Bandelkand, 325 and *n.* 1. Dhāra means stream, and perhaps means here the Betwa.

Dhārū, s. Todar Mal, 294, 876, 929, 930, killed in Sind battle do.

Dhārwar, 1178 and *n.* 1.

Dhūb, query? Doḥadd, 93 and *n.* 2, 1198.

Dīāla, in P.T. p. 577 this seems name of place; see P.T. index p. 80. I have taken it as name of person.

Dīda Cohān, killed, 190, *n.* 3.

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Diego da Couto, Portuguese historian, 37, *n.* 1, 38 *n.*
Dīha or Dīsa, Gujarāt, 8 and *n.* 65.
Dihakdār or Dhokdār, t. Panjab, 706.
Dilāmez, gardens, 1023, 1049.
Dilāwez, garden near Agra, 1063, 1077.
Dilgasha, gardens, Sirhind, 705.
Dilrang and Daulat Khan, special cītās, drowned, 132.
Dīpālpūr, or Dībālpūr, t. Panjab, 52, 276, 280, 283, 295, 358, 908, 1146.
Dīp Cānd, Rajah, 69, 76.
Divine Era, introduced, 645 and *n.* 1, beginning of 29th year.
Divine Faith (Dīn Ilāhī), discussions, and building house of worship 157 and seq., 364 and seq., Rodolfo Acquaviva, 368 and *n.* (See Rehatsek's "A.'s Repudiation of Islām," Bombay, 166).
Division of India into twelve sections (Bakhsh), 412 and *n.* 413.
Division of time, A.'s, 372.
Diwāli, s. Bakht Nisā, mistake of text for Walī, 713 and *n.* 4.
Diwāns and Bakhshīs, appointed, 778–79.
Domes, or brick mounds, at Patna (panchpāhārī), 196.
Dost Muh., s. Tātar K., killed, 7.
Do. s. Bābā Dost, sent Bengal as punishment, 209, repents, 476 and *n.* 1.
Dogs, their good qualities, 419, dogs not to be hunted in the yīt (dog) year. My translation is wrong. 489.
Drinking, 209.
Dūgāon or Dokon, copper mint: t. near Bahraich in Oudh, 745 and *n.* 2.
Dūk or Dūkī, 720 and *n.* 1.
Dūkanwalī, ferry on Cīnāb, 747.
Dūla Rai, s. Kharak Rai, 746.
Dulqa or Dhūlka, Ahmadabad, 32, 46, 89, 293, 609, 640, 656.
Dumb House (Gangmahal), experiment, 581 cf. Herodotus, Euterpe, C. 2 Psammetichus, 7th century B.C. 664–610, only experimented on two babies, A. on twenty. The experiment was carried on for nearly four years. The idea came to A. in the 24th year of his reign, and was not discontinued till after four years. See Badayūnī, Lowe II. 296 and *n.* 1.
Dūnāra or Dūbāna, Jodhpur, 238 and *n.* 1.
Dūnd, vill. Kashmīr, 823.
Dungar or Dongar, a Gond word meaning forest, B. 494 *n.* 1.
Dungārpur, Rajputana, 48, 57, 277, Bīrbar sent to arrange marriage at, 278, 295, 609, 640, 656, 706.
Durgā Panj, traitor, 934.
Durgā Rai (Sisodia, see B. 417), 513, 599, 613, 632, 634–35, 642, 680, 701 (name omitted in translation see P.T. 465), 1052, 1070, escorts ladies, 1142, 1150, 1153, 1173, 1184, goes home without leave, 1188.

E

Eastern prov. (Bengal, etc.), account affairs there, 28, rebellion in Orissa, 940–46.
Elephants, account *mast* animal, 35–6, A. has rioters trampled by, 11, two taken in boats, 123, A.'s liking for and power over 111–16, 179, noted e. arrive from Bengal, 439, covered with yāq tails, etc., 176, e. battle, 245–46, feat of two elephants which saved situation, 473–74, e.

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stops at A.'s rebuke, 654, e. objects to driver's lie, 870, a female elephant formerly very gentle broke out and killed her keeper and fourteen others, 967, story of blind men and elephant, 1072.

Epidemic in Bhakkar, cured by acacia (sīris) bark, 128, in Gaur, 227 and *n.* 2, in Herat, 315, cured by henna in Cingiz K.'s time 938–40, and again by prayer to A.

Estimate, of trooper's pay, 1032 and *n.*

European ports, army sent to conquer, 409–10 and *n.* 1.

Exploit of Moẓaffar at Ḥājīpur, 193.

F

Faiẓī (Shaikh Abu-l-Faiẓ, s. S. Mubarak and e. b. Abu-l-Faẓl; Mālika-sh-sh'uarā), born 954 H. (1547) accompanies A. eastern prov. 123, 161, appointed tutor to P. Murād, 388, versifies A.'s pulpit address, 396, poem about A. quoted, 457, accompanies P. Daniel, Ajmīr, 464, verse by, 549, reform-proposal, 559, appointed assist P. Selīm, 598, poem, 678, 718, poet-laureate, 814, charge of M. Ḥakīm's s., 821, joins A., 824, ode, 828, assists assessment Kashmīr, 830, letter, 832, 846, elegy, 852, verses, 866, embassy, 909, returns, 982, Nal Daman, 1014, 1015, death, 1033–40, 1042.

For full accounts of Faiẓī see Maaṣira-l-U. vol. II, 584–90, Darbār Akbarī, 359–397, Ency. Islam No. 18, p. 43, B. Ayīn A. 490.

Fakhr 'Alī, s. Wazir? defeated at Bahraich, 543.

Fakhru-d-dīn Shāh, of Mashhad (B. 406), s. Mīr Qāsim, 8–9, 16, 33–34, 61, 274, gov. Pattan and has title Naqīb K., 382.

Fakhru-n-nisā B., w. Khudabanda 899 and *n.* 2.

Famine in Kashmīr, 1087 and *n.* 1.

Farakh Afshār Shāh, of Shīrwān, 895.

Farhād K., 740.

Do. Deccānī, 1024 and *n.* 2, 1154 1185, 1195, 1197.

Farhang K., killed, 241.

Farhat K., f. Farhang (also killed 241), 81, 84, 146, 188, 191, fiefholder Arrah, 240.

Farīd qarāwal, 9.

Do. bakhshī begī, (S.) 34, A. visits, 322, 331, 422, 453, 467, sent Monghyr, 476, does homage, 543, 567, 575, 590, adventure, 601–2, 619, 625, 687, 705, 778 (this is the Farīd Bokhārī of B., though entered in P.T. as different).

Farīd shakarganj, saint, 328, A. visits shrine, 335.

Farīdūn, mat. uncle M. Ḥakīm (B. 431), 424 and *n.* 1, 450, 533–4, 536, 712–14, made over to A.F. 716, sent Mecca, 717.

Do. Barlās, 625, 919, 929, 973.

Do. Mīrzā, does homage, 1103, escorts Murād'a ladies, 1142.

Farrakh, Irglīq (courier?), 29, Bengal rebel, 429, 450, becomes loyal, 645.

Farrukh Beg, painter, 714 and *n.* 1, 887?

Farrukh K., s. K. Kilān, defends Nagor, 49, 50, 934–36, 968.

Farūqī dynasty, custom of, 1156.

Fatḥ 'Alī, Kashmīrī rebel styled Nairang, 768, killed by arrow, 798.

Fatḥ Cand Manklī, in charge caravan, 420, 439.

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Fatḥ Dost, s. 'Alī Dost Bārbegī, A.'s unsatisfactory disciple, 519-20 and *nn.* 1 and 2, murdered, 520.

Fatḥ K., several mentioned in P.T., none very important; one was s. Amīn K. Ghorī. Another was keeper of hunting leopards, and said to have been cured of eye-illness by A.'s breath, 298.

Fatḥ Mubārak, killed in battle, 536.

Fatḥ Ullah, 578, 704, 709.

Do. Khwājagī, sent Gujarāt, 361, 380, misconduct of and sent Mecca, but pardoned at instance of ladies, 571, 660 (173, made bakhshī, 701, 947 name omitted in translation), entertains A., outbreak of fire, 1074 and *n.* 2, 1150-51, audience of 1156, sent Nāsik, 1175-78, 1181, 1189, 1196, 1197.

Fatḥ Ullah, Sharbatdār, shares A.' rapid journey, 363, 718, 1062, dies, 1147.

Fatḥ Ullah Shīrāzī (Amīr), styled 'Azdu-d-daula, 441, comes court, 578, 593, 643, made Amīnu-l-Mulk, gets title of 'Azdu-d-daula and sent Khandesh, 701, returns unsuccessful, 740, arrives from Gujarāt, 789, 807, 818, illness, 846, death, 848, Faiẓī's elegy on, 852, reference to his last days and physician's mistake (840 P.T.).

Fatḥābād, Sirkār in E. Bengal, 592.

Fatḥābād, fort in Bajaur, 982.

Faṭhpūr Hanswa, 813.

Do. Patnī, in Bihar, near the Sone, 146.

Fatḥpur Sīkrī, 54, A. in chief mosque of, 102, builds house of worship (ibādatkhāna), 157, religious meeting at, 158, 159-60, chief mint at Fatḥpur, 321, Anūp tank filled with coin, 351, 348-9, M'aṣūm Farankhūdī arrives at, 553, tank bursts, 578 and *n.* Bīrbar receives A. in his house, 587, Sultan Khwāja dies at, 655, A. leaves F. for Panjab, 702,703, does not return 744-48, 780 (Sīkrī?) (Miriam Makānī returns F. 1190.

Fāzil K., s. K. Kilān, killed 61.

Feringhīs (Franks), 37, 275, 410, 757, 848, 874, gunner falls into Jūnagarh moat, 948, 972, 1018.

Ferry, tolls abolished, 1029.

Firmilian (Greek?) priest, Leon Grimon? 873 and *n.*

Fīrūza Khāṣ Khail, favourite of M. Ḥakīm, 152, 526, 632 ?

Fīrūz Shaikh, 306, 325, 623, 624.

Do. Shah Zarrīn Kulah (with golden cap, title of chamberlain) 894.

Do. Sultan, 411 and *n.* 2.

Fūlād Mīrzā, or Pulād s. Khudadād Barlās, sent with presents to Turān 297, 519, 716 (not called here Mīrzā, and may be different person, my translation Faulād should be Fūlād), executed, 803-05 and *n.* 2.

Do K. Ḥabshī of Kandesh, 1150, 1151, promoted, 1152, 1173 1196.

G

Gadha or Garha, a small territory in Central India, now included in Rewah State: it adjoined Bandhogarh, 1088-89. Bāndhu, as *n.* 4 states, is now in Rewah. The name Gaḍha mentioned on p. 1089 does not seem known now. A. N. describes it as lying W. Bāndhu, which is now known as Bāndhogarh. Bāndhogarh is marked in

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I.G. Atlas, map 38, as in S.W. part of Baghalkand, but Gadha or Garha is not shown. Sarguja is Surguja of I. G. vol. XXIII, p. 170, and appears in Atlas, map 39. It lies east Jubbulpore and Baghalkand. Possibly Gaḍha may be the Garwa of map 39 and W. of Daltonganj. The fort which is described at length on p. 1089. A. N. is Bandhogarh. pp. 1088 and 1089 have several misprints. On 1088 "conquesto" should be "conquest," and on 1089, line 2 "comes" should be "come"; Kampū should be Karnpūr.

Gadā 'Alī Īka, i.e. fighting singly, 84, 281.

Gadai K., Afghan, killed along with A. F., 811–12.

Do. Mīr, s. Abū Turāb, 1193, 1198. See B. 507.

Gajpati, Rajah Dumrāon, 30, 135, 139, rebels, 239–41, 260–65, 280.

Gangā Rishī, saint, 1092.

Gangadhar, 1201.

Gang maḥal, Dumb-house, 581–82 and *n.* 2.

Ganges, eleven lines entries, nearly all unimportant; some at end refer to the Godavery; have reduced entries as follows, 98, 135, 153, 186, 428, 443, 693.

Garha in Deccan, 1208.

Do. Katanga in Gondwāna, 223 and *n.*

Do. Raisīn, 629.

Garhī pass to Bengal, 35, 98, 151, 153, 200, 230, 443, 590, 618.

Garmsīr, d. Qandahar, 1027.

Gaur city, Bengal, 226, 228.

Gaurdahan, s. Todar Mal, 606, 887.

Gaya, 476.

Gesū Mīr, a Persian, 129, killed, 615.

Getī Sitānī Bābur's title, 843.

Gharībkhāna station, Khyber, 792 and *n.* 2.

Ghāzī K., ruler Kāshmīr, 828.

Do. Tabrīzī, 53, 147.

Do. b. Fath K., 138.

Do. Tannārī 138 and *n.*

Do. Badakhshī A.'s disciple, 152, 237, 244–45, 274, 339, 381, 395, 422, 452, 476–77, 549, charge salt, 585, 598, dies, 654–55.

Do. Afghan killed, 190–91.

Do. Yusūfzai, 726.

Do. Murād Ottoman, 1017.

Do. Mīr s. Jānī Beg, 1172.

Ghāzī K. Maidānī, 934, 972.

Do. Ghakkar, 1185.

Ghāzīkot, 821.

Ghāzīpur, 31, 130, 241, 260, Sirkār given M. K. Farankhudī, 410, 426 (bis), 457, 544.

Ghaznī K. of Jalor, 710-11 and *n.* 3, variants 'Adlī and 'Azlī.

Ghaznī or Ghaznūn, 166, 801, 917, 993.

Ghiaṣ Naqshband famous carpet weaver, 1113.

Ghiaspur t. Patna d., 145, 476.

Ghīaṣu-d-dīn Qazwīnī (Asaf K.) s. Abdu-l-Latīf, 16, 68, 69, gets title Aṣaf K. and made bakhshī, 90, 167, 237, 241, 269, 281, does homage, 323, 358, sent Mālwa, 383.

Do. Mīr Ghiaṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb K., 49, 69, sent Maner, 132, accidentally kills b., 242, sent Idar, 269, 281, Gujarat, 306, receives title, 524.

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Ghīaṣu-d-dīn f. Abú Turāb, 305.
Do. Diwan f. Nūr Jahān, 877 and *n.* 4, appointed Kabul, 1029.
Ghorāghāt, 186, etc.
Ghorband r., 533, 538-39.
Ghorī tribe, 777, 781-82, 792.
Goa, Portuguese seaport, 37, 207, 322, 873, 1027.
Gobind Jasawal, Rajah, 51 and *n.* 4.
Do. Bhātī 1230.
Goes, Benedict of, 1026 *n.*
Goganda, 92, battle of, 244-47, 259, 267-69, 272, 275.
Gohar Ṣūfī, 828.
Gopāl, Rajah, 48, 252, sent Panjab, 380, 494, 620, 651.
Do. Jādūn, Rajah, 652, 660, 865.
Do. Rai, 1115, 1193, 1115.
Gorakpur, 29, 150.
Gorkhattrī building, Peshawar, 528.
Grimon Leon supposed *n.* of priest, 873, *n.* 1 called Firmilian in P.T., 577.
Gujar K. Afghan, 28, 29, 98, 99, flees from Patna, 141, 175, 176, killed, 178, 179, 183. Another Gujar, 518, 752, 764, 776, 903, 979.
Gul'azār B. d. Kāmrān, goes Mecca, 205.
Gulbadan B., A.'s aunt, goes Mecca, 205, returns, 569, accompanies M. M. Kashmīr, 859, d.'s s. Muhyār absconds, 1001-8, 1223, death, 1226.
Gulrukh B. d. Kāmrān, 22, 289, her d. marries Jahangīr, 969.
Gwalior, Bahādur Fārūqī sent to, 1166, 1201.
Gwās, pargana Murshidabad, 376.

H

Ḥabīb 'Alī, 571, killed, 695.
Do. Ullah of Kāshān, a Ḥājī, sent Goa to buy curios, 207, returns, 322, sent Kabul, 519, in charge sugar, 585, of rates on goods, 599, dies, 1000.
Ḥabīb Kabūtarbāz (pigeon-expert), 735 and *n.* 1, 760. See also Errata and Addenda.
Ḥāfiẓ, omen from, 307, 947.
Ḥaidar 'Alī Beg, Ḥaram B.'s brother, put to death, 212.
Ḥaidar K., 145, dies of pestilence, 227.
Do. Cak Kashmīrī, 409, 465, 550, 576, 715, 752, 768, imprisoned, 769, put to death, 775.
Do. Dost, 454, 455, 619, 991, 1185.
Do. riddlemaker, his audience, 999-1000.
Do. s. K. K., accidentally burnt while drunk, 1117 and *n.* 1.
Ḥaidar M., Bābur's cousin, 841, 844, 959-60, 997.
Ḥājī B. w. Humāyūn, settles Delhi, 107 and *n.* 1, A. visits, 547, death, 551-52.
Do. B. d. Kāmrān, 205. [227.
Do. Sistānī, 146, 177, 185, death,
Do. Pahlwān, 195, 198.
Ḥājīpur, t. opposite Patna, 29, 115, description, 135, 137, fort taken, 137-39, 200, 362, 419, 452, 471, 476, 544, 546, 550, 567, 574, 590, 600, 625, 629, 872, 931.
Ḥakīm Ḥamām, 760, 857, death and character, 1041.
Do. M. half b. A., ruler Kabul, 215, 220, 244, 351-52, 423-25, 449-51, 492, 506-09, 517-18, 523, 529, 532 et seq., 541 et. seq., 652, 662, 667, death, 702, 712, 785, 821, 858, 958, 1110.

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Ḥakīm 'Alī Gilānī, 388 and *n.* 8, 440, 546, 707, 714, 848 and *n.* 2, 866, 916, his subaqueous room, 1000 and *n.* 1, 1062. See Maaṣiru-l-Umarā I, 568.

Do. ul-Mulk, physician, 123, 137, signs decree, 127, 395, banished, 464, and *n.* 1.

Ḥalīma Begi Agha (Martha), 895 and *n.* 4.

Ḥāmān t. Persia, in text, variant Mahān, 1017.

Hamān, agent Mozaffar Gujarātī, capitally punished, 750.

Hamzabān, 24, Tongue cut, 40.

Hānsī, t. Panjab, 328, shrine Jamal (Qutub Jamālu-d-dīn), 328 and *n.* 2.

Hānsū Afghan, s. 'Ismail, kills Bayazīd, and is himself killed by Lūdī, 28.

Hāpa Caran, bard, 78.

Haram B. d. Sultan Wais of Kulāb w. M. Sulaimān of Badakhshān, 212–17, dies, 218.

Harpūr or Harīpur p. between B. and Orissa, 174 and *n.* 1. in which put, 650 p. for, 436. See p. 653 *n.* 1.

Ḥasan Khazancī, 15, 30, 59, 856.

Ḥasan and Ḥusain, twin ss. Shāhrukh, 445, 446, 713. Ḥasan punished, 1232, 1240.

Ḥasan Beg Turk, dies, 1188.

Ḥasan Beg 'Umrī, 721, 776, 798, given Paklī, 855, 867, 874–75 and *n.*, 944, 945, 951, 1005, 1023, 1029, 1030, 1066, promoted, 1184, 1207, takes Jammū, 1213.

Hasan K. Patnī or Batanī, 115, 716, 729, killed, 732. Batanī seems correct, as it is n. of an Afghan tribe.

Hāshim K. his double-dealing, 29, 99, his b. 134, 175, 177, 184, death in Gaur, 227.

Do. Bārha Saiyid, 225, 237 (bis), 245, 267, 278, 293, 613, 622, dies of wounds, 634 (see B. 419), his s., 656 and *n.* 2.

Hāshim Beg s. Qasim, 835, plot against him, 1002–3, 1060, 1084, 1103, 1147, 1173, does homage, 1191, 1207 and *n.* 1, promoted 1211.

Herat epidemic at, 315, 856, 893, 977.

Hiṣṣar, Panjab, 328, 441–43, 493, 875,

Do. Shādmān t. Badakhshan, 217, 662–64. See Elliot, V. 393.

Humāyūn Pādshāh, 107, 206, A. visits tomb, 322 and 360, 547, w. dies, 551, 705, 817, 884, 886, 977, 1109–10, A. visits tomb, 1118.

Humayun's concubine Bhawal Anaga, and Akbar's first nurse death, 1109–10.

Ḥusain s. 'Adili, 143.

Do. Beg Gurd, 178, 255, 432, 442 493, 716 (name omitted), 729, 882, 1004.

Do. Beg Ghatragalī, 432, 443, but see *n.* 1. p. 432, dele comma after Beg, 443.

Ḥusain Sultan Paklīwāla, 850–51, absconds 855, restored, 875 and *n.* 4.

Do. K. Tukrīya nephew and s.-in-law Māhdi Qāsim, 51 and *n.* 3, 53, 78, 82, 124, becomes a Calendar, 154, 191, details of, 202–04 and *nn.* 2 and 3. Yūsuf his s. a grandee under Jahāngīr, entry on p. 838 refers to him.

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I

'Ibādatkhāna (house of worship) A. builds, 157, 364.
Ibrāhīm Beg s. Burhānu-l-Mulk, 1024–25.
Do. Ḥusain M. s. Muḥ. Sulṭān M., and g.s. Sulṭān Ḥusain of Herāt, 8, his petition, 12, 15, in Broach, 16, 17, 22, at Sarnāl, 20, his w. Gulrukh B., 22, 27, 32, 42, 49, 50–53, death, 54, 87.
Do. Fatḥpūrī (S.), 62, 309, gov. Fatḥpūr Sikrī, 337, 407–8, 495, 575, 593, does homage, 654, death, 908, his s. Khalīl, a blind man, 1189–90.
Do. K., 138.
Do. M., s. Sulaimān of Badakhshān, m. Shāh Muḥ. Kāshgharī's d., 212–13.
Do. (Sulṭān), defends Ghorī fort, 218.
Do. s. Bahrām M., 216, put to death, 899.
Do. S., of Khorāsān; s. Shāhrukh, died of plague, 315.
Do. nephew 'Ādil K. Bījāpūrī, 441.
Do. Mullā supposed f. Jalāla Tārīkī, 810
Do. Niẓāmu-l-Mulk, death, 1028.
Do. Ḥājī, of Sirhind; Ṣadr Gujarāt, killed while escaping, 606. See Badāyūnī, vol. II.
Īdar, Rajput State, Bombay, 27, 48, 57, 59, 89, 92, 268, 269, 272, 276, conquered, 280–281, 306, 323, 389, 632, 656.
Īkhlāṣ K., 1043.
Ikhtiyāru-l-Mulk Gujarātī waits on A., 10, absconds, 13, 15, rebels, 59–60, 85, killed, 86–87, head brought in, 88, sons, 121, 640.
'Īsā, zamīndār, Bengal, originally Hindu, and s. Kālī Dās Gajdānī (elephant expert?). 376–77, 647–49, 658–60, 672, 694, submits 696–7, his intrigues, 969, presents tribute, 1031, 1043, 1059, defeated, 1063, 1068, 1093–4, death, 1140, his s. Dāūd, 1214–15. See Journal A.S.B. 1904, Part I, Vol. 83, p. 1.
Do. (Khwāja), Qutlū's vakīl in Orissa, 879, 934.
Do. Mīrzā, 978.
Iskandar (Alexander the Great) anecdote of, 501, verse about, 600. tribe claiming descent from d. of, 716, anecdote, 1098.
Do. (Sikandar) f. 'Abdullāh K. of Tūrān, 753, 760.
Do. Afghān, escapes, 23.
Do. (Sikandar) Beg (name omitted in translation). See translation, 919, and P.T. 602, wounded and dies, 925.
Do. (Sikandar) Uzbeg, there is a long account of Iskandar Uzbeg in B., p. 365, No. 48, based on Ma'āṣiru-l-U. I, 84; and there is also much about him in Vol. II, A.N. but he does not come into, Vol. III, for he died in, 980, B. rightly says it was Chalma Beg who was at Sarnāl. Apparently two persons held at same time title of K. 'Ālam.

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Do. (Sikandar), Usbeg, joins Sulaimān Kararānī, 933-34, Malik Sikandar shut up in Cuttack, fort Sārangarh, 941. They had 300 elephants. A notice at p. 29 says Sikandar Uzbeg died in Bihār. His s. Maḥmūd in Selīmpūr, 170. At p. 175 a Sikandar is mentioned who seems to be K. Jahān, an officer of Dāūd. At 752 a Sikandar Rafīq mentioned, and at 753, a Sikandar U. who was not the ruler of Tūrān at p. 933, 1050, 1100-01. A Sikandar Caknī, 45. An Iskandar s. Sa'īd who accompanied Ḥaidar M. to Tibet and Kashmīr, 844.

Ismā'īl Qulī Turkoman, y. b. Ḥusain Qulī and nephew Bairam, 53, 230, 253, 386, in Bengal, 428, 431, 480, 591, 588, sent Balūchistān, 716-17, with P. Daniel, 743, among Yūsufzais when there was a pestilence, 750, Multān, 779, misbehaves, 802-03, Gujarāt, 888, with Murād, 914, 997, Kālpī, 1001, at Court, 1059, date of d. not recorded, 1200, his women poisoned him. See Ma'āṣiru-l-U. I, 105, and Darbār A., 712.

Ismā'īl Ṣafavī I, Shah Persia, s. Ḥaidar, account of, 895-96 defeated at Khāldarān (Chāldirān), 1019.

Do. II, 305, delete 316-19, 432, 898-99.

Isma'īl and 'Īsā, his b., sold as slaves into Central Asia, 647.

Do. s. and S. Jamāl died about the same time from drink, 706-07.

Do. s. Burhānu-l-Mulk, 820-21, 892.

I'timād K. Gujarātī, 8, A. sends for, 9-11, 13, 15, 89, 201, goes pilgrimage, 306, promoted, 464-65, in charge jewels, 585, gov. Gujarāt, 596, 599, 607-14, 623, 632. Note; he died Pattan, 995 A.H., i.e. 1587, See B. 387 and Ma'āṣir I, 93-100.

J

Jabbārī, s. Majnūn K. Qāqshāl, 30, 169, 252-53, 386, 449, rebel, 470, 567, 574, 590, loyal, 592, goes Kūch Bihār, 622, 625, released and favoured, 1000.

Ja'far Beg, nephew Āṣaf K., 323, 432. 443, 447, escapes, 449, 599, bakhshī, 661, at Allahabad, 779, called Āṣaf K., 983-84.

Do. s. Yūsuf, 1183.

Ja'farī, Amīr, Turkish saint, 1018 and notes 3 and 4.

Jagannāth, b. Bhagwān Dās, 48, 69, 237, 244, 246, 380, 494, 546, 596, 599, 661, 705, 779, 798, 802, 810, 819, 825, gets house, 834, 923, 1052, 1071, does homage, 1110, s. killed, 1136, promoted, 1178, 1189, 1236.

Jagannāth Temple, 934.

Jagdalak, 531, 539, 792.

Jagdespūr, 261, plundered, 474, 485.

Jagmal Panwār or Patwār, 69, 380, 587, 599.

Do. Silahdar, b. Rānā Pratāp, 519.

Jagman R., 803, 1122.

Jai Tawācā-bāghī, 42, 53, in Kashmīr, 766, vision of, 767, 947 (omitted in translation). See P.T. 619.

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Jaimal, 17 and *n.* 1, 69, 245, 595.
Do. s. Rūpsī, 69.
Jamāl S. Bakhtiyārī nearly poisoned, 289, 456 and *n.*, 464, 518, 534, drunkard, 545, 559, in charge drugs, 585, sent Bengal, 591, death, 707 and *n.* 3.
Jalā, executed, 577 and *n.* 2.
Jalāl K. Qūrcī, 17–18, 48, 123, killed, 224–25.
Do. K., 518, 798, 941, 948, 982.
Do. (Bokhārī) Saiyid, 441 and *n.* 3, 628, 776, killed, 1051, 1071.
Do. Multānī, Qāẓī, 554 and *n.* 3.
Do. S. saint, 500 and *n.* 3.
Jalāla Tārīkī, 777, 782–83, 795, 802–03, 810, 928, 957, 983, 986, 1051, death, 1160.
Jalālābād t. on Chenāb, 508 and *n.* 4, on Beas, 706, on Cabul r., 529, 539, 542–43, 713, 781, 785, 792, 811, 864, 866, 982, 983.
Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd sister's s. of Quṭbu-d-dīn, put to death, 629; but at p. 770, line 8, we find a Jalālu-d-dīn Mas'ūd alive in Kashmīr; and in the P. Index he is identified with Quṭbu-d-dīn's sister's s. Probably the identification is wrong.
Jalesar Etah, d., 455, 587.
Do. Orissa (Jellasore), 228, 430, 940–41.
Jālnāpūr t. Berār, 1137, 1180, 1189, 1199.
Jalpesh temple, Jalpaigurī d., 1067.
Jām, landholder of Cutch, 681, 683, 699, 709–10, 800, 808–9, 902, 905, 909–10, 915, 948, agrees to give up Moẓaffar G. 964, 980, waits on P. Murād, 1000–01.
Jamālu-d-dīn Ḥusain, b.-in-law of Burhānu-l-Mulk of Aḥmadnagar, author P. Dict., at Pattan, 33, 386 and *n.* 3, gets Jellasore in Balasore, 430, 432, 447, 605 and *n.* 2, promoted, 687, 701, 915, sent Bījāpūr, 1176, 1234, meets P. Daniel at Burhānpūr, 1239.
Jamālu-d-dīn Gīlānī, 894.
Jamla, see Mīr Jamla.
Jamāl Nagarī, old place, Kashmīr, not identified, 1083 and *n.* 2.
Jammū t. and prov. Kashmīr, 877, 947, 1206, conquest of, 1213.
Jamrūd fort, 529, 543, 734, 736 and *n.* 1, 794–95, 801.
Jamshīd Afghān, 327–28, apparently Matī had got part of Dāūd's harem; other Afghāns killed Jamshīd with daggers. *n.* 1 for p. 259 read 376.
Jān Muḥ. of Bahsūd, 29, 252, rebels in Bihar, 449, 490.
Jandāla, 921.
Jānī Beg, (Mīrzā), ruler Sind, s. Pāyinda Arghūn, 750, 920, 925, 929–31, 938–42, audience, 971–73, promoted and gets Multān, 979, 986, 1013, 1030, promoted, 1076, dies, 1171–72, s. does homage, 1257.
Jānish Bahādur, 714, 716, 726, 731, 809 (name omitted in translation), 853, 887, in Sind, 929, 972, dies, 1179 and *n.* 4, his brothers, 1195 and 1199.
Janakī, 809.
Jauhar (Mulk) the diarist, 947.
Jaunpūr, mint at, 321, 429, 483.
Jessore, 1180.
Jinnat Āshiyānī, title of Humāyūn his longing to see Kashmīr, 817.
Jodhpūr, 155.
Jotik Rāi, astrologer, 42, 54.
Jujhār K., Abyssinian, 10, 33, executed, 46, his s. 76.

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K

The Persian text has a separate index for places. It seems to me now that the entries in the Place-Index might be omitted, or at least greatly reduced in number. For, the historical part of the A. N. seldom has anything fresh or important about topography. The proper place in which to look for entries of geographical facts is in the Āyīn Akbarī volumes, and these can be consulted in the translations by Blochmann and Jarrett. There are over eighty entries in the P.T. under Kabul, Kabul river etc., etc. But nearly all are mere names. A similar remark applies to the entry 'Kabulis.' And there are still more entries under Kashmīr, Kashmīrīs, and Srinagar.

Kabīr K., s. Bahādur, king Khāndesh, 1123, 1146, 1166.

Kabīr Chishtī, Shaikh, known in Jahāngīr's reign as Shujā'at and as the 'Rustam of the Age,' 460, 519, 613 and *n.* 5, 716, 794, promoted, 1249.

Kākar 'Alī K., killed at Patna siege, 115.

Kālā Pahār. Not, I think, Sulaimān Kararānī's general and Orissa's conqueror. Leaves Lūdī, 31, goes Ghorāghāt, 169, makes commotion there, 186, wounded and defeated, 253, death, 592. Apparently, there is mistake in B., p. 370 and *n.* 1. Kālā Pahār, also called Rājū, mentioned as servant Sa'ādat K., 1154. In my notes I have identified him with the Rājū Deccanī who afterwards gave Imperialists so much trouble. But I do not suppose he is the Rājū who was also called Kālā Pahār. He is mentioned at 592 as having been annihilated, but perhaps this only means that he was defeated. For Rājū Deccanī, sedition-monger, see 1173, 1185, 1189-90, 1192-95, 1199, 1200, 1216.

Kālū Yūsuf-Zai, absconds, 716, 750. But name Bustān Kālū seems uncertain, see P.T. 495 *n.* 3, punished, 811 and *n.* 4. The figures in this note, viz. 495 and 559 should be 750 and 850.

Kalyān Dās, s. Todar Mal, 812, in charge roads, 1200, of Kālīnjar, 1249.

Kāmrāj, division of N. portion Kashmīr, 763 and *n.* 5, 797–98, 830, 946, 1160.

Kāmrān M., s. Bābur, his d., 22, also two ds., 205, his widow, 212, garden, 889 and 931, g.d. marries Selīm i.e. Jahāngīr, 969. Her name was Nūru-n-nisā. See B. 477 *n.*

Kāniguram, vill. S.W. Bannū, 810, 987. Famous as residence Bāyazīd Anṣārī, name of perhaps means hot mine. See Ency. of Islām I, 686.

Karābūh, 'Īsā's home, 648 and *n.* 4.

Kārgiyā, title, ruler Gīlān, 896.

Karm Ullah Kambū, b. Shahbāz, 518 and *n.* 3, forger, 530, A. visits, 774–75.

Kashmīr and Kashmīrīs, *passim*, wickedness of, 465, 724, 747, 752, 762-788, 796–99, assessment, 830–31. A. visits *rīshī*, 832-33, boat-journey to S. Kashmīr, 835, crooked character people, 877. A. visits, 943, Kashmīrī language begins to be spoken at Ratan, Panjab, 822.

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Kāsū Afghān, also called Qāsim K., 147, his s., 879.
Khaibar Pass, *passim*.
Khalīfahābād in Orissa, 968.
Khān Kilān (Mīr Muḥ. K.), wounded at Sirohī, elder b. Shamsu-d-dīn Atgah, 46, 65, death, 231. See B. 322.
Khāndesh, army sent to, 279, 290, 380, 740, 915, 1045, 1047, Rājah of, killed, 1150, 1166, name changed for a time to Dāndesh or Dāndes in 1599. See I.G., XV, 229, interview with ruler, 1123, 1146, 1150, 1160.
Khānim Muḥtarima, 212 and *n.* 1.
Khān 'Ālam or Chalma Beg, s. Kāmrān's foster-b., 7, P.T., 16, 19, 21, sent E. prov., 57, 99, 115, 120, 135, takes Ḥājīpūr, 138-39, 145, killed in battle, 176. See B. 378.
Khānzāda Khānam d. M. Sulaimān, 214 and *n.* 3, 669, 744 and *n.* 3.
Khasrū, e.s. Jahāngīr, born at Lahore, August 1587, m. d. Rajah Bhagwant Dās, her title Shāh Begam, 799, Khasrū at school, 922, 955, 961, learns Indian philosophy, 995, rank of 5,000, 999, 1140, 1152 and *n.* 2, marriage 1211, M.'s suicide, 12, rank of 10,000, 1257.
Khiẓr Khwāja, husband Gulbadan B., his d. Selīma, 206 and *n.* 2, 611 and *n.* 2, 657 and *n.* The entries in P.T. of 553, 554 and 635, corresponding to pp. 840 and 842 of translation, refer to another Khiẓr Khwāja.
Khudābanda Sulṭān Muḥ., e.s. Shāh Ṭahmāsp and b. 'Abbās I, sends presents to A., 8, his blindness and his sister Parī Khānam's intrigues, 319-20, 893, 899, 992, 1021.
Khudāwand K. Deccanī, A. F.'s b.-in-law, 686 and *n.* 2, 786, 804, death in Pattan (Gujarāt) in 1589 A.D., 835 and *n.* 2. Later entries in P. list refer to another Abyssinian also named Khudāwand.
Kūc Bihar or Cooch Bihar, Qāqshāls take refuge in, 170, 349 and *n.* 1, 622, 625, 650 and submission of ruler, Lachmī Narain, 1066-68, 1081-82, 1093-94.

L

The geographical entries under this letter are few and unimportant. Some well-known places are mentioned, such as Lahore. Lucknow, Ludiana and Lahori Bandar, but there are no details about them. Readers are referred to the Āīn Akbarī vols. The personal list may also be much reduced.

Lachmī Narain, ruler Kūc (Cooch) Bihar, account of kingdom, 106 668, defeat of the Pātkunwar (Prince-Royal) 1081-82, 1093-94. The defeat of Rājah Mān Singh's son Durjan Singh is mentioned on p. 1093. The word in Persian text for a landed proprietor is *bumī*, and *bumīān* is used apparently for the plural. There is a long article on Mān Singh in the Darbār Akbarī, p. 535, but Durjan Singh's affair is only slightly touched upon on p. 537. Katrabū is mentioned in MS. Collector Douglas's letter of 1790. See A. N. 1093, *n.* 3. It was 'Īsā Khān's capital. The Mymensingh D. G., p. 168, has an account of 'Īsā Khān's parentage. The story of Mān Singh's challenge probably fictitious. There is an account of

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Mān Singh in Ma'āṣir U. II, 160.

Lahori Bandar, decayed sea-port in Sind, 972-73, made *Khālṣa*, i.e. Crown-property, 986, 1007, 1066.

La'l Kalānwat, singer, 69 and *n.* 2, 82 and *n.* 2, his s., (?) 100, 145, 227. See B. 612 and *n.* He was of Gwalior and known as Miyān Lāl. See also Jahāngīr's Memoirs, 150.

Lāla, e.s. Bīrbar, 1122, retires, 1200.

Langar Kot, a fort, 778 and *n.* 2.

Lashkar K., Mīr Bakhshī, 48, 89, 99, 131, 145, dies of wounds, 180. See B. 407. His name was Muḥ. Ḥusain of Khurāsān.

Lonikāthīs, Gujarāt tribe, 608 and *n.* 4. At 633 it is name of an individual.

Lonkarn (Rai), salt-magnate, 237, 244, sent Dūngarpūr, 278, 295 and *n.* 4. His s. Manohar was a poet, 311, 422, 599, 632. See B. 494 and Jahāngīr's Mem. I. 17, 112, 231, death, 321.

Lūdī or Lodī K., s. Sulaimān Kararānī, 28-31, put to death, 97-100.

M

M. is by far the largest letter in the Persian Index. I have omitted nearly all the geographical entries, for the historical part of the Akbarnāma has very little to say about them. Readers are referred by me to the admirable translations by Blochmann and Jarrett of the Āīn Akbarī, supplemented in the case of Jarrett's second volume, by the additional Index to the geographical names by my friend Mr. William Irvine and Miss Lavinia M. Anstey and published by the A.S.B., New Series, No. 1176, at Calcutta in 1910, in an extra fasciculus.

I beg leave to call special attention to Colonel Jarrett's 2nd and 3rd Volumes of the Āīn Akbarī translation, for it is not so well-known as the almost classical translation of Vol. I, by Henry Blochmann. Blochmann's labours have also been described by the editor of the German Review, the Z.D.M.G., in 1878 or 1879. Jarrett's work was more difficult than mine, and he of course was a thorough Persian scholar. His two volumes contain many difficult passages, especially in Abu-l-Faẕl's details about himself, and in the remarks about Hindūstān. His translation of Akbar's sayings might well be edited and published separately. It is also still worth while to look up Gladwin's translation (see the notice of him in the D.N.B.). He was a good Persian scholar and had the use of some good MSS. I would also once more suggest the translation and publication of the Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā, and of the Darbār Akbarī.

Mādhū Singh, nephew or cousin R. Bhagwān Dās, 49 and *n.* 1, 237, 244, 464, 519, 537, 715, 724, 734, 745, in Kābul, 778 and 782-83, in Kashmīr, 829, 864, does homage, 870, 1155, has rank 3,000 with 2,000 horse, 1231, 1249 and *n.* 1. See B. 418 where 48th year should be 49th. Perhaps, Mādhū was also adopted by Bhagwān.

Madhūkar Sāh, Bandīlā R. Orcha, disobedient, 108 and *n.* 1, 294-95, defeated, 324-25, comes court, 379

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punished, 803. His s. Rām Singh does homage, 1122. Apparently Rām Sāh and Rām Singh are different. See Ma'āṣir II, 131, and A.N. translation 803 and note. Madhūkar was father of Bīr Singh, the murderer of A. F. The word Madhūkar seems to be a nickname, meaning that he made or dealt in honey. Death, 961.

Māh Bānū, sister 'Azīz Koka, w. K. K. 'Abdu-r-Raḥīm, dies Ambala, 1117, 1120.

Mahādeo, temple of, 7.

Māhī B., dies, 283 and *n.* 2.

Maḥmūd of Bhakkar (Sulṯān), besieged, 127–28.

Do. Saiyid, of Bārha, 16, 61, 66, 81, 108.

Do. s. Iskandar Afghān, his escape, 23.

Majnūn K. Qāqshāl, 29, 99, 116, 135, 142, 145, 169, his s. Jabbārī, 1000.

Makhṣūṣ K., younger b. Sa'īd K., 241, 518, 533, at Jalālābād, 542, in charge armour, 585, 591, 879, in Orissa, 935, 937, with Salīm (Jahāngīr), 1247. See B. 38 and Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā III, 324.

Māl Deo Rāo of Jodhpur, there are several entries in P.T. but he had been long dead, and the only thing interesting about him in the third vol. refers to his grand-daughter-in-law's attempted *satī*. She was widow of Jaimal, a nephew of Bhagwān Das and she did not want to burn. She was e.d. of the Mothā (Fat) Rājah. Akbar saved her. Abu-l-Faẓl, pp. 594–95 and *n.*, tells the story badly, for he does not mention the site of the proposed *satī*, nor how far A. had to ride. With regard to p. 595 *n.* 2, I am now inclined to think that *Chāstī* is right and that A. was breakfasting when the news came. The reference in note to p. 63 is wrong and should be 69. The account in Ma'āṣir U. II, 1100 under article Rūpsī, does not add to our information. See also D.A., p. 141 and Vincent Smith's Akbar, 226. The translation in Elliot is not good. Jaimal had no forces with him and it is not clear that he died of sun stroke. Jagannāth and Rāi Sāl came with A. Apparently only Udai is said to have been imprisoned. B. 427–8 and Mrs. Beveridge's Bābur, pp. 145 and 342, may be consulted. The occurrence was in 991 A.H.=A.D. 1583.

Māl Gosain, ruler Kūch Bihar submits, 349 and *n.* 1, account of, 1067 and *n.* 4.

Mālīgarh Fort, outwork of Asīr, 1163–67, taken by A. F.

Do. four victories, 1171.

Malik Mashriq, 10 and *n.* 2.

Mālwa prov., Central I., 15, 25, many entries in P.T. Moẓaffar Turbatī Gov., 48, Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad, 241–42, officers sent for, 275, Shujā'at Gov., 337, Mīrzā Koka sent, 655, he and Naurang appointed to, 779, P. Murād put in charge, 911, 1029.[1]

Māmā Āghā, d., 990 and *n.* 4, 1066 and *n.* 2.

Mān Singh Darbārī, 69, 80 and *n.* 1, 84, 519, his s., 782.

[1] Māma Āghā was Shihābu-d-dīn's widow, 990 and *n.* 4, died, 1066.

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Mān Singh Rājah, adopted s. Bhagwān Dās, 8 and *n.* 5, requests permission to go ahead, 19, prevent A. from hurting himself, 44, 48, arrives from Udaipūr and does homage, 57, 62, 88, 93, 94, with A. on boat-journey, 123, called *farzand* and proceeds against Rānā, 236, Goganda battle, 244, 246, 259–60, 269, at Goganda, 277, 305, sent again against Rānā, 307, 339, 348, 358, protects Yūsuf Shāh of Kistwar, 409, 424, charge of Indus territory, 493, sends Shāh Manṣūr's papers to Court, 502, 508, sent Peshāwar, 518–19, battle against Kābulīs, 537, does homage, 539, arrives from Bengal, 1256, gets rank of 7,000, 1257. Bhāo Singh the only s. who survived him died in Deccan in 1030 or 1031 A.H. (1621 A.D.). Mān Singh also died in Deccan, in 1614 A.D. or 1023 A.H. See Tūzak J. I, 266. Mān Singh was given the pargana of Chaund in order to meet the expenses of keeping up Rohtās. See p. 125, *n.* Indus prov., 545, 669–71, Kābul, 704–5, 712, sent Kābul, 745, Khaibar victory, 734, 736, 739, 742, Kābul, 745, against Tārīkīs, 778-81, 785, negligent, 790, censured, 794, 801, Kashmīr, 830, styled Rājah and has 5,000 rank, 863, sends Bihār tribute, 872–73, Orissa conquest, 878-80, 924, Orissa again, 934, it submits, 940-41, Orissa successes, 967, Afghān disputes, 968, sends elephants, 985, ordered Deccan, 995, Rohtās, 997, Khusrū's tutor, 999, at Tānda, 1023, founds Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal), 1042, marries Lacmī Narāin's sister, 1068, son dies, 1093, sends presents, 1133, 1140, son dies, 1141-42, 1151, 1155, defeats Bengal sedition at Sherpūr 'Aṭāī, 1174, Jessore victory, 1180, 1211, Dacca, 1213, Bhāwal, 1214, and Purneah, 1215, 1232, Kedār Rai and Magh Rajāh defeated, 1235, 1240, 1250. By far the best account of Rajāh Mān Singh seems to be that in the Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā II, 160–70. It does not say that 1,500 wives and concubines burnt themselves at his death. It says each of the 1,500 bore him one or two children, but that they all died before their father except Bhāo Singh and that he was a drunkard. Among other things the Ma'āṣir U. has a long and interesting account of the early history of Orissa and of its conquest in Sulaimān Kararānī's time. It has also detail of Mān's conquest of Orissa. The article on Mān Singh in the D.A. is not so good as I expected it would be.

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Mān Singh Deohra, ruler of Sirohi, is mentioned in p. 7.

Maner, vill. Patna, d. p. 132 and *n.* 3. It says that the Sone joins Ganges there. There is an account of Shaikh Yaḥyā, s. Ismā'īl, see *n.* 6 and p. 133 and *n.* 1.

Mānī, the painter and religious teacher, 283 and *n.* 3, and p. 998. See A.A., J.'s translation, Vol. III, pp. 336-37 and notes. It is curious that Abu-l-Faẓl and other orientals have much to say about Mānī's artistic abilities while European writers say so little about this.

Mānikzhāla, 853 and *n.* Perhaps this is the famous stupa which Elphinstone was perhaps the first European who noticed. See I.G., Vol. XVII, p. 182, where it is called Manikiāla.

Manṣūr Khwāja Shāh of Shīrāz, sent court by Mun'im K., 164, account of, 273-74. A. F. here speaks of his *josh-i-rashad.* This may mean stern rectitude for Rashad was Caliph Hārūn's title. Sent to inspect treasuries, 287, joined with Moẓaffar and Todar Mal, 303, mint arrangements of Jaunpur (Bangāla cannot here mean Tānda, for that is separately mentioned in A.A., B.'s translation, 31, so I presume Gaur is meant here), 321, enquires complaints against revenue officers, 360, to inspect treasury at capital, 374, another decennial settlement, 413-414 and *n.* 2, his strictness a cause of B. and B. (Bihār) rebellion, 431 and *n.* 3, dismissed and imprisoned, 461, alleged treason and his being sentenced and hanged, 501-05 and notes 1 and 4. When A. arrived Kābul he learnt that Manṣūr was innocent. See T. Akbari in Elliot, V, 422 and 427; also Badayūnī, Lowe's translation, 300 and 303; and B. 430. Apparently, Manṣūr had a s. named Bakhtiyār Beg who eventually became fief-holder of Siwistān. B. 474, No. 204.

Martaẓā Sabzawārī (Mīr), Berar fief-helder comes court, 686, 1050, his intrigues, 1148, 1157, does homage, 1166, 1180, 1189, 1199, 1209, 1212, 1236.

Mas'ūd Ḥusain M., younger b. Ibrāhīm Ḥ. M., 49, captured, 53, brought to A., 56 and *n.* 3. See B. 463, probably put to death.

Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī (Mīr), pen-name Nāmī, a Tarmīzī Saiyid and s. Mīr Sofāī, poet and historian and a scholar and composer of Qandahar and other inscriptions, born in Bhakkar and died there in 1044 A.H. (1634), was in Bihār, 475, 591, 596, 610, 624, 642, long employed in Gujarāt, 656, 808, 887, 930-31, 1021, ambassador to Shāh 'Abbās of Persia, 1236-37, returns and brings letter from Shah's aunt, 1251. See Ma'āṣir III, 326, B. 514 and Bedi, p. 269.

Do. K. Farankhūdī s. Mu'īnu-d-dīn. His f. was Humāyūn's officer. See B. 432, 34, 36. Sarkār Ghāzīpūr granted to, 410, misconduct and disloyalty revealed, 483-87, battle at

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Sulṭānpūr, Bilahrī in Oudh and victory Imperialists, January, 1581. Shāhbāz defeated in first battle and fled Jaunpūr 30 m. away, 496, second battle reversed this. Ma'ṣūm assassinated July 1582 at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. Farankhūd said to be near Samarḳand, see Yāqūt. P.T. 'very excusably mixed up the M. Farankhūdī with M. Kābulī. For account of assassination, see pp. 576–77.

Ma'ṣūm K. Kābulī, Muh. Ḥakīm's step-b. and a Saiyid of Turbat in Khurāsān. See Ma'āṣir U. III, 292 and B., 431 *n.* Becomes A.'s servant, 223-24, Orissa assigned to, 410, fief-holder, Patna, 418–19, rebels, 445–48, made rebel's vakīl and styled K. Daurān, 449, 451–52, 460–61, in Bihār, 470, makes night-attack, 472-73, flies Bengal and poisons Sharafu-d-dīn, 478, plunders Ghorāghāt, 592-93, 600, 619, et seq., 645, 651, 673, 676, defeated, 693, 696, 721–22, defeated, 1063, defeats Mān Singh's s., 1093-94, d., 1130, son submits, 1180. See Ma'āṣir U. III, 295.

Mathurā Dās Khatrī, 17, 518, 534, A. visits, 547, 812, 954, 1051-2, death by robbers, 1051-2.

Maṭṭalib K., fief-holder, Mālwa, 36, 274, 338, 380, 446, 520 and *n.* 2, 530, 591, 617, 672, commands force against the Tārīkīs, 794, becomes insane, 796. See B. 403.

Mau, in Baksar (?), 883, R. Bāsū's territory in Kāngra, d. fort taken, 1084, 1206, 1208-9, Bāsū's offences forgiven, his flight, 1248–49, Nūrpūr is capital, I.G., XIX, 232.

Meteors, Perseids (?), 942 and *n.* 2, 300 little stars (sitārhā) seen on 7th July 1592 by A. and Prince Daniel at the Rāmbārī garden, north of Lahore. An expedition against Qandahār was in progress but on seeing this strange phenomenon the army went back to Lahore! Is anything said in European books or in the Almanacs of Darbanga, etc., about it, and has it any connection with Shakespeare's lines about certain stars shooting madly from their spheres on account of Mary Stuart who was executed in 1587?

Miriam Makānī, also called Ḥamīda Bānū, A.'s mother, 83, 108, arrives camp, 348, 547, at her instance Ma'ṣūm (Farankhūdī) and Niyābat (also called 'Arab, B. 425) were pardoned, 566. 618, joins A., 709, A. sends her a verse, 834-35, along with Gulbadan B. and other ladiès, she joins him in Kābul, 859, returns Fatḥpūr, 880, story of A.'s being tatooed, 884, she visits A., 901, at her request Selīm allowed interview, 1140, he avoids her, 1155, she and Gulbadan beg forgiveness for Selīm, 1222-23, visits Gulbadan on death-bed, 1226, brings Selīm to A., 1230, illness and death, 1244–46, 1251.

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Motha Rajah (the Fat Rajah), s. Maldeo, ruler Jodhpūr. Real name Udai Singh. The Udai Singh of the *satī* stopped by A. may have been the Motha Rajah of p. 295 and 632, but he may have been Jaimal's s.; Motha R.'s d. bears a d. to Prince Selīm, 880, *n.* 2, and in 992 she gave birth to Shāh Jahān, 921 and *n.* 2, Motha R. goes Sirohī, 985, 1015, dies, 1027–28, and four wives committed *satī*. Motha R.'s d. had a d. It seems Shāh Jahān had two full sisters, B. 310.

Moẓaffar K. Turbatī, had been ordered Mecca but restored to favour, 9, joins at Surat, 36, gov. Mālwa, 48, made vakīl, 93–94, 120, 146, distinguished services, 187–200, ordered Bengal, 238, 251–52, 266, 273, promoted, 303, at a conference, 320, at Delhi, 360, 374, goes Bengal, 386, 420, misbehaves, 427 and *n.* 1, 430–31, 443, defeat and d., 442–449.

Do. Gujrātī, found hiding in corn-field, 9, original name Nannū, early career 608, 610, besieges Baroda, 628, at Aḥmadābād, 633, 638, et seq., army sent against, 656, 679, 684, 709, 750, 808, 809, 902, et seq., capture and suicide, 962–65.

Do. Ḥusain, s. Ibrāhīm Ḥ. and Gulrukh B., taken Deccan, 22, 23, 289–90, defeated and goes Junāgarh, 294, 301, captured, 330, brought court in chains, 379, 380, pardoned, 386, 571, married to A.'s d. Sultān Khānam, 990. See B. 464.

Moẓaffar another, 423, Sulaimān of Badakhshān gave him his d. in marriage, 423 and *n.* 2.

Do. another, 886.

Mubārak Shaikh, f. A. F. and s. Khiẓr Khwāja. Born Nāgor in Jodhpūr, 911 A.H. (1505 A.D.), 55, 118, d. 967–90. A. F. does not say his f. drew up the famous document making A. the spiritual head of the people, but see *n.* 1 to p. 395. He does not even say that his f. saw the document. His f.'s name is included under the heading of great sages in the A.A. The document drawn up, 987 A.H., or the 24th year of reign and in August-September 1579. Author D.A. thinks Mubārak was probably a slave-girl's child. See his p. 328. A Spanish or Portuguese correspondent of the Times Literary Supplement, 1921, says that the word Imperbicado applied to Mubārak by Montserrat means stiff, or vain in Portuguese but should be written imptigado or empertigado. See Father Rudolf's letter in Father Goldie's First Christian Mission to the Moghul, p. 97 of ed. of 1897. Pertica means in Latin a pole or measuring rod.

Muḥibb 'Alī, s. Bābur's minister. Niẓāmu-d-dīn Khalīfa.

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B. warns us against confounding him with the Muḥibb 'Alī styled Rohtāsī. In fact, the P.T. Index has mixed up three, if not four, different men. However the first two are the most important ones. The first, i.e. the Khalīfa's s., belonged to a Farghāna family and was the elder of the two men. There is a long biography of him in the Ma'āṣir U. III, 238. He was a courtier and intriguer, his w. was Nāhīd B., d. Qāsim Kokaltāsh, Bābur's foster b. Her m. was Māh. Cūcaq, d. Muqīm Arghūn. There is a mystery about Muqīm Arghūn and his family. But, perhaps, it is a mystery which attaches to all men and women who were born in remote times and places. Muḥibb 'Alī, according to the Iqbāl-nāma, died in 991 A.H., but another account gives the date as 989. He wrote a book on falconry which is referred to in Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. For mention of M. A., s. Khalīfa, see pp. 51, 127–29, 304 (where he is greatly praised). The last entry about him is 357 where we find him offered four appointments and choosing that of gov. Delhi. He and his wife had much to do with Sind. See also B. and Ma'āṣiru-l-U.

Do. Rohtāsī. He was a younger man than the Prime Minister's son, and a better man. He was an excellent soldier and did good work at Rohtās and in Bihar generally. A. F. gives an interesting account of his last moments. He had a son Ḥabīb who was killed before him. For M. Rohtāsī, see pp. 251, 280, 420–22, 453, 467–68, 470, 475, where it is stated that the whole country from Shahr Bahīra to Rohtās was made over to him. For Rohtās and Rohtāsgarh, see I.G., Vol. XXI, pp. 322–3. Rohtās is in the Punjab, and was named by Sher Shāh after Rohtāsgarh which is in the Sasarām subdivision of Shāhābād.

Muḥibb 'Alī, a third, is M. A. Khwāja. see B. 546. And a fourth, (Mīr Muhibullāh), who was also a Khwāja. See pp. 596, 681, 710. He is B.'s No. 307. Mujāhid K. was M. A., s. Khalīfa's grandson and his mother's name was Sāmi'ah Begam. See translation A.N., III, 128.

Mun'im K., s. Mīram Beg, K. K. On Sulaimān Kararānīs d.

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ordered conquer B. and Orissa, 6, asks help, 27, his neglect, leaves Chunār, 28, sends officers against Ḥājīpūr, 29, sets out from Muḥammadābād, takes omen from Ḥāfiẓ, 30, rebels defeated, 30, 31, orders to, 57, Todar Mal sent to help him, 58, 89, 100, 109, 114–15, 120, 131–36, 141–45, 147, 150, 152–53 and *n.* 2, 164, Takaroi battle and Mun'im's wounds, 169–80, 186, interview with Dāūd, 183–86, 189–90, 199–200, d. at Gaur, October 1575, 226–29, 255, l. 14 for Khān-Khānān read Khān Jahān, 273, 934. A. sends Mun'im royal falcon, 1014, murmurings of troops, 1129, line 11 and omit "and" before Aḥmad. B.'s account of Mun'im, pp. 317–18, with reference to famous Jaunpūr bridge, still in use, should be read. Mun'im's Ghane altogether a failure. Though M. said to have died of bad air of Gaur, it should be remembered that he was a very old man and also had old wounds. M.'s origin and early history little known. Apparently he was a Chaghatā'ī or Moghul. In A.N. he is often associated with Tardī Beg. Ma'āṣiru-l-U. account, Vol. III, 667, is interesting and tells about history of Kararānī family of Afghāns in B. and Bengal. Much information about Mun'im in Bāyazīd Biyāt's Memoirs. See J.A.S.B. for 1898, p. 296. Bāyazīd was M.'s servant, and was present at many of his campaigns. World seems indebted for them to A. and A. F. But they are still only in MS. in B.M. and India Office. Mun'im's f. was Mīram, and Bairam and he were M. 'Askarī's guardians. Bāyazīd's Mem., I.O. MS., p. 87*b*, tells how Mun'im hanged Khwāja Mīrakī, diwan of Miriam Makānī, who was apparently the historian Niẓāmu-d-dīn's g.f. Bāyazīd gives two chronograms of the building of Jāunpūr bridge. Stewart has account of bridge in Hist. Bengal. Mun'im married one of Bābur's concubines. See Bāyazīd's Mem., p. 122*b*, I.O. MS.

Murād (Sulṭān), A.'s second s., born at Fatḥpūr Sīkrī and hence called Pahārī, June 1570; m. was a concubine and so he was not the s. of Bairam's widow, was to have gone as far as sea with Gulbadan B. and others, but arrangement cancelled, 206, rank 7,000, 308, 329, taught letters, 388, Sharīf his guardian, 458, prince sent on towards Peshāwar, ordered advance from Bikrām (Peshawar), 523–24, 531, victory, 532, weighment-day changed, 581, has charge household, 598, 733, re-called, 735–36, meets Sulaimān Badakhshānī, 786, marries 'Azīz Koka's d., 791, birth of s. (Rustam), 807, in Kashmīr, 819, 830, brings ladies, 853 and *n.* 6, 856, birth of s., 881, charge of Mālwa, 911–14 prince angry, takes a fort, 923, A. censures him, appointed Gujarāt, 982, 996, haughty manners,

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1042, preparations for attacking Aḥmadnagar, 1045, rudeness, 1046, death of Ṣādiq the prince's guardian, 1074 and *n.* 2, M. Yūsuf made guardian, 1081, prince's unsatisfactory behaviour, 1103–04, A. F. sent bring him back, 1119, d., 1125–27 and *n.* 1, 1128–31. Evidently, Murād was the cleverest and best of A.'s sons, but his end was as tragic as the life and death of his two brothers. Father Montserrat's Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius, Mem., A.S.B. Vol. III, No. 9 for 1914, has many interesting references to him. See Index to the Commentare under word Pahārī, p. 684. Murād the only one of the three sons who showed soldierly qualities.

Do. Mīr, Isfarāīnī. He was a Sazāwal, i.e. an inspector or collector (pursuivant ?). A sazāwal was like the tākīdgīr of Bengal, 801 and *n.* 2, 813, 828, 853–54, 1115.

Do. III, Sulṭān of Turkey, d., 1017, 1018.

Do. s. Ya'qūb Beg, 896.

(Muḥ.) Murād K., an officer, 33, 34, 36, 48, 228, 252, 254, 429, 469.

Murshid Qulī, 900 and *n.* 1.

N

Nād 'Alī (call on 'Alī) in Lahore, serving Muḥ. Ḥakīm, 508, afterwards serving A., 717 (not mentioned in translation), does homage, 1239. See B. 507–08. B.'s 26th year should apparently be 25th. Nād 'Alī had s. Bīzan or Bīzhan. See Jahāngīr's Mem., II, 160–61.

Nahīd (name of Venus planet) Begum, d. Qāsim Koka, w. Muḥibb 'Alī, s. Khalīfa, B. 420.

Nāhar K., 930, 1200.

Do. Rāo, 739.

Nāīks of Kashmīr, 768, 798, 822. They guarded the Passes.

Nannū, nickname of Moẓaffar Gujrātī, 609.

Naqīb K., 123, 135, 145, 422, 453, 460, has charge books, 585, 599, 825, 834.

Nāqūsparistān, name in Index, p. 60, col. b., for Christian soldiers, but in P.T., p. 663, the words are *tarsā sipāh.*

Narain Dās Ghelot, 433 and *n.* 5.

Narayan Dās (Rai), landlord of Idar, seditious, 59, 92 and *n.* 1, 268 and *n.* 1, 632.

Narnāla taken, 1115 and *n.* 3.

Narsingh Deo of Orissa, s. Partāb Deo, 933 and *n.* 1.

Nashūrnā, Portuguese lady, 350 and *n.*

Nāṣir (Ṣūfī), from Balkh, interview with A., 335–36.

Nāṣir Mīrzā, Bābur's half b., 976–77.

Naulakā, m. of Dāūd, surrenders near Gwās (Murshidābād), 376, 420.

Naurang K., s. Quṭbu-d-dīn, 33, 34, 36, 60, 89, 279, 363, 519, 535, 536, in charge dyes, 585, charge of buildings, 599, 614, 639, 642, taking of Broach, 657, 682, appointed Mālwa, 779, 808–09, 903, 909, 948, 962, Moẓaffar

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Gujarātī's head stuck up as a trophy at Naurang's doorway 965, 979, Naurang dies near Junāgarh, 1001. See B. 334 and 372 *n.*, where it is stated on Badāūnī's authority that Naurang poisoned the poet Mailī.
Nāẓir Dīwān (Mullā), 779.
Nekcerī, apparently mistake for Yenīcerī, that is, janisary, 1017, 1020.
Niyābat K. 'Arab, 123, 169, 175, punished, 480–81, 485–86, 496, 498, 511, pardoned, 566, death of s., 990.
Niẓām Shaikh, 521 and *n.* 7.
Niẓāmu-d-dīn Aḥmad, historian, his father Khwāja Muqīm of Herāt mentioned, 128, made Bakhshī, 596, 610, 611, 623, 624, 632, 642, 656, 682, 710, 779, in charge Gujarāt, 789, 800, 808, 924, 962, death, 1005 and *n.* 2.
Niẓāmu-l-Mulk (Ibrāhīm), death, 1028, 1065, 1070–72, great battle, 1138, victories, 1171, 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Afẓal K., s. Abu-l-Faẓl, his victory at the Mānjarā, 1185–86; see also B.'s Preface, XXXV.
Noṣair (or Naṣīr), a fanatic, 397 and *n.* 2.
Nuqra Kashmīrī, d. prostitute, mother of Yādgār, 954.

Places.

Nādot (Nāndod), Rājpīpla, 267, 640.
Nagarcīn, 551.
Nāgarkot, fort, 51, 511 and *n.* 1, 884, 961, 1108.
Nāgarnagar (Harī Parbat, Kashmīr), 945, 1085 and *n.* 1, 1088, 1094.
Nagar Sūr, 1235 and *n.* 1.
Nandana, 513 and *n.* 1.
Nānder, 1185.
Nandī Marg, Kashmīr, 836 and *n.* 2.
Nārnaul, 154, 321.
Nārī Barārī, 823, 824 and *n.* 1.
Nāsik, taken, 1123, 1129, 1133, 1154, 1156, A. F. appointed Nāsik, 1173, 1175, 1180, 1189, 1193, 1196, A. F. goes to, 1201.
Nawāla Pass, 802 and *n.* 4.
Nīlāb Fort, 494.

O

Officers and Companions, Lists of, 123, 145.
'Omar S. Mīrzā, f. Bābur, 843.
Do. Ḥājī of Gujarāt, 609, and *n.*
Do. alleged s. Sulaimān Badakhshī, 1080.
Orissa, spelt Ūdesa in P.T. There are 35 entries in P.T. but many are negligible, 6, 28, 153, 167, 172, 174–82. See also B.'s note, 253–55, 429, 469, 499, 590, 600, 625, 674, 722, 878, 901, conquest of Orissa, 933, 940, 967–68.
Oude, there are also several entries in P.T. under Orcha, spelt Ūndeha in P.T., but they are unimportant.

P

Pādrīes of Portugal, Portuguese priests, 117.
Pādshāh Qulī, poet (?), 716 *n.*, omitted translation, see P.T., 475, pen-name Jazbī, B. 596, 753.
Pahār K., see Bahār K.
Paklī, 855, 874–75, etc.
Pālī, t., Jodhpūr, 835.
Pāmpūr, 835 and *n.* 3 (vill. Kashmīr), see Jahāngīr's Mem., I, 92–93, famous for saffron.
Pānchpahārī, five brick mounds near Patna fort, attack on, by the K. 'Ālam, 115, A. inspects, 137 (A. F. calls them five brick domes, *pānch gumbaz-i-khishtī*).

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Panj Barāra, Kashmīr, 774, 836 and *n.* 1, 1083 and *n.* 3.

Parī Khānam, d. Shāh Ṭahmāsp, 311, 319, 898–99 and *n.* 2.

Partāb Bār Feringhī (Portuguese) and his w. Nashūrnā (?), pp. 349–50 and notes. Partāb, probable corruption of Tavares, a Portuguese Captain, 469 and *n.* 4.

Do. Rāna of Chitor and Udaipūr, s. Udai and descended from Mahārāna Sāngā or Sangrām, often called Rānā Kīka, 48, receives Mān Singh, 57, 89, 92 and *n.* 1, A. marches against, 236, 244–47, 259, 267–69, 274–75, 277, 307, 339–40, 355, 380, 661, 705–06, death, 1069 (P.T. 717 on 7 Bahmān, Jan.-Feb. of 41 y. of reign, *n.* 2). See Ma'āṣir U. II, 201, under heading Rānā Karan.

Parwez Sulṭān, s. Jahāngīr, born Kābul, end Oct. 1589. Apparently, d. birth 998 A.H. Jahāngīr says in Mem., Khasrū born 24 Amardād, 995, and that Parwez born two years, two m. later. So if Khasrū b. Augt. 1587, Parwez b. Oct. or Nov. 1589. See A.N. translation, III, 859 and P.T. 568; Zain Koka made guardian, 875, 888, P.T. 655. M. dies, 1133, 1140.

Patan or Pattan, city, Gujarāt, formerly Nahrwāla, A. encamps at, 8–9, 27, 32, 46, K. K. dies at, 231. Another Pattan, known as Pākpattan, A. visits, 335 (in Montgomery d., Panjab, I.G., XIX), 465, 845 and *n.* 4 (a place in Kashmīr); Pattan, Somnath, 980; Pattan of the Deccan, 1110; Mungī Patan, 1144 and *n.* 2.

Patna, city, Bihār, 28–29, Dāūd takes refuge in fort, A. besieges it, 101, 109, 114–15, 127, 129 and *n.* 1, 135, 137, 140–42, mint in, 321 and *n.* 4, 418, 452, 470–71, 476, 574.

Patr Dās (Rai), afterwards Rājah Bikramājīt, 386, 432–34, 449, 460, 590, made Dīwān, 779, 879, Delhi first made over to, 924, 1059, takes Bāndhū fort, 1104, made Dīwān, 1108, charged with taking bribes and removed, 1134, has rank of 3,000, 1177, Rājah Bikramājīt Bahadūrīa (?) and his uncle Rai Mukund get appointments, 1249. See B.'s article, 469, which is based on Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā, II, 139. See also Jahāngīr's Mem., I, 22, 50, 176. J. says Rāi Patr was a Khatrī and says it was he himself gave him title Rajah Bikramājīt. See also I.G., VI, 350 and XXI, 281, though the statement that Bikramājīt was a minor and connected with Rewah family seems wrong. There was also another Bikramājīt whose proper name was Sundar Dās. See J.'s Mem. II, Index, p. 304, and Vol. II, p. 256, which speaks of his death.

Pāyinda Muḥ. K., 145, 175, 307, 466, 475, 599, 632, 641, 801, 1249.[1]

[1] There are several Pāyindas and the P.T. has a good many entries against them. But none of the men seems to have been of much importance Two of

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Peshāwar, P.T., Index, 73, *passim.*

Pesh Bulāq, fort, Afghānistān, 780 and *n.* 4.

Peshrau K., called by Jahāngīr Mihtar Sa'ādat, 123, imprisoned, 240, 260 and *n.* 3, 409, 467, 660, 1146, 1165 and *n.* 1. See also Jahāngīr's Mem., 149-50, though a hard drinker, he lived to over 90.

Pīr Panjāl, pass, Kashmīr, 409, 765, 823, 946, 955, porters lost in, P.T., 648.

Pūran Mal, Rājah of Gidhaur, 150, 696, 872; another man, 925, at p. 734 called Karidhurī. Is this a mistake for Gidhaur? There was also a Pūran Mal who was Rājah of Cānderī and who was treacherously killed by Sher Shāh. He was a Kachwaha.

Pūrbandar, seaport, Gujarāt, 980.

Q

Qāān Buzurg, (Chingīz), pestilence in his time, 1226 A.D. or 623 A.H., 840, cured by use of henna, 939-40, delete the f. after "great", p. 939.

Qandahār, city (Kandahar of I.G., XIV), 166-67, embassy from, 294, 715, army sent against, 886, 917 and *n.* 4, P. Daniel sent to, 921, 942, 976, 992, 1010, 1026, taking of, 1232-33.

Do. Qandahār or Qandhar in Ḥaidarābād, Deccan (I.G., XIV, 377), 604 and *n.* 1.

Qāqshāls, Turkish tribe, 29 and *passim.* See B. 369, *n.* 2.

Qāsim K. Mīr Baḥr (admiral), famous for making mines, 25, 123, 248, 277, gov. Agra (he built the fort), 374, 454, made bridge, 523, built rest-houses, 559, charge aromatics, 585, 599, 709, misbehaviour, 796, 798, mends roads, 817, 829, 851, 928, death and punishment of his murderer M. Zamān impostor and illegal s. M. Shāhrukh, 1001-03. See Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā, III, 62. Qāsim conquered Kashmīr and was assassinated at Kābul, 1002, in 39th year of A.'s reign, 1593-94. Several Qāsims are mentioned, see B.'s *n.*, p. 380 on the Saiyids of Bārha. Though a good many names of persons are mentioned in the P.T. under Q, yet very few are of importance.

Qatlū K. Lohānī, also called Kararānī, Afghān, prominent in Orissa. See B. s.v. 98, 99, 253, 469-70, 567, 590, defeated, 600-02, 619, submits, 653, 879, d., 880.

Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī, made Bakhshī, 428, 546 and *n.* 3, released, 865, 877 and *n.* 3, sent Kashmīr, 906, 944-46, killed, P.T. 627.

Qismiyah Bānū, 167, A. marries her in 19th year of reign, B. 618, called in A.N., III, Qīma. She is also called Qasīma, 167 and *n.* 3. She was d. 'Arab Shāh. Qasīma means beautiful. I have not found who 'Arab Shāh was, 167.

Qiyā K., 30, 99, 145, 175, in Orissa, 429, 469, killed, 499-500.

them, Pāyinda Ḥasan Ghaznavī and P. Qulī Mogha, translated a small part of Bābur's Mem. See Ethé's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in I.O., *n.* 214.

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Qulīj K. Andijānī, B. 34, *n.* 2 and p. 354 (No. 43), gov. Sūrat fort, 44, 59, 231, 269, 276, 280, made Vizier, 504, 808–09, gets Sarkār Sambol, 817, 877, 902, 924 and *n.* 1, P.T. 647. Qulīj's d. married to P. Daniel, P.T. 648, Afghānistān put in Q.'s charge, 1004, birth of Bulāqī, B. 1021, 1051, 1066, 1073, rank raised to 4,500, 1076, 1112, P.T. 834, gets charge Jaunpūr, P.T. 839.[1] Qulīj K. lived in Jahāngīr's reign and died in the year 1613, or 1614 A.D., or 1022–23 A.H. See B. 354, *n.* 2 which corrects his p. 34. The M. Umarā notice is Vol. III, pp. 69–74. It gives the curious story of a *revenant* quoted by B. 355. See also Jahāngīr's Memoirs, I, 253. There is a reference to Qulīj K. in the record of Akbar's "Sayings," Col. Jarrett's translation of Āīn Akbarī, Vol. III, p. 392.

Quṭbu-d-dīn Muḥ K., in Mālwa, sent Gujarāt, 25, (he was y. b, Shamsu-d-dīn Atgeh, see B. No. 28, p, 333), 32, 34–35, 47, 60, 89, promoted to 5000, 257, 269, 274, does homage, 380, made Selīm's (Jahāngīr) guardian, 401 and *n.*, appointed against Portuguese ports, 409–10 and *n.*, 607, 613–14, his slackness and death, 626–29 and 965.[2]

Qutlaq Nigār Khānam, Bābur's m., 843.

R

There are numerous entries under letter R, but few are important. Many under titles Rajah, Rānā and Rao appear in this Index under other letters.

Rai Rai Singh, s. Kalyān Mal of the Māldeo family and Bikānīr, B. 357, sent Jodhpūr, 8, 50, 61, which last entry should be Rai Singh, and not Rām Singh, at Surnāl battle, 81 and 85–86, 113–14, 155, many entries in P.T., none very important, d. married Jahāngīr, 749, does homage, 853, sent Bikānīr, 881, censured, but forgiven, 1068, 69, his folly referred to in J.'s Memoirs, 438, d., 217–18. See B. No. 44 and Ma'āṣir U. II, 148. Besides giving d. to J. he gave his niece to A. He died 1021 A.H. or 1613 A.D. His s. Dalpat gave J. much trouble.

Do. Sal Darbārī, B. No. 106, a Shaikhawātī Rājpūt, 17, 69, 551, 1117, his rank of 2,500, P.T. 809.

Do. Rāyān, appointed Deccan, P.T. 806, 812, 816.

Rāmbārī Gardah, Panjab, beyond Rāvī, where Perseid motions seen, 942–43. Also apparently called Rām Dās garden, 995, A. retires there, 1028, 1049.

Rām Chand Kachwāha, 69 and *passim.* B. 389.

[1] The entries of Qulīj K.'s name are numerous. I have omitted some of them.

[2] Owing to absence of some fasciculi of my translation I have occasionally been obliged to quote the Persian original; they are marked P.T. (Persian Text), and as the pages of the text are marked in the margin of the translation, there will be no difficulty in finding them.

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Rām Dās Kachwāha, 69, 91, 660, 673, 819, 825.

Ranthambor, 258, 285.

Rohtās, fort in Bihār, 146, 189, 265, 475.

Do. in Panjab, 514, 709, 835, 869, 955, 961.

Rudolf Acqaviva, Catholic Priest, the Radīf of P.T. and the Saint Rudolf of R. C. Hagiology, 368-69 and *n.* 1, corresponding to P.T. 254. See in Jarsee and Father Goldie's monograph, Dublin 1897, and General Maclagan's article in J.A.S.B. Father Montserrat's Latin Report (Commentaries), Memoirs A.S.B., Vol. III, 9.

Rūpa (Bībī), A.'s nurse, d., 908.

Rūpsī, father of Jaimāl, 69, 231, 310.

Rustum, s. Sulṯān Ḥasan, grand-nephew Shāh Ṭahmāsp, styled Ṣafavī, 992, 1011, 1030, 1041, 1060, 1084, 1117, 1120, also called Qandahārī. See Ma'āṣir U. II, 434, for Mīrzā Rustum and do. IX, 296 for M. Moẓaffar; another Rustum, s. S. Murād and K. A'ẓam's d., birth, 807, put to school, 995, 1064, death, 1096-97 and notes 3 and 4. The grand-father of the two Qandahārī Mīrzās was Bahrām, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and their father was a Sulṯan Ḥusain.

S

S. is a very big letter of the Index for it includes three Arabic or Persian letters, to wit, Sīn, Shīn and Ṣād.

Sa'ādat 'Alī K., holds pargana Tamsdāīn, 418 and *n.* 3, 452, 475 and *n.* 1. Originally a rebel, but reformed; he held Fort Kant but killed by rebels, and 'Arab drank his blood.

Do. Bānū B., d. Prince Daniel, 937, 1254.

Do. K., 1047 and *n.* 2, 1154, 1181, 1185, 1196.

Do. Yār Koka, 272 and *n.* 1, d. marries A. F.'s s., 878, dies of drink, 1006.

Ṣadāīq, fabulous animal, supposed to have destroyed immense bird-life in Tūrān, 857 and *n.* 2.

Sa'dī the poet, mentioned, 894.

Ṣādiq K., B.'s Çādiq, 355 and Ma'āṣir-ul-Umarā II, 724. A Persian and s. Bāqir of Herāt, Bairam's stirrup-holder (*rikābdār*). At Sirohī, 7, 10, 17, at Sūrat, 22, Gujarāt, 66, 90, 123, 132, at Çausā, 146-47, deprived of fief for losing elephant, 149, pardoned, 201, 203, gets fief, 223, on mission Agra, 287, against R. Madhukar, 295, 324-326, 379, 422, 452, 460, 467, good behaviour at Gaya, 473, 476, in Bihār, 567. Charge gold and silver, 585, 590, 600-02, 620, quarrel with Shāhbāz, 622, 645, 653, 675-76, 722, attacks Sehwān, 750-51, charge Multān, 779, does homage, 792, 806, 809, 812, 818, 828, 854 and *n* 1, 877, 947, 961, guardian P. Murād, 985, 1046-47, 1048, 1059, victory, 1065-66, d. in Shāhpūr, Deccan, 1074, 1141, his s. Zāhid Beg, 1209, 1239. "Ṣādiq one of A.'s best officers," B. 357.

Saffron, beautiful beds of, at Pāmpūr in Kashmīr, 957.

Sa'īd K. Chaghatāī, s. Ya'qūb Beg, gov. Multān. See long account

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of him in Ma'āṣir U. II, 403 and B. No. 25. Captures Ibrāhīm and Mas'ūd Mīrzās, 53 and *n.* 1, 61, 89, 241, guardian P. Daniel, 288, Gov. Panjāb, 356, 380, 423, 508, 529, fief in Sambal, 587, 625, gets 3,000 rank, 629, 676, 696, charge Bihār, 779, 801, censured but pardoned, 807, d. his d. by Selīm, 816, gov. Bengal, 878–79, illness, 935, returns Bengal, 940, brings 100 elephants, 1031, sent Bihār, 1060, homage, 1120. He kept 1,200 eunuchs, connected by marriage with A.'s family, see A.N. and Jahāngīr's Mem.

Saif Ullāh, s. Qulīj K., 705, 967.

Do. K. Koka, e. b. Zain K., wounded, 26, 64, 68, killed, 82–83, 87, A. pays his debts (he was A.'s foster b.), d. of s., 1160, see B. 350.

Do. (*saif* means sword) -ul-Mulk, 10, 306, 698, 892.

Sakīna Bānū, 351, 352 and *n.* She was A.'s half-sister, d. P.T.[1] 839.

Sambal, a slave, frees Shāh Beg, 977 and *n.* 2.

Sām Mīrzā, b. Ṭahmāsp, 896, 1120.

Sangrām (R.), of Kharakpūr, submits, 150, 261, 696, 872, 934–35.

Sānwal Dās Jādūn, 69, 518, wounded, but A. cures him, 652, 1065, see B. 525.

Sarjan Hāra (Rai), of Ranthambhor, Chunār given in fief to, 223, his rebel s. Deora, 258, punished, 284, brought to court, 354, 422, 453, 519, 591, 598. Deora dies, 706.

Sātilmish Khātūn, exercises right of e.w., 841.

Sāzdū Sāl and Nairam Sāl; these two names appear on p. 600, top line of P.T., but perhaps text corrupt. I do not know what men or class they refer to. They also appear on the P. Index as persons and there are variants at foot of p. 600.

Selīm (Jahāngīr), born Fatḥpūr Sīkrī, 31st August 1569; e.s. Akbar; put to school, 105, 206, illness, 288, rank, 308, 348, 353, Quṭbu-d-dīn guardian, 401, 495, 559, d. born, 746, makes two marriages, 748–49, birth Khasrū, 799, d. born, 816, 821, misbehaviour, 824–25, 829, two ds. born, 880, birth Shāh Jahān (Sulṭān Kharram) at Lahore, 921 and *n.* 2, 931, 943, 955, marries a Kashmīrī Cak, 958, 960, marries Nūru-n-nisā d. Gulrukh B. who was d. Kāmrān and m. Moẓaffar Ḥusain, M.B. 464 and 477 *n.*, marries R. 'Alī K. of Khāndesh's d., 982, 990, 997 and *n.* 1, d. born, 1015, another d., 1031, marries Zain K. Koka's d., 1058–59, wife (R. 'Alī K.'s d.) dies, 1063, 1083, misconduct, 1088, d. born, 1094, 1102, A. F. offends prince, 1104, 1131, misbehaviour, 1132, has leave to go Ajmīr, 1140, misbehaviour, 1155, when he was rude to Miriam Makānī (Humāyūn's widow), goes

[1] I have occasionally noted the Persian Text page for want of the printed copy of translation. This will cause no difficulty, as the P.T. is, as a rule, inserted in the margins.

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Allahabad, 1210, 1217, 1222-23.
Do. s. of Fatḥpūr, 54 and *n.*, death of s., 209, of g.s., 706.
Do. Shāh, s. Sher Shāh, 647.
Do. Zemīndār, 764.
Selīma Sulṭān B., widow Bairām and afterwards A.'s wife, 205, sent to Jahāngīr, 1223-24, 1226-28. [206.
Do. Khānam, d. Khiẓr Khwāja,
Seōrās, Jain ascetics, 93.
Shādmān, general, 493-94, 502, defeated by Mān Singh, do. do. s. 'Azīz Koka, 982, P.T. 804, where his rank becomes 1,000, P.T. 825, rank raised to 1,500.
Shāh 'Alī Langā, s. Bakhshū Langā, 65 and *n.* 1.
Do. Beg. Several persons of this name or title. The first of them is Shāh Beg Arghūn, s. Zu-l-Nūn, see B. 362. He is also called Shujā Beg and may be distinguished as the Shāh Beg of Bābur's Mem. But he is only incidentally referred to in Vol. III of A.N.; see p. 977, for account of how a slave rescued him from prison. At 596, another Shāh B. mentioned, and also at 706. He too was an Arghūn but he is generally known as Khān Daurān; he was s. Ibrāhīm Beg. See B. 377; see also 713, 734, 792. Builds fort, 809. Another Shāh Beg, namely the famous Uzbeg Shaibānī, is referred to at p. 843; the S. B. of p. 853 is the Khān Daurān; and so also is he of 863, 887, 929, 972 and 973. At 896, the S. B. is Shaibānī Uzbeg; at 976 Bābur's S. B. is referred to; at 979 it is the K. Daurān who is meant; and so also at 993, 999, 1000, 1015, 1020, 1030, 1043. Rank raised to 3,500, 1076, 1160 (?), his presents, 1211, rank raised to 5,000, 1225, 1233, 1240. The Khān Daurān is several times mentioned in J.'s Mem. He died when nearly 90 years of age, J.'s Mem., II, 172. See his biography, Ma'āṣir U. II, 642.
Do. Budāgh, 32, 35, 274, 338, 371-72, No. 52 of B.
Shāham K. Jalāīr, B. 410, 25, 27, at Patna, 137, 145, 173, 175, 178, 183, 228, 252, fief holder Ḥājīpūr, 419, 452, 476, comes from Tirhut, 544, 567, 786, 806, 809, homage, 853, guardian Rustum, s. P. Murād, 1064, 1066, censured and removed, 1118, death at Asīr during siege, 1156. Shāham Jalāīr was an old and valued servant of Akbar, and his father Bābā Beg sacrificed his life in attempting to save Ḥājī B. and others of Humāyūn's ladies at Chausā. The article Shāham J. will be found on p. 603, of Vol. II of the Ma'āṣir U. But date of death, and perhaps also place thereof, are wrong. A.N.'s date is 5 Shahriyūr of the regnal year 45 (August 1600).
Shāhbāz K. Kambū. See Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā II, 590 and B. No. 80, 13, 15, 17, punished 23, 30, 65, 123, 132, 142, 167, 237, sent against R. Gajpatī, 239-44, also

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against Jagdīspūr fort and final destruction Gajpatī, 260–68, taking Shergarh, 266, at Sāmbhar lake 406, against Rānā Partāb, 459, 468, spoilt by success, 476–77, 485, defeated in Oude, but afterwards victorious, 486–88, improved conduct, 496–99, does homage, 546, imprisoned 550–51, 566, released 584, sent Bengal, 594, charge army, 599, 619–20, quarrel with Ṣādiq, 622, 645, 650, 653, unsuccessful Bengal, 657, 659–60, pursuivants (*Sazāwalān*) put him right, 672, 675, 695, behaves badly to Sangrām, 696, ordered again Bengal, 701, 721, Bakhshī Bengal, 779, his garden, 790, arrives Court 807, 813, made Provost-Marshal, 817, 818, 838, homage, 853, victory at Buner, 867, imprisoned, 885, released, 985, and *n.* 1, P. Murād's guardian, 991, 995, 1042, loots Aḥmadnagar, 1046, 1052, conveys treasure, 1060, deprived Mālwa 1069, comes Court, 1092, sent Ajmīr, 1120, dies there, 1142. His character, 1142, *n.* 2. His b. Karm Ullāh the forger, p. 518 and *n.* 3, is three times mentioned in third vol. A.N. One significant reference occurs p. 530 (last line p. 360), where it is said that prudent people did not put much faith in his statements; yet Akbar visited him, p. 775, translation, top line!

Shāh Jahān; see Sulṭān Kharram.

Do. Madad Koka, A. spears him when brought as a prisoner before him, 84.

Do. Muḥ. of Shāhābād (Maulānā), translator and poet, 1110 and *n.* 1.

Shāhrukh, s. Ibrāhīm and g. s. Sulaimān of Badakhshān, his m. was d Shāh Muḥ. Kashgharī. She was known as the Khānam and as Muḥtarima, 212, 222, 229, 231, arrival envoys, 295–96, 353, 388, 423–24, 617, 652, 662, 670, 713, sent Kashmīr, 715, 738, 744, 747, 759, 769, 774, 775, 864, 871, marries A.'s d. Shakru-n-Nisā, 990, 995, 1002, 1052, 1055, rank increased, 1069 and *n.* 1, 1071, 1092, homage, 1116, 1120, 1123, 1134, 1137, 1175, 1229, 1232. Shāhrukh died in Mālwa (Ujjain) in 1607. See Jahāngīr's Mem., I, 119. His seven children brought court, do., 137. He was also married to a d. of Muḥ. Ḥakīm. See Ma'āṣir U. III, 329.

Shāhzāda Khānam, A.'s e.d., 1130 and *n.* 2, 1131.

Shaikh Yaḥyā, i.e. John of Maner, see Yaḥyā, 132 and *n.* 6, 133.

Do. Mīrzā. Original name Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā, Humāyūn changed it to Shāh Mīrzā. He was s. Ulugh Mīrzā and grandson Sulṭān Ḥusain the famous ruler of Herāt. Sulṭān Ḥusain's d. was Shāh Mīrzā's mother. Shāh M. came to India in Bābur's time and was afterwards given by Akbar pargana A'ẓampūr in Sambal. See B. 461 and the Ma'aṣir U. III, 192, from which B.'s account is taken. In his old age Shāh Mīrzā had four sons. The Sambal Mīrzās were Persians and Timurids, but they were cause of mischief in India. A late member of

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family, Moẓaffar Ḥusain M. married A.'s eldest d. Sulṭān Khānam. The Mīrzās figure in A.N., III, on pp. 15, 16, 27, 32–33.

Shaikh Qulī K. Maḥram, an old officer of Humāyūn, 16, 19, 21, sent Sūrat, 22, 27, 48, 63, 78, against Rānā, 89, 113, 122, gov. Panjāb, 230, neglects duty, 237, censured, 356–57, guards s. Manṣūr, 462, 484, 495, homage, 335, 547, 567, 585, 590, defeats Bahādur Kūruh, 602 and *n.* 4, 620, wounded in Bengal, 659, 673–74, 676, 695, comes from Bengal, 699, 715, 738, 743, 778, Delhi made over to, 779, 874, 909, has rank of 4,000, 1049, 1111, accompanies Jahāngīr Ajmīr, 1140, his servants ordered bring Datman Dās to court, but the latter fought and was killed, 1181, has audience, 1189, gov. Kābul, 1196, b. promoted, P.T. 805. It was Shāh Qulī who captured Himū, see B. 359. He was a Bahārlū. Death and character, 1197. See also 1196 and Ma'āṣir-U. II, 605. Shāh Qulī Maḥram had curious career. His success in capturing Himū turned his head, and he, like Khān Zamān and Moẓaffar of Turbat, and the great emperor Bābur, became infatuated by the abominable Central Asian vice of sodomy, and became for a time a *jogi* and went into forest because Akbar, to his great credit, detested the vice, and insisted on Shah Qulī's giving up his catamite. See the interesting remarks of editor of Ma'āṣiru-l-U., and his rather shuffling view of Shāh Qulī's conduct and of Akbar's severity at p. 606 of Vol. II. Also at p. 607, the account of origin of Shāh Qulī's title of Maḥram, i.e. the confidant, admitted to the Harem.

Shakru-n-Nisā, a name which recalls that of Waller's flame Sackinssa, fell ill, 937, but lived on to Shāh Jahān's reign. See Tuzuk J. I, 36 and *n.* 1.

Shamsu-d-dīn Khāfī (Khwāja) or Khawāfī, B. 445, s. Khwāja 'Alāu-d-dīn, 93, accompanies Moẓaffar K. against Rohtās, 146, 188–89, 191, 193–95, 197–99, 432, 442, wounded, 443–49, escapes, 460–61, 468, in charge Atak fort, 521, 712–13, 716, 745, Bakhshī of Kābul, 779–780, 792, 802, sent to assess Kashmīr, 830, buries Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ, 851–52, made Dīwān, 864, several prov. made over to, 924, 943, homage, 958, Kashmīr entrusted to, 959, 966, 983, 987, reforms coinage, 1001, made Dīwān-i-Kul, 1004, 1029, 1108, left in Lahore in charge, 1115, death and character, P.T. 772. There is a long account of Shamsu-d-dīn and of district of Khwāf and its distinguished men in M. Umarā but it is hidden away in the first volume, the entry being made under adventitious title of Khwāja; see p. 664, thereof. It would appear from page 93, *n.* 1, of the translation

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of the A.N. that Shamsu-d-dīn was a writer as well as a man of action.

Sharafu-d-dīn of Pānīpat, 133 and *n.* 3.

Do. Ḥusain M., brought Court a prisoner, 41–43, 448–49, 451, 460, 470, death, 477–78. He was s. Khwāja Mu'īn who made fortune out of jade See B. 322. He married Bakhshī Bānū, A.'s half-sister. See Noer's Akbar, translation.

Sharīf, s. 'Abdu-ṣ-Ṣamad, 861 and *n.* 2, also B. 517.

Do. b. Naqīb, 125 and *n.*, killed at polo, 242–43, debts paid.

Do. Armanī, 1123 and *n.* 2. *Note.* The P.T. has many entries under head Sharīf Atgāh, see p. 45 of P. Index. But he was not the Atgāh killed by Adham K., but his b.; see B. 383. Abu-l-Faẓl, however, also calls him Atkah or Atgāh, 274, 339, 458, 878, his s. killed by his womenkind, 881, he was gov. of Ghaznī, 993, was sent to guard it, 1004, 1072, was removed from Ghaznī, P.T. 815.

Do. Wuqū'ī of Nishāpūr in Persia, a poet, died, 1002 A.H. (1594). See B. 596, also p. 1000 and *n.* 3 of my translation A.N.

Do. Āmulī (Mīr), sent Afghānistān, 718 and *n.* 6, 781, 819, 830, entrusted with four great offices and sent Bengal, 916, sent Srīnagar in Kashmīr, 846, 1077, 1103, Ajmīr given in fief to, 1114, 1122, P.T. 779, in charge Sarkār Bahrāich, 834, P.T. He was a heretic and is much abused by Badāyūnī. See B. 176 and 452. See long and interesting account of Sharīf in Ma'āṣir U. III, 285, where it is tucked away under trivial name of Mīr. See also B. on the Nuqṭawīah sect, p. 452. Āmul is a town on the Oxus, Elliot's History, II, 137 *n.*

Sharīf Sarmulī, made Bakhshī, 753. He was a poet and also had the name of Wuqū'ī, B. 516 and 591.

Do. Wuqū'ī, poet, B. 591, death, 1000 and *n.* 3.

Sher Afgan, that is, tiger-thrower, was s. Qūch Beg. His real name was 'Alī Qulī Istajlū and he was table-attendant of Shāh Ismā'īl II. The title Sher Afgan is said to have been given to him by Jahāngīr when he was Prince Selīm. It was Akbar who gave Nūr Jahān in marriage to Sher Afgan in order to prevent Selīm from marrying her. Perhaps A.'s interference was a pity. Sher Afgan's f. is said to have been slain in trying to protect Miriam Makānī. But the story, as told in B. 455, and which is borrowed in great measure from the Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā II, 572, life of Sher Afgan's s. Shiroza, cannot be correct if, as B. says, it refers to the disaster of Chausā, for Miriam Makānī was not present there and

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was not then Humāyūn's wife. If the story be true it must refer to Ḥājī Begam. In the A.N., III, Sher Afgan is thrice mentioned, viz. at 650, 715 and 718, of the P. T. In the first mention it is said that A. made Shiroza a Khān as a reward for his father's services. This was in the 39th year of the reign. The account of Shiroza will be found at 572–73 of Vol. II of the Ma'āṣir U. We are not told if Shiroza was Nūr Jahān's s., or if she was only his step-mother. For Shiroya or Shīroya, see 175, 177, 363, 519, 591, 613, 632, 794, 795, 1000, when he was made a Khān, sent to Ajmīr, 1006, where Shīroza should be Shīroya in the translation.

Sher Khwāja, a gallant officer under A., Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. See B. 459 and A.N. 363, P.T. 508 and 718 of A.N.

Sherī (Mullā), a poet. He wrote the satirical lines about A.'s rising claims of divinity. See B. 197 and 610. He was killed in the Chakdara Pass, n. of Peshāwar, along with Bīrbar in 30th year of reign, 732, and also 716, where name omitted in translation.

Shī'as, 76 and 804-05.

Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K. See B. 332 and Ma'āṣir U. II, 567. A Saiyid of Nīshāpūr, and one of Humāyūn's officers, 91, 122, gets rank of 5,000 and sent Mālwa, 241–42, does homage, 274, sent Khāndesh, 279, gov. Gujarāt, 306, 363, P.T. 389[1], 597, 607–12, 623, 632, 642, 657, gov. Mālwa, 687, 701, 739, Allahābād made over to, 779, 803, 865, death and character, 885. He made or improved a canal and did good work at one time, but he was too old and feeble in Gujarāt. He was related apparently to Māham Anga; he died in Ujjain; death of widow Māma Āghā who was related to A.'s m., 1066 and *n.* 2, 1129. The conjunction "and" between Shihābu-d-dīn and Aḥmad should be removed.

Shīr-Dat, brahman, 772 and *n.* 1.

Shujā'at K. His name was Muqīm 'Arab and he was sister's son and son-in-law of Tardī Beg. See Ma'āṣir U. II, 557. He was gov. of Mālwa and was murdered at Sārangpūr by his mutinous soldiers. He is not the father of Bāz Bahādur, the musician and lover of Rūpmatī. Bāz Bahādur was s. of Shujāwal or Shujā'at K. Sūr. See Ma'āṣir U. I, 387. See also B. 428 and 371.

Sikandar or Iskandar (several persons so called). (1) Sikandar Uzbeg, death of, 29, 933. (2) S. Khān, 170. (3) b. Khān Jahān, the rebel, 175. (4) S. Caknī, 454, 593, 620. (5) (Mīr) S., 508. (6) S. K., f. great

[1] The Mīrzā K. of P.T. 389 is evidently not the Mīrzā K. who was s. of the great Bairām the Khān Khānān. He was an inhab. of Nīshāpūr and related to Shihāb. He is entered in P.T. Index on p. 60, col. a, top of p. See B. 502, No. 303, pp. 624 and also 1116, where my remark identifying him with the K. K. is wrong.

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"Abdullah K., 665, 753, 763. (7) Sultan Sikandar, or Alexander the Great, 716, 1097–98. (8) S. Rafīq, 753. (9) S. Beg, 925. (10) Sikandar K., s. of Ṭāhir, 1169.

Siyāwash, his ordeal, 1105 and *n.* 6.

Sulaimān M., b. Khān M., king, Badakhshān, comes to Court, 208, account of, 211–22, 229, has leave to go to Mecca, 231, 236 423–25, 493, 617, 652, 662–70, 780–81, arrival Court, 785, dies Lahore, 836–37, a s. of his, 1080.

Do. Khwāja, his cowardice, 503 and *n.*, 695, 697, 903, 936, 967.

Do. Kararānī, ruler B. and O., d. of, 5–6, 28, 933, 1168.

Sulṭān Khwāja Naqshbandī, 61, made caravan-manager of pilgrims and sails for Mecca, 276–77, returns Court, 382, 405, homage, 547, charge of charities, 599, death, 655, d. marries P. Daniel, 806, d. born by d. Sulṭān Khwāja, another d., 937, his s. M. Khiẓr gets rank of 500.

Do. Kharram. It is under this title that the youthful Shāh Jahān, s. Jahāngīr, appears in the Persian Index, p. 23, col. b, the A.N., Vol. III. The Ma'āṣir U. has not any separate entry under the head Shāh Jahān, but has many references to him in its 3 vols. Shāh Jahān has various titles such as Ṣāḥib Ṣānī and Firdūs Āshiyānī. Birth, 921, his m. was d. Motā Rāja, 1115, 1131, 1140. Tātār Beg made his guardian, 1177.

Sundar Dās, serves P. Murād, 1115, 1131.

Sunnīs and Shī'as, 399–400, 763, 803–05, 899.

Places.

Sābarmatī, r., Gujarāt, 74, 611.

Ṣafā (Bāgh), garden near Jalālābād, Afghānistān, 529, 543.

Saḥatpūr, properly Ṣiḥḥatpūr, place near Tānda, where K. Jahān died, 378, 381; name means Abode of Health, probably gone into r. long since.

Sāknī (?), r., which joined Ganges and Jamnā at Tīrmohinī. It seems to be the Saraswatī, and perhaps proper name is Shaktī, 693 and *n.* 5.

Sambal, d. Morādābād, 51, 53, 512, 587, 600, 625, Qulīj's fief, 817, given Moẓaffar H. in lieu Qandahār, 1031.

Sāngāuīr, 54.

Sāpān, high hill, Deccan, 1153, 1163.

Sāran, d., Bihar, 115, 586. Sentence omitted in my translation at p. 115. The P.T. has statement that Ḥasan Patnī or Batanī[1] had, for his good conduct,

[1] Note on Ḥasan Batanī or Patnī and Sāran, p. 115 of translation. Ḥasan Batanī was an Afghān and so at first a partisan of Sulaimān Kararānī and Daniel, but afterwards was won over by A. and Mun'im K. He appears

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been given by Mun'im Sirkār Sāran in fief. See P.T., top line, p. 82. Ḥasan was an Afghān and was killed by the Yūsufzais of Chakdara, not in Khaibar as stated by B., in 1586. He is highly praised by A. F. for two things, 1st for pressing that the dam on the Pūnpūn should be broken down, 2nd for urging the capture of Ḥājīpūr. But surely Pūnpūn is a mistake for Gandak. Pūnpūn is a small r. and on s. side Ganges and joins Ganges at Fatwa, several miles below Patna. So unimportant is it that the I.G. does not separately notice it though it is described in article "Patna." Why should breaking of dam help siege Patna Fort? And if it could, what harm would ensue to Imperialists? The dam did not exist when A. crossed the Pūnpūn! The Ṭabaqāt A. says nothing on subject, and it may here be remarked that Niẓāmu-d-dīn's account of the siege of Patna is fuller and better than A. F.'s and has been well translated in Elliot, V.

Sārangarh, fort, Orissa, 941.

Sārangpūr Dewās State, C.I, 94, 310, 1192.

Sarnāl, town, Gujarāt, 18, 19 and *n.* 2, etc.

Sātgāon, mart in Bengal, 153, 169, 171, 327–28.

Serais. Many are mentioned in P.T. Index, pp. 81–82. One in Bihār called Serāi-i-Rānī, p. 472 and *n.* 1.

Seraikot Kachwa, Ambāla d. Here Manṣūr Khwāja hanged. See 500 and *n.* 504. Alexander the Great quoted, 501.

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to be a relative of Ḥasan Patnī or to be Ḥasan Patnī himself though the Ma'āṣir calls him Fatḥ K. Patnī or Panī. See Ma'āṣir I, p. 626. A F. speaks highly of him and especially commends him for his recommending the taking of Ḥājīpūr and the destruction of the Pūnpūn dam. But neither of these things was speedily accomplished, and the cutting of the Pūnpūn dam is to me unintelligible, unless there has been a change in the course of the Pūnpūn since A.'s time. The Pūnpūn is a small stream rising in Gaya d. and falling into the Ganges at Fatwa seven miles below Patna. We are told that Ḥasan recommended the cutting of the dam, because otherwise it would flow towards the Patna Fort and injure it. But how could the water get near that fort, and what harm would ensue to the besiegers if it did? The Pūnpūn was never a large stream, apparently, and now-a-days it is so drained away by irrigation channels that very little of it falls into the Ganges. So unimportant is the Pūnpūn that there is no article on it in the I.G., though it is noticed in the article on "Patna." In the P.T. of the A.N. it is said at p. 82, that Ḥasan was rewarded for his loyalty by being made fief-holder. Unfortunately, this statement has been inadvertently omitted in my translation. Nothing is said about the Pūnpūn dam in the I.A. and I am inclined to think that A. F. or his copyist has made a mistake and that for Pūnpūn one should read Gandak (the Great), though possibly the river meant is the Gumtī which joins the Ganges near Chunār. The dam on the Gandak might prevent the Imperialists from boating up the river in order to capture Ḥājīpūr. It never was necessary for them to take the Patna Fort, for Dāūd abandoned it after Ḥājīpūr was taken!

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Shādī, route, Afghānistān, 783.
Shadīwāl, vill., Gujarāt, Panjāb. A. encamps at, his thoughts, 332–33.
Shāhdara, near Lahore, 818 and *n.* 1.
Shāhgarha, Deccan, wonderful *nīm* tree, 1138–39, 1143.
Shāhpūr, Deccan, city founded by P. Murād, 1052, 1070, 1074, 1116, 1126, 1128, 1141, P.T. 864, his womankind sent Court.
Shahrārā (Bāgh), Kābul city, 539, 542, 858.
Shāhzādī, 983.
Shāhzādpūr, 674 and *n.* 8.
Sherpūr, in Bihār, 146. 479. Sherpūr in Mymensingh Atā, 600 and *n.* 1. Sherpūr in Bograh, 622 and *n.* 3, 660 and *n.* 3, 698. Sherpūr on Jamnā, the Sherpūr Feringhī of *n.* 2, 673, and 674.
Shihābu-d-dīnpūr, beautiful spot, Kashmīr, 829 and *n.* 1.
Sihrind or Sirhind, 360, gardens of, 546 and 705, great flood at, 761.
Sind and Sīwistān, 776, 917–21, 925, 929–31, 938, plague, 939. At p. 939, line 10, for "comage" read coinage, 941–42, 971–79, 1013.
Srīnagar, cap. Kashmīr, 770, 827 and *n.* 1, 840, 955-56, 1085, lunar rainbow, 1090.
Stars, 300 little ones (? Meteors), 616.
Sūrat, 16, 24–27, Christians appear at, 37 and *n.* 1, fort taken, 39-41.
Swāt or Swād, tract in Chitral Agency, N.W. Frontier, see Vol. III, A.N., pp. 216, 166, where for "tracts of Bajaur" read "Swād and Bajaur," 715, 717, Birbar sent to, 719, 727, Zain K. conquers, 726–27, again sent to, 802, Swād conquered, 810–12, 828, 957.

T

Including the letters ت (tā) and طوی (ṭoī).

Persons.

Tāj K. Afghān, s. Yūsuf Dāūd's cousin, killed by Dāūd, 31.
Do. Jalaurī, 266–67.
Do. e.b. Sulaimān Kararānī, 647 and *n.* 3.
Do. Panwār, 192, 197–98.
Do. 972, P.T. 803, his s. killed, 804, goes Tīrah, 1222, punishes 'Alīzais, 1238, made Khān, 1247.
Takhta Beg, see B. and M. Umarā I, 481, serv. M. Ḥakīm, afterwards joins A., 713, 783, 792, 853, gets fief Ghaznī, 867, 984, 998, 1051, A. sends saffron seeds to, 1064.
Tān Sen of Gwālior, musician, dies 816.
Tāra C. Khwāṣ, member personal retinue, 69, 80, 467, *bakhshī*, 779.
Tārīkīs, Afghān sect, 966 and *n.* 1, 983, 1051, 1066, 1104, 1114, P.T. 776, 782, 795.
Tarkhān dīwāna, 693.
Tarkhāns, privileges of, 973–75.
Tarsūn K., nephew Saifu-l-Mulk, see B. 342. Given Bhakkar, 129, 266, 267, P.T. 264, given Jaunpūr, 410, 422, 452–53, 467, 476, 483, 485, 567, 590, 593, 619–20, 625, dies, 645, 651, his s., 935. See also M. Umarā I, 471.

Note to Tarsūn K., 645. The reference in *n.* 2 to pp. 257 and 260 is wrong and should be deleted. This leads me to *n.* 2, on same p. about Bhātī.

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Tāsh Beg, Qūchīn, rebel, 450, 713, 720, 778, 794, sent against 'Īsākhel, 1031, 1084, 1195.

Tātār K. Ghāzī, 936, his s. killed, 7.

Telī Rajāh, wrongly printed as Tiblī in P.T., p. 108. He was an oilman by caste and is supposed to be the founder of Teliyāgarh on the Bengal frontier. It is in the Sonthāl Parganas. See I.G., XXIII, 175, and A.N. translation, 151 and *n.* 1.

Todar Mal (Rājah), A.'s Finance-Minister, born Laharpūr, Oude, B. 620, sent examine Sūrat Fort, 24 and *n.* 2, sent to Mun'im K. in Bihār, 58, charge Agra, 62, to settle Gujarāt, 91, reports, 93, 95, 98, 101, 111, 131, makes report, 133, 144, at Tānda, 169-79, 183-85, brings elephants, 222, 229-30, 250-53, imprisons Shāh Manṣūr, 273, does homage, 277, sent Gujarāt, 280, charge Gujarāt, 292-94, persuades Wazīr K. to fight rebels, gains victory, 294, joins A. at Basāwar (which seems to be the Baswa of I.G., VII, 132 and of the Rājpūtāna map of I.G. Atlas), 300, charge of Wazīr-ship, do. Perhaps, A. F. puns on the Wazīr or Vizier K.'s name. This Wazīr was not satisfactory. See B. 473, and Ma'āṣir U. article on T. M., II, 123. T. M.'s idol-worship, 310, T. M. has charge Bengal mint, 321 and *n.* 3, fills Anūp tank, 352, 357, in Panjāb, 358, 407, 414, 422, 462, 467, 470, 473, 476, 485, does homage, 545, opinion about most beneficial act, 559, 560, charge elephants, 585, 599, 606, entertains A., 661, 672, to act under Fatḥ Ullāh's advice, 687, 696, 705, attends P. Murād, 733, 736, writes R. Bāsū, 777, 786, wounded by assassin, 792-93. My translation omits parenthesis about T. M.'s having punished the young Khetrī for misconduct. M.U. says T. M. attacked in palanquin. A. F. says A. cured T. M. by *Gīradam*, breathing on him. The year was 32nd of reign. T. M. gets leave but is recalled, 858, d. and character, 861-62, 876. Todar Mal died on 28 Ābān 998 A.H.=8 November 1589, p. 861. It was the 34th year of the reign. In the 33rd year he had a dispute with Sa'īd K., p. 807, is recalled, 858, death (at Lahore) and character, 861-62. Dhārī has an audience, 876.

It is commonly said that T. M. made a settlement of Kashmīr, and the I.G., VII, 93, says Todar Mal made a very summary record. But this does not appear correct. A. F. nowhere says the Rājah made a settlement of Kashmīr, and it appears to me he never was in that country. The first settlement of Kashmīr was made by 'Abdul Majīd (Āṣaf K. No. 1 of B.). Afterwards Yūsuf K. made a settlement, B. 346. Qāẓī 'Alī Baghdādī and others also made a settlement. This was after T. M.'s death, and indeed he had for some years before been past work. See Badayūnī. The point is important, for the settlement of Kashmīr was arbitrarily and badly made and led to a rebellion, T. M. was in no way responsible for this, though perhaps A. F.'s e.b. Faiẓī was to some extent res-

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ponsible. A. F. nowhere says in the Āīn or in the historical part of the A.N. that Todar Mal was ever in Kashmīr, or made any settlement of it. B. says Todar Mal died at Lahore. But this is not quite certain. He had got leave from A. and was on his road to Hardwār, but then a second letter came from A. intimating that it was better to go on working and doing good to the world than to go on pilgrimage. We do not know when and where this reached T. M. But he turned back and died in the beginning of 998 (11 Muḥarram). His body was burnt, apparently, at Lahore, and Rājah Bhagwān Dās, his colleague in the charge of Lahore, was present at the ceremony. See A.N., III, p. 570. A. was at Kābul near Bārīk Āb when the news of Todar Mal's death arrived. His death took place on 3 Āzar (middle November, 1589). Two sons are spoken of. One, Dhārī, was killed in battle in Sind. Another, Kalyān Dās, was sent by T. M. to bring in the Kumāon Rājah, p. 812. He was left in charge Lahore, 817.

Places ت (*Tā*).

Tānda. Ganges divides here into two branches, 153 and *n.* 2, 169, 186, 227, 228, Dāūd's head gibbeted at, 255, 328, 378, 428, 442 and *n.*, Moẓaffar takes refuge in, 447, 567, 625, 695, 1023, Tatta cap. Sind, 127, 149, arrival of M. 'Alī Jān, 776, ambassadors' audience, 889, 929, 973, Ṭatta restored M. Jānī, 986.

Tibet and little Tibet, i.e. Bāltistān, 117, 647, ambassadors to, 838, 844, 847, 850, envoys return, 860, d. sent by 'Alī Rāi, ruler Tibet, to be married to Selīm (Jahāngīr), 921, 1067, 'Alī Zād, ruler Bāltistān, 1091.

Persons طوی (*Ṭoī*).

Ṭāhir (Shāh). List of officers who died at Gaur from disease, 227 and *n.* 1.

Do. Beg, 1061.

Do. historian, Ṭāhir Khwājajī, 631 and *n.* 2.

Ṭahmāsp Shāh of Persia, 316, 820, 886, 896, 1021.

Do. Mīrzā, 900, 1031.

Ṭahmūraṣ, e.s. P. Daniel, 1246, 1254. He was put to death in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign by Āṣaf K. See Ma'āṣiru-l-Umarā, I, 156 and 714. The date was January, 1628.

Ṭālib (Mullā) or Bābā Ṭālib of Ispahān, a poet, 798, envoy Tibet, 838 and notes 2 and 3, returns, 860, 1091. On 860, for Mullā Ṭālib Mihtar Yārī read "Ṭālib Mihtar Yārī" (for they are two distinct persons). For Bābā Ṭālib or Ṭālib K., see B. 607 and *n.* 2. He lived to over one hundred.[1]

[1] There are three entries under places beginning with Ṭoī, but they are of no consequence and so I have not recorded them. See P.T., Vol. I, p. 84.

EXCURSUS.

P. 645. The references as note 2 to pp. 257 and 260 are wrong and should be deleted.

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U

Udai Karn, landholder, Jītāran, 193. The variant Champāran is probably the correct reading.

Do. Singh, g.s. Motā Rājah, 595, 632 and *n.* 3, 655, 681, 684.

Udaipūr, Rānā's country, 57, 275, taken, 340, 1158.

Ujjaīn, Gwālior, 93, 264, flood from Siprā r., 830, Shihābu-d-dīn A. dies there, 885, 961, 1045.

Ulugh Beg, astronomer, of Samarkand, 642.

Do. Khān, Abyssinian, 9, 201, 295, 422, his neglect, 473, 476, 490, 574, his sons, 935, 941, 1169.

Ulugh K., 325, 326, 452–53, 460, 467, 941.

Do. Mīrzā Kābulī, massacres Yūsufzais, 715, 733, (another, 745, 1103).

'Umrī (Shaikh), real name Ḥasan Beg, or Ḥusain Beg, he was a Badakhshī and, apparently, he or his father had been in Bābur's service, and so was styled 'Omar or 'Umar Shaikh. He was distinguished in A.'s reign, and held Paklī; he was cruelly put to death

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A. F.'s account, p. 432, P.T., is obscure, and Professor Dowson has the remark at p. 73 of the 6th volume of Elliot's "History of India" that "the whole description is unintelligible." But I think that part of this obscurity is due to Dowson's misreading of the Persian text. He translates: "On the west was the hill country south of Tānda." I do not know if Dowson used the Bib. Ind. edition of the Akbar Nāma. Probably he did, for the words in his note agree with the Bib. Ind. ed. p. 432, ten lines from foot. But they do not support his translation, for they mean "the hill-country of the Khyīn (?)* tribe; on the south is Tānda;" see my notes pp. 645–47. The Bib. Ind. text then adds: "On the south is Tānda, and on the north is the Ocean!" Obscurity however is caused by the conjunction "also" in "on the north also." What however the passage means is clear enough: "Tānda lies south of Bhātī and on the north is the Ocean (or salt sea)," that is the upper part of the Bay of Bengal. Perhaps, however, A. F. meant that Tānda and the Bay of Bengal were both south and north of Bhātī, for this would be correct. The southern part of Sylhet would be north of Bhātī and the Bay of Bengal was partly north of Tānda and partly south of it. In making these remarks I do not wish to say anything disparaging about Dowson, who was a good scholar and who did good work on Elliot's History.

I must add that exceedingly great as was Abu-l-Faẓl's industry and very grateful to him as we all should be for his gigantic labours, I do not think that geographical knowledge was his strong point. The want of maps must have been a great drawback to him. I doubt also if he ever was in Bengal or Bihar. His account of the Pūnpūn dam is vague, and I think wrong, and so also is his account of the Bahīra Mint-town.

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* See my note 4, p. 586. I believe that A. F. means the Khās or Cossyah tribe, i.e. the inhabitants of the Cossyah Hills. They are therefore allied to the Santāls; see I.G., I, 296 and VI, 44 and 46. A. F.'s word may however be Khyīn or Chīn and be an allusion to an Arracanese tribe. See p. 587, note.

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by Jahāngīr as being a partizan of Khasrū. See pp. 776, 798, 855, 867, 874–75, 944–5, 946, 957, 1005–06, 1023, 1030; the spelling 'Umrī in translation should be 'Umarī Abdu-r-Raḥīm, dīwān Lahore suffered at the same time, but survived his agony. See Jahāngīr's Mem. and Ma'āṣir U. I, 565 and B. 454.

'Umarkot Fort, Sind, A.'s birthplace, October 1542, 919, captured by Dalpat and Rāwal Bhīm, 924 and *n.* 2. See I.G., XXIV, 117.

Un'dah (Orchha), 324.

'Urfī, poet, death and verses, 907 and *n.* 2.

Uzbegs, a C. Asian tribe, *passim.* A. did not like them and abhorred their national vice. Nor did the Uzbegs and Qāqshāls and other C. Turkomāns willingly ever be in A.'s service. Neither 'Abdullāh K. Uzbeg (see B. 320), nor the two brothers Khān Zamān Bahādur, nor Wazīr Beg Jamīl (Ma'āṣir III, 928) were satisfactory servants; see B. 369 and *n.* 2.

W

Wāḥid Ṣūfī, visited by Yūsuf, King Kashmīr, 774 and *n.* 3, A. F. visits, 832, 833, A. visits him at Kanabal, 837 and *n.* 2.

Walī (M.), kills Pāyinda K., 1225, P.T. 817.

Wazīr K., of Herāt, b. 'Abdul Majīd, 66, 235–36, 280, 292–93, 301–02, removed, 306, made Vizier, 462, sent Oudh, 327, P.T. 543. Several unimportant entries follow here. Magh ruler sends presents, 722, given Bengal, 779, dies at Tānda, 801 and *n.* 1, 813.

Do. Beg Jamīl, B. 473, 145, 199, a rebel, 429, 432, 446, 449, 593, 645, 705.

Y

Yādgār Sulṭān Shāmlū, ambassador of Sulṭān Khudābanda, does homage, 893–94 and notes 2 and 3.

Do. (bald), cousin of M. Yūsuf K., 945 and *n.* 1, 946, p. 953; at the top of P.T., p. 623, has a passage which I do not fully understand. The words "the head-strong Kul or Kal" refer to Yūsuf's cousin Yādgār who is styled, apparently, "the bald," and are in the original *Kal-i-ziyāda sir bādāfarāh yāfta* as had come to his deserts; in other words, Yādgār the bald had been found in the jungle, with his head cut off. But I am not sure of the meaning. Further on, in p. 953, we are told that one Shāhbāz K. Niyāzī cut his (Yādgār's) head off. See p. 654 of translation and notes 1 and 2.

Yaḥyā S., Manerī, a saint, 132 and *n.* 6.

Do. Khwāja Naqshbandī Mīr Ḥāj (pilgrims' guide), 293, 569–70, 1185–86.

Ya'qūb K. Kashmīrī, comes Court, 846.

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Yūsuf K. Rezavī (Mīrzā), a Saiyid of Mashhad, s. Mīr Aḥmad, B. 346; 120, 125, 129, 144, 146, 149, sent Panjāb, 237, 332, 335, 409, 493, at Rohtās, 507, A. visits, 514, 518, 535, 559, charge camels, 585, 637, rank 2,500, 687, charge Bihār, 701, 779, sent in charge Kashmīr, 796, 798, 822-24, 853, does homage, 871, 880, makes assessment Kashmīr, 830, officers employed Qāẓī 'Alī and Qāẓī Nūrullah, see A.N., III, 548, and Ma'āṣir U. III, 314; Yūsuf taken as Yūsuf, a servant, 907, 944, 946, Yūsuf put in charge of A. F., 947, 950, 959-60, given Jaunpūr in fief, 1004, artillery officer, 1015, 1020, allowed go Gujarāt, 1064 (having refused accept increased assessment of Kashmīr), made guardian P. Murād, 1081, death at Jalnapūr, 1010, A.H., 1601 A.D.

Yūsufzai, large Afghān tribe, 715-16, 717, defeat A.'s army, 725-33, tribe punished, 750, sold as slaves, 800, 802, 810, 812, 850, 867 and 956-57, tribe submits, 984.

Z

Zābulistān, old name for Afghānistān, see P. Index, p. 81 and Āīn Akbarī, Jarrett, 408 of Vol. II. The name was used for Ghaznī and for Rustam's country of Sīstān or Nīmroz.

Zāhid, s. Ṣādiq K., 645, 1141.

Zain K. Koka, s. Khwāja Maqṣūd and Picha Jān Anaga, and a foster b. of A. See B. 344, 69, 83, 128, in Kābul, 53, in charge oil, 585, Bihār, 591, 599, 636, rank 2,500, 687, Afghānistān, 715-17, 720-33, against Tārīkīs, 777-84, Zābulistān restored to, 790, 802, 806, conquers Swāt, 810, 812-13, Siālkot given to, 817, 823, 835 and *n.* 1, made guardian P. Parvez (a relative by marriage), 875, 880, 884, rank 4,000 with drums, 889 (on p. 884, read Zain instead of Qain), 916, 947, 956-57, 966-67, 982-83, 986, 1029, A. visits him, 1044, rank 5,000, 1049, Selīm marries Zain K.'s d., A. displeased (why so, does not appear), 1058, Zain sent Kābul, 1073, 1104, mother dies, P.T. 819. B. says Zain died in 1010 (1601), and partly from drink. For Zain's biography, see Ma'āṣir U. II, 362.

Zainu-l-'Ābidīn, Sulṭān Kashmīr, also called Baddu Shāh, 7 and *n.* 2, 821 and *n.* 2.

Zain Lānkā, an island in lake Wular, with Groynes and other buildings made by the Sulṭān mentioned above. See also *n.* 1, and I.G., Vol. XXIV, p. 387. My translation of p. 1088 wrongly has Lain for Zain and Ghrīb for Ghrāb.

EXCURSUS.

There is a good deal of confusion about the three or four persons who all bore the name of Yūsuf, and who were connected with Kashmīr in the last days of its independence. Part of this is due to the pedantry of A. F. who insists on calling the last King of Kashmīr Yūsuf K. instead of Yūsuf Shāh. He seems to have been well entitled to the name of King, for he was son of the 'Alī K. Chāk who was King of Kashmīr and was accidentally killed while playing

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polo. And when the latter died, he seems to have been recognized by the people of Kashmīr as their king. Indeed, A. F. himself calls him, in his list of kings in the Āīn Akbarī, Jarrett, p. 380, Yūsuf Shāh and makes him have two reigns. See also the Ma'āṣir U. III, 954. Then there was the Yūsuf Reẓavī who was a Persian Saiyid and never seems to have been more than a farmer of Kashmīr under Akbar, though B. speaks of him as governor of Kashmīr. He ended his days in the Deccan. He is described in B. 346 as Mīrzā Yūsuf K., s. Mīr Aḥmad Reẓavī. He is the Yūsuf K. of B. 480, and B. tells us that he must not be confounded with No. 388. But it seems to me that B. must have written this caution after he had made the confusion; for, the M. Y. K. of B., whose people assumed a threatening attitude, must be, I think, not the Reẓavī M. Y. K., but the Yūsuf Chāk who became King of Kashmīr. The Persian Index also has confounded the two Yūsufs, for the Reẓavī never got a fief in Bihār. Nor can the Reẓavī, I think, be the M. Y. K. who, according to B. 347, was reinstated at Selīm's request. Yūsuf Shāh had a son Ya'qūb who also became king of the country for a short time. Then there was another Yūsuf who was only a servant of Yādgār the bald man and who was killed by A.'s men. Yūsuf Shāh is the Yūsuf K. Kashmīrī of the Ma'āṣir U. III, 954, who is said, at p. 956, l.c., to have been put under the charge of Todar Mal. I have said elsewhere that Todar Mal probably was never in Kashmīr, and I do not think this statement is contradicted by the above statement that Yūsuf Shāh was put in charge of T. M.; for, even if this was so, it does not follow that Todar Mal ever was in Kashmīr. For, Yūsuf Shāh escaped after he was put under arrest, and got himself recognized as king of the country.

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ERRATA AND ADDENDA

TO PAGES 1 TO 22

OF

INDEX

[AKBARNAMA, VOLUME III.]

[*P* stands for page, *C* for column, *L* for line, *T* for top, *B* for bottom.]

P.	1,	C.	2,	L.	11	from	B.,	*for* 'Adi *read* 'Adl	
,,	1,	,,	2,	,,	9	,,	,,	*delete* 947	
,,	1,	,,	2,	,,	9	,,	,,	*insert* in *between* omitted *and* Transla-	
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,,	2,	,,	1,	,,	11	,,	,,	*for* -Maṭṭālib *read* -Muṭṭalib	
,,	2,	,,	1,	,,	4	,,	,,	Jhelum *read* Jhelam	
,,	2,	,,	1,	,,	1	,,	,,	*add after* Gangoh "a town in"	
,,	2,	,,	2,	,,	1	,,	T.,	*for* hāranpur	*read* Sahāranpur
,,	2,	,,	2,	,,	7	,,	B.,	,, Khātīwār	,, Kāthīāwār
,,	5,	,,	2,	,,	7	,,	T.,	,, recent	,, secret
,,	6,	,,	1,	,,	7	,,	,,	,, 142nd	,, 42nd
,,	8,	,,	1,	,,	1	,,	B.,	,, 115–759	,, 1157–59
,,	9,	,,	2,	,,	3	,,	,,	,, Hājī	,, Ḥājī
,,	10,	,,	1,	,,	4	,,	T.,	,, rosses	,, crosses
,,	11,	,,	1,	,,	19	,,	,,	,, Nagarkote	,, Nagarkot
,,	11,	,,	2,	,,	21	,,	,,	,, 166	,, 1616
,,	13,	,,	1,	,,	19	,,	B.,	,, ṣeditions	,, seditious
,,	13,	,,	2,	,,	20	,,	T.,	,, informed	,, injured
,,	13,	,,	2,	,,	21	,,	,,	,, 'Isas'	,, 'Īsā's
,,	14,	,,	1,	,,	18	,,	,,	,, Jijī Anagea	,, Jījī Anaga
,,	14,	,,	2,	,,	16-17	,,	B.,	,, evidently	,, eventually
,,	14,	,,	2,	,,	1	,,	,,	,, collec or	,, collector
,,	16,	,,	2,	,,	7-8	,,	B.,	,, "Ārif, and account of Ṣafavī dynasty." *read* "Ardabīl, and account of Ṣafavī dynasty, 894–901."	

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P. 16,	C. 2,	L.	6	from	B.,	*for* Do.	*read*	'Ārif
,, 18,	,, 1,	,,	6	,,	T.,	,, Tīmūr	,,	Tūrān
,, 18,	,, 1,	,,	7	,,	B.,	,, death	,,	deaths
,, 21,	,, 2,	,,	4	,,	,,	,, Dāsr	,,	Dās
,, 21,	,, 2,	,,	2	,,	,,	,, Akbarnaga	,,	Akbarnagar

,, 22, ,, 1, ,, 25-27 ,, T., ,, "Bhath'i or Bhilti or Bhaltah, territory in Baghalpur Central Ind. and *n.* 2, 966, 1042." *read* "Bhat'h or Bhet'h or Bhattah or Pannah, territory in Bandelkhand, Central India, 966 *n.* 3."

,, 22,	,, 2,	,,	1	,,	,,	,, Nagarkote	*read*	Nagarkot
,, 22,	,, 2,	,,	9	,,	,,	,, 727–828	,,	727–728
,, 22,	,, 2,	,,	11	,,	,,	*delete* quarrels		
,, 22,	,, 2,	,,	13	,,	,,	*for* Bishanpur	*read*	Bishnupur

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INSTRUCTIONS TO BINDER

AKBARNĀMA. VOLUME III

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

		PAGES
1.	Half-title and Title pages	i–iv
2.	Foreword by the General Secretary ..	v–vi
3.	Dedication	vii–viii
4.	Introduction	ix–xxiv
5.	Contents	xxv–xxxii
6.	Abbreviations	xxxiii–xxxiv
7.	Translation of the Text (Chapters I–CLVII) ..	1–1262
8.	Errata and Addenda	1263–1274
9.	Prefatory Note to Index	1275-1276
10.	Index	1–66
11.	Errata and Addenda to pp. 1–22 of Index ..	67–68

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